

OCCUPATIONAL ASSIMILATION AND MOBILITY
OF POLISH IMMIGRANTS

PATTERNS OF ETHNIC OCCUPATIONAL ASSIMILATION
AND MOBILITY:
A CASE STUDY OF POLISH IMMIGRANTS IN TORONTO

by

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to determine the factors which bring about the occupational assimilation of Polish immigrants in Metro Toronto. As our review of assimilation studies indicated, much of the successful overall integration of immigrants is dependent upon the nature of their occupational penetration into the host society's economic institutional structure. Furthermore, as a number of studies have pointed out, the extent of ethnic affiliation may be of little value in explaining the occupational mobility of ethnic individuals. For these and other reasons, we have attempted to determine the process of occupational penetration (that is, occupational attainment) of Polish newcomers in terms of the influence exerted by structural and market variables.

The data on which this study is based were collected in Metro Toronto by the Survey Research Centre, York University between 1969 and 1970. Our sample was comprised of 187 Polish immigrants who were selected on the basis of their Polish birth.

Initially, the Blishen occupational score was determined for each respondent. These were then grouped into three occupational standing levels: the unskilled and semi-skilled, the skilled, and the white-collar) levels. Subsequently, occupational attainment (that is, the

occupational performance of the immigrants based upon a comparison between the first entrance status occupation after entry into Canada and the present occupational standing) was determined on the basis of movement between these three occupational standing levels. As a result, four occupational attainment status groups emerged: the stable white collars, the stable working class, the upwardly mobiles, and the downwardly mobiles.

The focus of our analysis was an attempt to establish those factors which determine the occupational attainment, that is, the extent of the occupational penetration, of the Toronto Polish-born into the societal economic structure.

Our findings indicated that immigrants with a non-sponsored status, higher education, greater English language fluency, a formerly urban background, and an occupationally beneficial length of stay in entrance status, were more likely to belong to the stable white-collar occupational status group or at least tended to be occupationally upwardly mobile. It is therefore because of the influence of such structural and market variables that these individuals were the most likely to penetrate the societal occupational structure. On the other hand, immigrants characterized by lower education, former small-town or rural background, a lower level of English language fluency, sponsored immigration, and job instability without a corresponding

rise in occupational status, tended to fall into the stable working class occupational status group or were downwardly mobile. Again, it was because of the influence exerted by these structural and market variables that these immigrants were least able to penetrate the societal occupational structure.

The analysis indicated therefore that much of the occupational assimilation and life chances of the Polish immigrants (as evidenced by the extent of their occupational attainment since their arrival in Canada) was due to the nature of the influence of these variables rather than whether or not they severed or maintained their ethnic community ties. Moreover, the findings would suggest that the extent of the equality of opportunity of the Polish within the economic structure, and subsequently their position within the country's stratification system ought to be determined more in terms of the influence exerted by structural and market variables than the extent of the ethnic affiliation of members of this cultural group. In turn, this would furthermore suggest that the explanatory value of ethnicity decreases in importance when determining the degree of the occupational assimilation of these Polish immigrants.

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CHAPTER I

Patterns of Ethnic Occupational Assimilation and Mobility: An Introduction

The National Conference on Canadian Culture and Ethnic Groups (Toronto, 1973) articulated the principle areas requiring further sociological research with regard to ethnicity in Canadian culture and society. Attention was drawn to the fact that there was a need for additional study of the nature of the relationship between class standing, occupational mobility, and ethnic affiliation.

Many sociologists have argued that immigration policies have influenced not only the ethnic individual's occupational mobility but also have determined his position in this country's class structure (Richmond, 1967; Blishen, 1970). Thus:

immigration policies have been instrumental in shaping the Canadian stratification system. The policy in force influenced the language fluency, education, occupational training, and capital resources with which members of the various ethnic groups confronted the host society and attained their initial [class] position. (Breton et al., 1975: 82)

Moreover, the class standing of a minority group is often construed by sociologists as crucial with regard to the determination of the extent of the group's life chances, that is, its participation in the full gamut of the social, organizational, economic, and legal networks

of this society.

Despite the fact that the nature of ethnic mobility patterns has received considerable attention from Canadian sociologists (Porter, 1965; Richmond, 1967; Blishen, 1970), they have, nevertheless, been only marginally concerned with the study of mobility in relation to other aspects of the assimilation process. Thus, the extent to which occupational assimilation is contingent upon the abandonment of most or all ethnic affiliation ties or whether it is, on the other hand, due to the influence exerted by structural and market variables such as education, social background, English language fluency, or age has been left largely unexplored.

On the whole, most ethnic group individuals have gone into "entrance status" types of occupations upon their arrival in Canada. For the most part, these types of jobs usually required very little or no skill, only a minimal knowledge of English, and were usually characterized by a low wage level (Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 1969: 50). Thus, being an immigrant or being ethnically affiliated was often made synonymous with the assumption that the individual had a tendency to persist at a lower occupational status.

Some scholars have argued that, as a consequence, ethnic community affiliation or membership does not appeal to the more successful or occupationally mobile immigrants.

It was assumed that since ethnic community members are not, for the most part, occupationally assimilated, that ethnic individuals are usually engaged in occupations close to their entrance status. As a result, they argued that individuals of middle- or upper-middle-class status have tended to shy away from ethnic group membership.

Such scholars suggest, moreover, that the very existence of ethnic communities is in itself a barrier to social and economic advancement since ethnic status inequality is reinforced by the persistence of the ethnic community. This may come about because of the fact that exclusion or isolation from the host ethnic group necessarily involves implied constraints, that is, the maintenance of boundaries between the two groups. In turn, the stronger the boundaries, the greater the community persistence and it is this which ultimately leads to the perpetuation of ethnic community inequality.

Even as far back as the turn of the century, American sociologists (Warner and Srole, 1945) argued that the greater the differences and boundaries between the host and ethnic cultures, the greater the ethnic subordination, the greater the persistence of the ethnic community, and the longer the period required for the assimilation of such an ethnic group. As a result, it is argued that the more economically mobile members of the ethnic group tend to disassociate themselves from the group as such. These

critics therefore

view the existence of ethnic communities as an impediment to social advancement. The successful member of an ethnic group is one who has severed his particularistic ties, thereby avoiding the dangers of ethnic mobility traps (Wiley) or overprotection (Vallee). (Breton et al., 1975: 92)

However, this suggestion about the dangers arising out of the social and cultural pluralism of the ethnic community cannot be accepted at face value. The report on the National Conference on Canadian Culture and Ethnic Groups (Breton et al., 1975) suggested that individual case studies of the various ethnic groups should be implemented in order to ascertain factors which tend to bring about the socio-economic uplifting of these ethnic group members. The report concluded, furthermore, that:

In the absence of such studies, the view that the road to equality lies in structural assimilation and individual mobility deserves to be treated with caution. (Breton et al., 1975: 92)

For our part, we shall attempt in this study to determine those factors which are responsible for the occupational attainment, that is, the extent of the economic penetration of the Toronto Polish-born.

The position taken here is that much of the occupational assimilation and life chances of the Polish immigrants (as evidenced by the extent of their occupational attainment since their arrival in Canada) can be explained by taking into consideration a number of structural and

market variables such as length of stay in entrance status occupation, auspices of migration, English language fluency, social background (community size of former place of residence), and education. It is thus suggested that the extent of occupational assimilation need not necessarily be dependent upon either the severance or maintenance of ethnic community ties, but instead, is related to the influence exerted by these occupationally relevant characteristics.

Thus, the purpose of this study is to examine the extent to which occupational assimilation of the Toronto Polish-born has taken place. By definition, occupational assimilation is used to refer to a situation whereby an individual's ethnicity or ethnic origin no longer plays a part in determining the economic functions and occupational roles which he is allowed to assume.

Sociologists have noted that the occupational standing of immigrants upon their entry into this country is lowered considerably by their being channelled into "entrance status" occupations upon their arrival. This situation generally characterizes all non-charter ethnic groups entering Canada. As a result of this initial lowering of status, upward occupational mobility often becomes the necessary prerequisite for occupational assimilation. Thus, if the immigrants are able to move upward out of their "entrance status" occupations into jobs

which are more consistent with their educational and occupational qualifications, then their ethnicity or their ethnic affiliation does not act as a barrier to their occupational attainment. Instead, their attained occupational levels may be due to a number of structural and market variables. The following analysis will attempt to establish the extent to which this is the case.

In short, this study will attempt to determine the extent of occupational assimilation of the Toronto Polish-born by relating structural and market variables to the occupational attainment of the members of this ethnic group. The extent to which occupationally relevant characteristics may be related to a given occupational attainment level is indicative of the degree to which occupational assimilation may be said to have taken place.

On the other hand, if occupational assimilation does not take place, ethnic group individuals may become occupationally specific and thus persist at entrance status occupations for significantly longer periods of time, even for generations. As a result, an ethnically delineated system of societal stratification emerges whereby certain lower occupations are maintained by individuals from certain ethnic groups. This constitutes a gross inequality of opportunity and ultimately results in the removal of ethnically affiliated individuals from the mainstream of Canadian economic and socio-cultural life.

In summary, it is suggested that lack of occupational assimilation may be explained by considering the influence of a number of structural and market variables on occupational attainment. Thus ethnicity may be of minor importance in accounting for the extent of occupational attainment. It is argued that occupational disparity is due to the influence of such variables as length of stay in entrance occupation, auspices of migration, English language fluency, social background, and education. It is the influence of these factors which is responsible for the occupational attainment of the Polish-born.

Early Assimilation Studies

The phenomenal numbers of immigrants entering North America from the mid-nineteenth century right up to modern times was of tremendous social, cultural, and economic importance to this country. Not only has mass migration been one of the crucial determinants of her socio-economic growth, but the very emergence of Canada was made possible by the large-scale immigration of Europeans (an indispensable source of labour and manpower) into the New World.

The resulting phenomena, that is, acculturation, culture contact, and assimilation are processes affecting all newcomers and have always been in the forefront of anthropological and sociological analysis. The early part of this century saw the emergence of a large number of acculturation studies in the United States conducted by social anthropologists and sociologists. For the most part, these were a response to the public awareness of the plight of those (both immigrants and native-born peoples) who were at this time migrating en masse into large urban areas. The sociologists and anthropologists who conducted these studies felt that by looking at the different kinds of changes which came about as a result of culture contact, they would be in a better position to come to grips with the disruption brought about by mass transplantations of peoples.

Assimilation as it is generally defined today has been in use for a fairly great length of time. The Oxford English Dictionary has traced the first use of it as far back as 1677 when Sir Matthew Hale wrote a treatise on the Primitive Origination of Mankind. In this work Sir Hale formulated "scientific" generalizations about assimilation which he felt were very much consistent with the "light of nature". The term was generally used to refer to the acquisition by an ethnic or cultural minority of the culture, language, and lifestyle of the majority group.

Assimilation was often made synonymous with the concept of the American "melting pot" ideology which emerged not only as a social ideal, but also as a basic characteristic of American nationalism. The widespread acceptance of this type of ideology by newcomers was made possible because of the availability of a viable substitute for their own culture --- that is, common democratic ideals and the American Way of Life. Moreover, the concept of a melting pot was supported by the prevalent ideology and value system which stressed the achievement of this end as a high priority. As a result, great emphasis was placed upon the development of a national identity, egalitarianism, and the subsequent emergence of an American ethnicity (McKenna, 1969). All of these factors contributed to the further development of an assimilation model as that which characterizes majority vis-a-vis minority group relations.

As early as 1913, Henry Pratt Fairchild, in his work on the world immigration movement and its American significance, had made Americanization equivalent to assimilation. This was quite consistent with the development of the melting pot ideology prevalent in America at that time.

These early American scholars tended to differentiate assimilation from accomodation, acculturation, and amalgamation (biological fusion). Accomodation is distinguished as a process of compromise characterized by toleration. Acculturation, on the other hand, is more of a cultural change brought about by the conjunction of two different cultural systems. It is also used to delineate the social process which takes place when individuals are transferred from their original societies and cultural settings to other social or cultural milieu. Lastly, amalgamation or biological fusion is more of a biological process and as such, distinct from assimilation.

Park was the first to develop the term "human ecology" and even as far back as 1916 taught a university course by that name. This approach to urban studies extended biological terms to the study of society. For example, terms such as symbiosis, invasion, succession, and subordination were used to refer to the nature of urban group life within the context of the city and human ecology.

Thus, given such a biologically-determined model,

it comes as no surprise that the phenomenon of immigrant assimilation has also been approached from the perspective of human ecology. This orientation assumes that all individuals are competing among themselves for the full gamut of social, economic, and status positions. In a situation where a large number of individuals are competing for scarce rewards and resources, choices must be made. Such choices may be decided on the basis of an individual's merit, his occupation, education, social status, physical attributes, or social and ethnic background (Hawley, 1944). Thus, the significance of a person's ethnicity is that it is of some consequence in affecting rivalries and competition and therefore affects the individual's competitive and subsequently, his class position.

Thus, minority group individuals, not unlike biological organisms, are seen as competing for scarce resources, as for example, improved housing or better occupations, in a process known as "ecological succession". This process can be observed in the example of an ethnic group which, as it becomes assimilated, moves away from the older city areas into newer more desirable locations, only to be replaced in the city by another more recently-arrived ethnic group. In this way, the assimilation process is construed as being synonymous with social and occupational uplifting (Wirth, 1928)¹.

The early Chicago School studies of assimilation,

especially those of Park and Burgess (1921), viewed culture contacts between minority and majority ethnic group members in terms of the Race Relations Cycle. This conceptualization outlined group contacts in the following manner: at first, peaceful exploratory contacts, then gradual transformation into competitive interaction (usually brought about by scarcity of social, economic, or industrial goods). Gradually, such a situation may bring about conflict, riots or civil strife. In time, accommodation would come about, often as a result of the withdrawal of one group into a niche occupation, inferior status, or despairing passivity. Ultimately, a form of assimilation would follow where intermixture, and eventually intermarriage would result in the emergence of one single group indistinguishable from either of the original two.

Park gradually modified his "race relations cycle" by expanding its application beyond just the contacts of whites with native peoples to eventually include all other ethnic groups in large urban centres. The "cycle's" main advantage is derived from the fact that it brings into focus several interrelated variables involved in the assimilation process. These include the effects of the host society on the migrants' feelings of belonging and security, the degree and nature of group conflict between the immigrant and host societies, and the extent to which the ethnic individual has undergone a psychological

adjustment to his new environment (in terms of Park's conception of the "marginal man").

Without a doubt, the influence of Park and his followers has resulted in much fruitful discussion and research within sociological thought with regard to the nature and patterns of inter-ethnic group dynamics and immigrant integration. Moreover, his was the first serious attempt at explaining assimilation in terms of a series of articulated theoretical propositions. However, the fact that his theoretical generalizations were not precise enough to account for every empirical situation, the fact that it made no attempt to cope with what is perhaps its main theoretical limitation --- that is, its inability to adequately conceptualize uneven assimilation between ethnic groups --- has resulted in its abandonment several decades ago in favour of various other classificatory systems.

Gradually among sociologists there emerged a realization that the assimilation of immigrants could be more effectively studied in terms of wider, more comprehensive areas of focus. These would include occupational mobility, social stratification, and immigration patterns in both rural and urban areas (Beals, 1951). The advantage of such an analysis would be that the assimilation process would be studied in the context of a larger all-embracing sociological framework.

Such classification systems, although not offering a theoretical explanation of assimilation, bring in other areas of sociology in an attempt to understand this phenomenon (Price in Jackson (ed.), 1969: 217). As a result, assimilation is presently studied in terms of such areas as community relations, group membership, socialization, as well as psychological adjustment. The subsequent present-day research has resulted in considerable criticism of the race relations cycle as not giving an adequate account of how such assorted factors as role expectations, family socialization, community cohesion, or occupational mobility affected the assimilation process. Current sociological research has largely turned away from Park and his race relations cycle and instead tends to view ethnic relations in terms of wider, more encompassing sociological perspectives.

It is interesting to note, furthermore, that although social scientists continue to debate the definition of assimilation and the sociological perspective from which it is to be studied, there tends to be more consensus when discussing the criteria for complete assimilation.

Generally speaking:

Assimilation is complete when ethnicity no longer operates as a cause of behavior for an aggregate of people while other forces such as sociological status, religion or neighborhood may continue to do so. (Humphrey and Louis, 1973: 36)

In this way, total assimilation necessarily implies

that all minority group members have cut their ties with their original ethnic group and have shifted their membership and loyalty to the majority ethnic group. This comes about only when the minority ethnic group no longer functions as an autonomous cultural entity. When this occurs:

the minority ethnic grouping ceases to be a viable social category. Both its rationale for existence (self and other definitions of ethnicity) and its demographic basis for existence (actual and potential membership) have disappeared. With total integration the culture and social institutions of the minority ethnic group become extinct and the ethnic minority ceases to exist as a recognized social category. (Hughes and Kallen, 1974: 156)

Current Assimilation Studies

In recent years, the assimilation of migrants has continued to be of considerable interest to sociologists. Perhaps one of the most characteristic features of these studies of immigrant adaptation and integration is that virtually every researcher has approached the subject from a different perspective, using a somewhat different definition of assimilation.

The early research done by American sociologists during the twenties and thirties produced the first formulations of the factors involved in the assimilation process. At that time, assimilation was defined as

a process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons or groups acquire the memories, sentiments and attitudes of other persons or groups and, by sharing their experiences and history are incorporated with them in a common cultural life. (Park and Burgess, 1921: 735)

The well-known study The Polish Peasant in Europe and America (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927), for example, was an extension of this "classical" definition of assimilation. This work demonstrated how newly-arrived immigrants undergo a gradual, continuous change in world-orientation over time.

The terms "assimilation" and "acculturation" have never been consistently used by sociologists and anthropologists and this has often resulted in considerable impreciseness and confusion. Some scholars (Gordon, 1964) go so far as

to differentiate between acculturation and assimilation, considering the former to be merely a stage of the latter. Others (Peterson and Scheff, 1965) use the terms interchangeably, considering them to be synonymous. They state that:

"acculturation" and "assimilation" will be treated as synonyms and will refer to situations in which either a small number of persons from a dominant group seeks to impose all or part of its culture on a subordinate population, or where a group of immigrants foreign to a host society take on all or part of the host culture. (Peterson and Scheff, 1965: 156)

The meaning of the term "assimilation" is still very obscure as evidenced by its current usage. For example, Eisenstadt continues to use the term "absorption" to refer to the whole process of immigrant assimilation, that is, from the first contact to a state of complete social and cultural invisibility. Others (Hughes and Kallen, 1974) speak of this phenomenon as integration which they view as a two-way transactional process whereby the ethnic groups acquire distinctive characteristics and penetrate into the social institutions of an ethnic group to which they did not originally belong.

Even in the present day, assimilation is somewhat arbitrarily determined and is often "lumped in" with the meaning of acculturation.

Assimilation refers to the process by which members of an ethnic group change and merge their primary relationships

and identification with members of the dominant society. (Humphrey and Louis, 1973: 36)

Despite the obscurity of this definition, Humphrey and Louis recognize that assimilation is a multidimensional process involving culture, social structure, and identification and is identified by shifts in language, fashions, associations, and personal identity.

In another study (Chimbos, 1972a), social adaptation was construed as being somewhat equivalent to assimilation, that is, as a

process by which the immigrant becomes integrated into his new social environment through a gradual participation in the cultural life of the Canadian community of other than his own nationality. (Chimbos, 1972a: 232)

This study of assimilation attempted to establish the level of social adaptation of Dutch, Greek, and Slovak immigrant groups within "Ontario City" (Chimbos, 1972a). The objective indices of this study included the degree of the respondent's intensity of social relations with the community, at work, in leisure-time activities, and in casual relationships. The second measure used attempted to determine the degree of the immigrant's participation in the existing Canadian voluntary associations.

Some researchers offer a very nominal definition of assimilation as simply an introduction of non-ethnic elements into an ethnic environment (Saloutos, 1973).

Others (Kayal, 1973) consider assimilation to have occurred

only after a new self-identity which is recognizable to the host society has emerged. In turn, the latter postulate that such a transformed identity occurs mainly as a consequence of the nature of the relationships of cultural minorities with their host society counterparts and with one another.

In recent years we have also seen the development of an all-encompassing assimilation model and classification system which related several main variables such as race, ethnic background, and rural-urban residence (Gordon, 1964). Gordon has suggested that as structural assimilation occurs (that is, as there is a large-scale entrance into the host society's primary groups), the other stages of assimilation will soon follow. These ensuing stages of assimilation would include cultural or behavioural assimilation (that is, change in cultural patterns to those of the host society), identificational, attitude receptional, and behaviour receptional assimilation, and lastly, civic assimilation.

Despite its classificatory utility, however, this model does not delineate clear-cut conceptual differences between stages; as for example, between structural vis-a-vis cultural assimilation. Furthermore, it does not specify whether cultural change is a form of cultural pluralism or if it is related to the process of cultural assimilation. This is at least partly due to the fact that this model does not adequately specify the types of universally

applicable assimilation indicators which would designate whether a loss or retention of ethnic characteristics took place over time. As a result, it is difficult to determine if such cultural loss or retention of ethnic characteristics is indicative of cultural change as such, or whether it has to do with the assimilation of a minority group.

Furthermore, although Gordon's theory makes an important contribution to the understanding of patterns of ethnic group affiliation, it tends to focus upon primary group (structural) assimilation and its relation to the other assimilation stages. It does not, however, adequately describe the extent of the economic and occupational absorption of ethnic minorities into the majority economic structure (Price in Jackson (ed.), 1969).

Current Approaches to Assimilation --- Ethnic Community
Concentration and Socio-Economic Status

The remainder of this chapter will attempt to systematically articulate some of the main issues currently debated in the study of immigrant assimilation. Because of the nature and scope of our analysis, particular emphasis will be placed upon previous studies which have dealt with the occupational mobility of immigrants and with the patterns of social and occupational assimilation which come about as a result of occupational mobility changes.

Assimilation has been shown to be affected by the number or concentration of immigrants in one locality. Studies have indicated that most of the ethnic groups in North America, such as the Irish, the Jews, and the southern Europeans, have exhibited a tendency towards less assimilation and social absorption as the number of immigrants within the group increases. Moreover, a large number, or at least a great concentration of immigrants, is conducive to a high level of "institutional completeness".

It seems that scholars ..., though they may not always agree on what happens when immigrant groups are small, are generally agreed that the process of assimilation is retarded when newcomers settle in one place in considerable numbers. (Price in Jackson (ed.), 1969: 188)

This proposition, however, has not escaped considerable qualification in recent years (Jones, 1956).

For example, it is not always necessary to have a large number of immigrants in order to develop various social organizations and thereby maintain the ethnic group's own cultural homogeneity. This may be found to be particularly true of immigrants of the Roman Catholic faith who feel comfortable with smaller institutions. Such groups, however, as the Orthodox Greeks, Moslem Pakistani, or East European Jews, whose culture prescribes large institutional structures (as for example, churches and schools) require a greater number and concentration of individuals in order to sustain them (Price in Jackson (ed.), 1969).

Furthermore, a number of scholars argue that the size of the newcomer group may be of marginal importance in a consideration of the assimilation process. They maintain that the attitudes of acceptance exhibited by the host community may be more important in promoting assimilation than the numbers, or the general concentration, of the ethnic group. Assimilation would thus be dependent upon the presence or lack of educational, social, or cultural opportunity within the host community. The latter may be more important in promoting assimilation than any other combination of demographic variables. This is particularly true of such multi-racial societies as Hawaii and Brazil (Rivett, 1962). It should be pointed out, however, that size, the visibility of the ethnic group, and their concentration in certain places and occupations,

does affect the attitudes of the host community and may result in fear, suspicion, and sometimes hostility towards the ethnic group, especially in times of economic crises.

Occupational Mobility and Ethnic Community Assimilation

As mentioned previously, current sociological approaches to assimilation tend to focus upon this concept in terms of broader sociological orientations such as stratification (Porter, 1965), role institutionalization (Eisenstadt, 1954), occupational standing (Blishen, 1970), or intergenerational occupational mobility of immigrants (Richmond, 1973). We cannot, of course, review the full state of development of sociological research in these fields but we will discuss a few areas of research which are relevant to this study of the occupational mobility of the Toronto Polish-born. The main emphasis will be upon reviewing studies which determine whether occupational mobility is affected by a number of structural variables such as age, education, or language fluency or whether it is largely a result of assimilation into the majority society.

The persistence of an ethnic community and the maintenance of its boundaries vis-a-vis the majority community need not necessarily be a result of the low socio-economic status of the minority ethnic group. Given the fact that in this multi-cultural society the assimilation of ethnic groups is not emphasized, then upward social or economic mobility need not necessarily be accompanied by an abandonment of ethnic community affiliation.

Although there is some evidence that socio-economic

determinants are characteristic of certain ethnic groups (Blishen, 1970; Porter, 1965), sociologists have developed conflicting suppositions with regard to how ethnicity (as an independent variable) affects occupational mobility. That is, no finalized, empirically-based conclusions have emerged as to whether minority-group assimilation has an impact on the socio-economic attainment of immigrants or whether such attainment is the result of other structural background variables such as education, rural or urban background, English language fluency, or occupational expertise.

On the one hand, occupational mobility, along with a number of other factors such as public education and the influence of mass media, has been found to be associated with a corresponding decomposition of ethnic intra-group relations and ethnic identity (Humphrey and Louis, 1973). This was, in fact, one of the basic assumptions of assimilation theory. In addition, other studies have indicated that social mobility and subsequent ethnic advancement tend to disrupt and further weaken ethnic social and community integration (Bean et al., 1973).

On the other hand, this argument is disputed by the mobilization theory of ethnic relations which suggests that there is a continuous, self-perpetuating psychological identification within the ethnic structure which may persist even over a number of generations. As a result, family

traditions, religious affiliations, ethnic preferences for voting, or occupational standing may persist even over generations which have already undergone changes in mother tongue or place of residence (Gordon, 1964).

A number of interesting techniques have been developed by sociologists in recent years in order to determine the influence of mechanisms which result in ethnic community persistence, or alternatively, its disappearance.

The following sections will further consider the relationship between economic status and ethnic community assimilation. This will include a discussion of institutional completeness and ethnic community maintenance, the determinants of ethnic occupational mobility, and the impact of non-ethnic factors on occupational standing.

The review will indicate that much of ethnic community maintenance, or conversely, ethnic group assimilation, is dependent upon the overall occupational penetration of the minority group into the economic structures of the host society. It is our position that the extent of the occupational assimilation of minority group members need not entirely be due to ethnic factors but instead to structural and market variables. This will be discussed in some detail in our analysis.

(i) Institutional Completeness and Ethnic Community Maintenance

In recent years, Canadian sociologists have expressed considerable interest in determining the relationship between economic status and the nature of ethnic community maintenance (or ethnic group assimilation). One approach (Breton, 1964) utilized the method of "institutional completeness" as a means of determining ethnic solidarity and therefore the persistence of the minority ethnic community. The extent to which a minority group develops its own social institutions indicates the extent to which it may be said to develop its own "ethnic" social interaction patterns. In this sense, therefore, institutional completeness designates the level of self-sufficiency of the ethnic community and to this extent acts as a barrier to the assimilation of this minority group into the majority society.

If the ethnic community to which the immigrant belongs determines to a certain degree the composition of his interpersonal network, it may also affect the rate at which he changes his personal associates, the kind of people he includes, and those he abandons from his personal relations. In this way, the ethnic community member's interpersonal network is determined by the emergence of negative and positive forces within the individual's ethnic community, the "receiving" host society, and the adjoining

ethnic communities. These forces are:

Generated by the social organization of ethnic communities and their capacity to attract and hold members within their social boundaries. Immigrant integration into their own ethnic community, supported by the institutional completeness of their group and other ethnic neighbors who have similar interests, would reinforce solidarity. (Driedger and Church, 1974: 31)

A more recent follow-up of Breton's thesis that residential segregation is central to the maintenance of ethnic solidarity is the study of six of Winnipeg's ethnic groups (Driedger and Church, 1974). They found strong evidence to support Breton's notion of institutional completeness. That is, they discovered a significant relationship between ethnic residential segregation and institutional completeness. Moreover, ethnic segregation, as evidenced by the ecological mobility of the Jews into Winnipeg's West Kildonan and River Heights districts, was found to be maintained by a numerically small ethnic group. As Driedger and Church state:

One task of this study is to see whether high ethnic residential segregation and ethnic institutional completeness are associated with each other. We were tempted to state the direction of the relationship by saying that ethnic segregation is a necessary condition of institutional completeness and hence of ethnic solidarity, or we suspected segregation independently affects solidarity but institutional completeness is a necessary condition of segregation. (Driedger and Church, 1974: 32)

Their findings indicate that when the numerical concentration of an ethnic group in a certain area is low,

then institutional completeness is more important to the maintenance of the community. For example, the small group of Jews who were ecologically mobile were able to maintain themselves as a group by establishing a new institutionally complete Jewish community and abandoning the old original North End community almost entirely. In contrast, the French Canadians in St. Boniface, who were greater in number and more highly concentrated, were found to be able to maintain their own ethnic community with fewer institutions. It should be noted that 70 per cent of St. Boniface was French while West Kildonan was only 25 per cent Jewish. They felt that the Jews could therefore be best described as either "community maintainers" or "ecological assimilators" since their upward social mobility was extended to inter-area mobility. In turn, this illustrates how mobility, be it social or economic, may be extended to promote ethnic community maintenance. Furthermore, these results would suggest that even a numerically small ethnic group may maintain its own separate community institutions given adequate social and economic resources.

However, institutional completeness is not always the most accurate means of determining the persistence or degree of solidarity of an ethnic community. This was the conclusion reached in a recent study on German and Italian Canadians in Toronto (Jansen and Paasché, 1970). These

authors argued that no such analysis should be made without a prior examination of the social and cultural background of these communities.

The influence of various factors such as, for example, regional differences in the country of origin, may adversely affect the ethnic community in Canada by fostering disunity within the group. The Germans in Toronto, for example, have developed a number of organizations which are based upon the region from which a given group of immigrants had originated. The Reichsdeutsche are Canadians who came from the German National States whereas the Volksdeutsche came from other nation states where the German-speaking populations constituted language minorities. In turn, this distinction has produced a subsequent cleavage within the German ethnic group which is reflected in their organizational and institutional development. Consequently, German Canadians and their incumbent organizations have become split along these very lines.

The regional differences have resulted in considerable disunity within this group. Its ethnic organizations very often serve different localized origin categories of individuals. In turn, this has led to considerable rivalry within the different strata of the group. Different institutions promote further disunity through the development of diverse goals and priorities and tend to attract and

cater to only a distinct class of individuals within the German community.

Some groups which could have operated under one roof and did at one time, no longer felt the association was good for their status. On the other hand, others felt that same organization was too sophisticated and not interested in "the working man", and a small regional organization was considered better. Finally, the most prominent organization came under attack because it did not fit the image of what the most prominent German-speaking organization should be like. It was upsetting to some that it should be so commercially oriented, that so many non-German-speakers participated, that it didn't take wider responsibility for German immigrants, and that it wasn't more culturally oriented. (Jansen and Paasché in Mann (ed.), 1970: 195)

Similarly, although Toronto's Italian community has a conspicuous institutional ethnic structure, this has had little impact in bringing about the solidarity of this ethnic group. In fact many Italians believed that:

they had no real leaders or persons who could represent them as a whole in their dealings with other groups. Few leaders had any respect or confidence in other leaders, and they tended to emphasize differences rather than similarities. Different subgroups tended to be following separate courses and emphasized rivalries rather than making a concerted effort to help new immigrants. Many social clubs were based on the village of origin of the immigrant. (Jansen and Paasché in Mann (ed.), 1970: 195)

The Italians, however, have a highly developed kin network which greatly compensates for this lack of ethnic solidarity (Ziegler, 1972). As a result, an analysis of the factors which bring about either the cultural pluralism or the

societal assimilation of the Italian ethnic group would have to consider the importance of the influence of the Italian family in order to adequately account for that which affects the ethnic solidarity of this cultural minority.

These findings would furthermore suggest that the "institutional completeness" model does not offer an universally fruitful framework with which to examine the organizational and institutional structures of all ethnic communities. As we have indicated, despite the fact that both the Germans and Italians have their own ethnic institutions such as churches, newspapers, and business establishments, these services are not used to full advantage by their respective community members. Instead, these institutions

are "available" to people of Italian and German ethnic origin only in the eyes of the outsiders who have not realized that the various institutions cater to a selective clientele within the ethnic groups and are thus not available to all members of the Italian or German ethnic groups. (Jansen and Paasché in Mann (ed.), 1970: 196)

In short, the Germans and the Italians in Toronto do not maintain community institutional structures in the strict sense of the word since their community is patronized only by a certain fragment of the members of the German or Italian ethnic groups living in Toronto. This suggests that it is not very useful to think of ethnic solidarity

in terms of the extent of the "institutional completeness" of ethnic communities such as these. The findings of this study have important implications for ethnic community research.

That two such different populations as the Germans and the Italians in Metropolitan Toronto should be so similar with respect to their disunity is remarkable and should prompt a more realistic appraisal of ethnic social life and the consequences for urban studies and for policy makers in public and private agencies. (Jansen and Paasché in Mann (ed.), 1970: 196)

Thus, these findings would suggest that instead of focusing on ethnic "institutional completeness" and its relationship to ethnic community solidarity and maintenance, more attention should first of all be given to examining other components of ethnic community life such as its economic, organizational, and social spheres.

(ii) Patterns of Ethnic Occupational Mobility and its Determinants

Much of the literature concerning immigrant assimilation has focused upon the occupational mobility which has characterized the various immigrant groups. Many sociologists have in fact argued that the extent of ethnic minority assimilation is dependent upon the degree of the group's occupational penetration into the societal economic structure. In turn, much of the research on the occupational attainment of various ethnic groups was directed at determining the factors which promote or hinder the occupational mobility of immigrants since their arrival in North America.

The patterns of occupational mobility characteristic of incoming migrants have been the focus of great interest by sociologists who, for some time now, have looked at the more prominent social processes underlying this phenomenon. As Blau and Duncan (1967) estimate, in our present post-industrial society, over three-fifths of adult males live in places other than their place of birth which would imply that migration is not an uncommon occurrence. Others (Zimmer, 1973) estimate this figure to be between one-half and two-thirds.

Generally, it was found that occupational mobility goes in cycles: as migrants of the same class move into certain occupations, the native urbanites from a similar

class background move up in the occupational structure to better jobs (Lipset and Bendix, 1968). Thus urban migration is perhaps one of the most important sources and components of urban social mobility and perpetual change.

Recurrent themes central to the issue of the occupational mobility of immigrants have reappeared consistently in sociological literature. Despite the fact that no one approach has been used, there are a number of variables which have been found to be instrumental in affecting occupational mobility. These include factors such as occupation, living standards, educational levels, English language fluency, information about the new environment, social contact with members of the host population, and cultural differences.

It is a widely documented fact that the various immigrant groups coming to North America exhibit dissimilar mobility patterns. For example, the Greeks and the Jews have moved into middle-class occupations much faster than other migrant groups. On the other hand, ethnic groups with Roman Catholic affiliation have advanced at a slower rate than their non-Catholic counterparts. This may be accounted for by the fact that the Jews came to America with occupational skills that were better suited to their urban environment. Moreover, the ability of these more mobile groups to organize themselves has resulted in their being able to better promote their occupational advancement.

This is in marked contrast to the experiences of some of the rural migrants who did not have cultural values that stressed achievement and success which were so necessary for advancement in urban American society (Rosen, 1959). Thus, partly as a result of the fact that different ethnic groups have differing orientations towards achievement, they have correspondingly different social mobility rates.

The incoming migrant has several obstacles to cope with upon entering the occupational environment of this country. Primary handicaps are associated with a lack of knowledge of English and of the bureaucratic procedures within the occupational structure, and with an inadequate knowledge of the availability of job opportunities. Moreover, very often the qualifications, training, and experience of the immigrant are not only inadequate for immediate job placement, but also are often not adequately appreciated by the host employers.

In addition, a large number of white-collar professional and skilled trade occupations require that the migrant pass formal examination before being allowed to practice in Canada. This is particularly the case with the professions and unionized labour which require that most of its members have Canadian work experience before undergoing certification.

Furthermore, economic opportunities are more likely to be available to those who are best able to compete for

them. Some of the factors involved in being able to qualify for occupational positions include age, education, patterns of settlement, time of arrival, ethnic values, the incidence of discrimination and exploitation, and problems created by language barriers (Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Book IV, 1969: 41).

It is important to note that the extent to which minority ethnic groups advance occupationally may also have an effect on the nature of minority group segregation. Scholars have argued that any two different ethnic groups with dissimilar cultures tend to erect barriers on both sides of the respective ethnic communities. Furthermore, the greater the inequality between the two groups, the stronger the barriers between the communities. In this way, socio-economic disparity between ethnic groups acts as a hindrance to assimilation. It may, moreover, further "crystallize" itself in the form of ethnic residential segregation. It has been suggested that a negative relationship exists between segregation, on the one hand, and assimilation, on the other (Lieberson, 1963). Lieberson argues that there exists an association between the residential patterns of the ethnic group and the ability of its members to speak English, the citizenship of the members of the group, and also the degree of its segregation from other immigrant groups. This study of ten immigrant groups in Chicago between 1930 and 1950 indicated that there

was in fact a considerable correlation between variations in residential segregation and these attributes of assimilation. Moreover, further variation was found between the group's residential segregation and its corresponding socio-economic status.

Similarly, a Toronto study carried out by Darroch and Marston (1969) attempted to determine the pattern of ethnic residential segregation as it is affected by several multidimensional variables. These include immigrant status (upon entry into Canada), religion of migrant, country of origin, mother tongue, and birthplace.

Utilizing an urban-ecological approach, they attempted to determine the degree to which "there is an actual (i.e. empirical) support for the method of SAA (Social Area Analysis)" (Darroch and Marston, 1969). More specifically, they attempted to delineate the degree to which three basic dimensions (constructs) of social area analysis, that is, life-style, socio-economic status, and ethnic status, account for the pattern of differential ethnic urban development in societies of different scale. The results of their study have, for the most part, supported the SAA method and the use of multidimensional variables for the study of ethnic residential segregation. Their results indicate that:

Each characteristic generates both a significant degree and a socially meaningful pattern of residential segregation. Furthermore, evidence

was presented regarding the interrelationships of selected ethnic variables which initially supports the validity of conceiving ethnic status along more than one dimension. (Darroch and Marston, 1969: 92)

Utilizing a similar ecological perspective, Marston (1969) has attempted to determine the extent and pattern of residential segregation with respect to the occupational and income differences of specific ethnic groups in Toronto. He found that the extent of the social class segregation within these ethnic groups was approximately as high as that of Negro communities within large American cities. The income of the ethnic group members was found to be one of the major factors which determined the residential pattern of the group.

Furthermore, there was a high degree of association between income and occupation which, in turn, brought about residential segregation, irregardless of the individual's ethnicity. Thus, because white-collar workers usually earned relatively higher incomes than working-class individuals, they tended to reside in the more desirable residential areas of the city. These segregation patterns within each community were found to be consistent with the distance model (concentric zone theory) of urban growth.

One of the major questions which Marston tried to answer was the extent to which the degree of ethnic residential segregation is affected by socio-economic factors.

A social class model of ethnic segregation

assumes the existence of social class segregation within ethnic groups. More generally according to this model, segregation of any ethnic group is basically a function of its socioeconomic position. The amount of reduction in segregation, for example, is dependent upon the extent to which that group's representation in the socioeconomic structure approaches that of the native or majority population. As members of the ethnic group advance socioeconomically they tend to locate in neighbourhoods in which the members of the native population and other groups of the same socioeconomic status reside. (Marston, 1969: 66)

Thus it might be quite reasonable to assume that it is economic rather than ethnic factors which are the chief components of ethnic residential growth patterns. In turn, this suggests that the extent of the occupational attainment of an ethnic group and the persistence of the ethnic community are determined by the extent of the minority group's penetration into the economic structures of the majority society. Occupational mobility, therefore, is an important determinant of ethnic community maintenance.

(iii) The Impact of Non-Ethnic Factors on Ethnic Occupational Mobility

Our literature review has indicated that immigrant occupational mobility varies considerably according to a number of important variables. A study of migration, mobility, and occupational achievement in Santiago de Chile, one of Latin America's larger cities (Raczynski, 1972) demonstrated that although migrants generally undergo as much occupational mobility as non-migrants, they also tend to experience more downward mobility. The newcomers' upward mobility was found to be hampered by a number of variables: occupational inheritance (that is, similarity of occupation to that of the migrant's father), a propensity for the migrants to move down in occupational status while at the same time experiencing barriers to occupational status advancement, and lastly changes in the occupational structure of Santiago which resulted in greater downward mobility (the impact of which was found to be more disruptive to migrants than to non-migrants).

In short, migrants on the whole experienced more disadvantages to mobility than the non-migrants. Such disadvantages were found to be affected by such social determinants as social origin (that is, rural or urban background), early job, and community of birth (Raczynski, 1972). Characteristically, migrants were found to be less occupationally mobile than any of the non-migrants in a

similar socio-economic status. More specifically, newcomers in a lower educational level, and those who initially had had a low status job, generally did not do as well occupationally as the non-migrants. However, the newcomers with high education and a high level early job (entrance status occupation) did as well occupationally and sometimes even better than the local individuals. In short, it was at the lower job levels that the migrants suffered the most in terms of occupational mobility.

Other studies have suggested that there are a number of other factors which have been found to accompany the occupational mobility of migrants. Zimmer (1973), for example, found that on the whole there was a general upgrading of the occupational status of those migrants who had moved into an urban area. He found that maximum occupational mobility took place within the top occupational categories, followed by workers at the semi-skilled level. Furthermore, migrants were about twice as likely as non-migrants to attain a professional position status which suggests that migrants were therefore an important source of white-collar recruitment (Zimmer, 1973). In addition, although the migrants were underrepresented in the clerical, sales, and craftsman categories, they were represented as proportionately as the non-migrants in the semi-skilled job category.

In another ethnic mobility study (Beattie and

Spencer, 1971), other factors were found to have a bearing upon personnel advancement within Canadian bureaucracy. It was found, for example, that age, seniority, and education were among the chief determinants of advancement within a Canadian federal administration structure. However, the relationships between these factors and advancement were much stronger for the Anglophone than for their Francophone counterparts which perhaps indicates that career discrimination may also play some part in accounting for differentials in salary.

Elsewhere (Cuneo and Curtis, 1975) such background variables as ethnicity, family size, education, age, and sex were found to have some effect upon occupational mobility patterns. This comparative study was conducted on the nature of social ascription and the way in which it is affected by such factors as family background, language, and gender since all of these combine to produce a differential educational and occupational status attainment for each individual.

Punyodyana (1971) demonstrated that different occupational situations bring about different speeds of social and cultural assimilation. It was found that the more indigenous the work situation, the faster the rate of assimilation of the migrant. He suggested, furthermore, that if various adult members of an ethnic minority are socialized by means of different interaction patterns

characterizing the host society then "in spite of their similar childhood socialization [they will] differ in their behavior and attitude toward social assimilation" (Punyodyana, 1971: 233). As a result, the more contact there is with the non-ethnic, indigenous milieu, the more likely it is that these individuals will become assimilated. In turn, the greater the extent and degree of cultural assimilation (culminating in naturalization), the greater the degree of occupational mobility.

This assumption was supported elsewhere with the finding that the greater the degree of primary group relationships with Canadians, the correspondingly greater the individual's acculturation into the Canadian culture and way of life (Chimbos, 1972b). Furthermore, acculturation may be accompanied by upward occupational mobility.

Educational attainment within the context of the host society was found to also affect the speed of social assimilation (Punyodyana, 1971). It was generally found that the higher the educational level, the faster the assimilation. For example, this was the case with the more educated Chinese non-governmental employees who, despite having undergone homogeneous child-socializing experiences, were assimilating at a faster rate than their less educated counterparts.

In a recent study (Richmond, 1967), evidence was found to support the hypothesis that migration is accompanied

by some degree of occupational status dislocation. If upward social mobility does occur, there results a corresponding increase in the probability of permanent settlement and naturalization. In a later Toronto study (1974), Richmond's findings indicated that those migrants who experienced upward mobility were also more likely to define themselves as Canadian or at least as a "hyphenated Canadian". In addition, those individuals who experienced such upward status dislocation, did so mainly by widening their perspective towards the Canadian community and at the same time lessening their ties with their own ethnic community (Richmond, 1974: 194). These findings support the position stated earlier that occupational mobility is affected by or at least related to immigrant assimilation.

Other research, however, has indicated that occupational mobility has little to do with the social or cultural integration of a minority ethnic group into the majority society. A Canadian study (Chimbo, 1972b) in one of Ontario's more prominent urban centres focused upon factors which brought about the occupational mobility of Greek and Slovak immigrants. The majority of his sample, seventy per cent of the Greeks and eighty per cent of the Slovaks, came from agricultural regions in their former countries. Differences in length of stay were considerable since eighty per cent of the Slovaks had been in Canada for over thirty years while only eleven per cent of the

Greeks had resided in Canada for this length of time. Chimbos found, however, that despite their long stay in this country, the overall low educational attainment of the Slovak immigrants generally proved to be an almost insurmountable barrier to higher professional or management positions.

Perhaps the most important finding of this study is that the greater degree of occupational mobility achieved by the Greeks did not necessarily mean a correspondingly greater integration into Canadian culture and society. On the contrary, the Slovaks were more socially integrated than the Greeks. Furthermore, the upwardly mobile Greek and Slovak individuals seemed unfamiliar with many of the manners, values, and attitudes of Canadian middle class. This, Chimbos felt, was a result of their predominantly rural background. In this way, educational standing and social background played a more important part in determining occupational mobility than their assimilation.

Lanphier and Morris (1974) have done a follow-up to the study conducted for the Royal Commission (Raynauld et al., 1967). A comparison of their data with that of Raynauld et al. shows a general trend towards the levelling off of the income differences between the Anglophones and Francophones. However, despite the fact that the incomes of these two groups tend towards similar levels (when controlling for particular structural variables such as

age, education, and occupation), the lower-skilled Francophone occupations show disproportionately lower incomes than their Anglophone counterparts. As one possible explanation, it was suggested that lower income at the lower occupational levels may be related to "discrimination". This comparison of the two sets of data revealed a major difference in the relationship of occupation to income. Lanphier and Morris state that:

While the relationship of education to income showed little significant change from one study to the other, that of occupation to income was quite different. Among those aged 25 to 44, in particular, its direction was reversed in the more recent study. The 1961 census data of RMB showed discrimination to be most pronounced among the highest paid occupations; the advantage of being British was disproportionately higher for managerial, professional, and sales workers. In 1968 the reverse appeared to be true, the differential was smaller in the more highly paid occupations. There were signs of a corresponding reversal from 1961 to 1968 among those aged 45 to 64, but they were considerably weaker. (Lanphier and Morris, 1974: 64)

The mobility of individuals into higher salaried occupations may be additionally hampered by the presence of other socially induced barriers. Research done by the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (Raynauld et al., 1967) indicated that differences in income between ethnic groups could be accounted for by the consideration of their differential access to education and occupation. By controlling for these variables, it was shown that the

influence of ethnicity was merely of secondary importance. In the Metropolitan Montreal area, for example, nearly half of the difference in incomes between those of the French and English ethnic groups could be accounted for by holding constant such "structural and market" variables as education, age, occupation, and industry (Lanphier and Morris, 1974: 53).

Although much has been written in recent years about the differing occupational attainment of the various ethnic groups entering this continent, a study by Duncan and Duncan (1968) on ethnic minorities and the process of stratification indicated that a "melting pot" phenomenon has taken place in America whereby national origin or ethnic classifications are of little importance in explaining variance in education and occupation. They found that once corrections were made with respect to the starting point, in terms of social and educational attainment, the occupational achievement differs very little from one ethnic group to another. This work, therefore, tends to dispute the notion that ethnicity is a valuable determinant of occupational attainment and suggests more emphasis should be placed on structural and market variables in order to account for the differential mobility patterns of various ethnic groups.

In summary, as the literature review has suggested, sociologists do not agree on the variables which are responsible for the occupational attainment of immigrants.

Given this lack of sociological consensus, two possible kinds of variables may be used to explain the occupational penetration of minority groups --- ethnic or structural and market variables.

On the one hand, it has been found that occupational mobility is achieved by severing all ties and affiliation with one's own ethnic group and thereby assimilating into the majority society. On the other hand, a number of scholars argue that the occupational mobility of ethnic minorities may be accounted for by the influence of structural and market variables. As a result, one's ethnicity would be of secondary importance in accounting for an individual's occupational attainment.

Our task is to establish the extent to which the latter, that is, structural and market variables, are responsible for the extent of occupational penetration by the Toronto Polish-born into the societal economic structure. By so doing, we hope to determine the extent to which equality of occupational status, that is, occupational assimilation, of these immigrants is due to non-ethnic variables.

Summary

Assimilation, be it occupational, cultural, social, or economic, has always been the focus of sociological interest. The early American works on assimilation which were carried out by social scientists during the pre World War II era were characterized by a multitude of approaches to the study of the phenomena of culture contacts.

These studies have often made the concept of assimilation synonymous with Americanization. This was quite consistent with the development of the "melting pot" ideology which placed great emphasis upon the development of an American ethnicity. Assimilation, as it was used in the early American studies, was differentiated from accomodation, acculturation, and amalgamation (biological fusion). It is apparent, therefore, that much of the theoretical difficulty inherent in assimilation research had its roots in the earliest stages of the development of this concept.

The most important early theoretical contribution on the nature of minority and majority group relations emerged out of the Chicago School in the form of the Race Relations Cycle. Although the "cycle" resulted in much fruitful discussion about the process of minority groups, its inherent difficulties resulted in its eventual abandonment. The inadequacy of the pre-war assimilation research resulted

in the formulation of new basic principles with respect to the study of assimilation.

Currently, the concept of assimilation is still characterized by considerable confusion and obscurity. This becomes evident from a consideration of its current usage which reveals problems in the conceptualization of uneven assimilation, the lack of clear-cut guidelines to distinguish between assimilation and culture change, and inconsistent usage. In addition, the varied approaches and models presently being utilized have further complicated the selection of indicators with which to assess the relationship between the host society and the minority ethnic group.

As a result of this confusion, much of the current debate on the extent of the assimilation of minority groups focuses upon this phenomenon in terms of the economic and occupational adjustment that the ethnic group makes vis-a-vis the host society, rather than assimilation as such.

Moreover, many of the institutionally complete ethnic communities are internally divided by such factors as different regions of origin in the mother country, occupational and class differences, educational inequality, or residential segregation. Some ethnic communities tend to erect barriers between themselves and the host community, often because of the socio-economic disparity existing between the two. Thus, this pattern of adjustment is

greatly dependent upon the extent of occupational assimilation which characterizes the minority group. The occupational attainment of the ethnic group members determines to a great degree the relationship between the minority and majority communities.

However, as the literature review has indicated, sociologists do not agree on the extent to which ethnic factors affect the nature of the occupational mobility of minority group individuals. On the one hand, evidence has been found to indicate that different ethnic groups advance occupationally at different rates. However, on the other hand, it has been demonstrated that by controlling for education, age, and social background, a "melting pot" phenomena occurs and ethnicity loses its explanatory value in accounting for the occupational mobility of the newcomers. It is this latter assumption which will be utilized in this work in order to determine the occupational patterns of the Toronto Polish-born.

Furthermore, it should be noted that occupational mobility, as viewed in the context of occupational attainment, is one of the most important indicators of occupational assimilation. It reveals whether equality of occupational status exists and whether it is possible for the newcomer to advance upward out of the lower entrance status occupation. In short, occupational mobility requires equality of occupational status (which is what is designated

by occupational assimilation).

Our task in the remainder of this work is to determine the influence of structural and market variables upon the occupational attainment of Toronto's Polish-born population. This, in turn, will provide some indication of the extent of the occupational assimilation of these individuals.

CHAPTER II

Introduction

In this section we shall attempt to formulate a theoretical framework within the context of which the remainder of this work will develop. This will first necessitate a review of selected theoretical concepts and principles developed in the study of immigrant assimilation in the post-war era. Subsequently, we will consider some of the inherent theoretical difficulties associated with the operationalization of the concept of assimilation. In addition, we will briefly examine the assimilation model and its component spheres. It is within this context that this analysis will be carried out. Finally, we will discuss the way in which occupational mobility, which is linked to much of societal functioning, is indicative of the occupational assimilation of ethnic individuals. This discussion will provide a means of relating the empirical findings to the theoretical aspects of this study.

The post-war era has been characterized by considerable changes in the approach to the study of immigrant assimilation.

Many of the theories that were substantiated by research carried out in the inter-war period are no longer valid. Concepts such as "assimilation" which seemed to be appropriate in the analysis of these earlier migrations,

now prove to be oversimplified and anachronistic in the conditions prevailing today on both sides of the Atlantic, i.e. societies entering the "post industrial" stage of development. (Richmond in Jackson (ed.), 1969: 238)

The large number of pre-war assimilation and acculturation studies were mostly in response to the influx of Negro and European migrants who flocked into North American cities in great numbers at that time. However, despite the fact that many of the findings of these studies were empirically substantiated in the inter-war period studies, they can no longer be confidently applied to the present day.

One of the reasons why the early work on the acculturation and assimilation of immigrants came under such criticism in the late forties was that the type of international migration which had taken place after the Second World War clearly posed unique adaptative situations not only for the migrant but for the host community as well. This was mainly because of the fact that the adaptative situations of immigrants within modern post-industrial society had undergone a series of profound transformations. As a result, the bulk of the theoretical concepts relating to the social adaptation or assimilation of immigrants of the pre-Second World War era are not applicable to the present-day situation. International migration differs from that in previous years in the following ways:

- a) It is smaller in scale and politically supervised --- as opposed to a previously unfettered, laissez-faire, open-door immigration policy.
- b) The considerations by means of which immigration policy is determined are planned in terms of long range occupational and labour needs that are consistent with the current economic policy.
- c) The present migration is primarily inter-urban rather than (as was the case in the earlier part of this century) rural-urban. Moreover, it is in addition very much occupationally and educationally highly selective.
(Richmond in Jackson (ed.), 1969: 238)

Because of these and other factors many of the early assimilation studies are not relevant given the nature of present-day assimilation. In order to overcome this situation sociological approaches to assimilation were reformulated in the post-war era so that they would be more compatible with this "post-industrial" phase of societal development.

Assimilation --- Some Conceptual Difficulties

Despite the fact that the issue of assimilation is currently the subject of considerable debate and interest in Canadian sociology, it still requires clarification and conceptual refinement. The main difficulty which sociologists face in considering the assimilation of minority group members stems from the operationalization of this concept, that is, the selection of universal indicators. In turn, this problem has prevented the conceptualization and understanding of uneven assimilation between ethnic groups. As a result, a number of assimilation studies are characterized by serious conceptual difficulties which have not as yet been overcome.

In considering how assimilation comes about, how it is affected by a number of socio-cultural factors, not only were sociologists forced to make an initial selection of the most important variables involved, but also were faced with having to determine whether they were of temporary or permanent importance, and how they varied from one ethnic group to another. Moreover, some variables affecting assimilation such as age distribution or the ethnic group's level of institutional completeness, even though of immediate importance, may be expected to change in the future. Other variables such as religious preference, family size, or class levels tend to last almost indefinitely. Glazer and Moynihan (1970), for example, found that Italian

and Irish occupational patterns in New York City are still distinct and relatively unchanged even after decades of settlement. In other instances, however, such ethnic occupational patterns have disappeared completely after a few years. In short, the importance and duration of cultural factors vary with each ethnic group under study and consequently the formulation of an all-embracing theoretical model is difficult and perhaps improbable.

This difficulty, in turn, hampers the development of basic assumptions concerning assimilation. One of the most serious consequences of this is that it complicates and even prohibits comparative studies of the degree of assimilation achieved by various ethnic groups. As a result, uneven assimilation of ethnic groups cannot be adequately conceptualized. In most cases, studies of ethnic group assimilation view this process in terms of such variables as occupational integration, institutional completeness, religion, or ethnic allegiance. Usually the common implicit assumption is that the greater the differences between the ethnic group and the dominant society the less "assimilated" is the ethnic group.

In fact, some scholars maintain that uneven assimilation differences of immigrant groups are best documented by simply listing the differences between them (Dieulefait in Glass (ed.), 1950). Such straightforward classification, however, omits various stages of the

assimilation process of migrant groups. As a result, valuable information about factors which bear upon the assimilation process of an ethnic group are ignored. More importantly, the determination of the degree of "non-assimilation" by such a listing of differences does not take into account the fact that groups or even individual group members may differ from each other in the same cultural setting. Such differences may merely be indicative of a particular phase of normal ongoing societal development.

Such underlying assumptions are present in the work of a number of writers. Lieberman, for example, while making such assumptions for "operational" purposes, admits that there are analytical difficulties and that there is "a somewhat awkward implication if carried to its logical conclusion; to wit all differences between ethnic populations and the native-white population indicate lack of assimilation" (Lieberman, 1963: 7). The injudicious emphasis upon all differences between ethnic groups, especially upon that aspect of culture change which occurs within any homogeneous culture, may misconstrue culture change to be a sign of lack of assimilation.

The difficulty of distinguishing between assimilation and culture change is increased by the fact that the usage of the very term "assimilation" is, in itself, inconsistent and thus does not allow for meaningful comparisons either

within or between ethnic groups. For example, it is difficult to determine whether a group which has acquired the language, dress, and educational values but not the religious or political outlook of the host society is more assimilated than a group which has acquired the religious or political outlook of the dominant group but not the language, dress, or educational values. In short, if "uneven" assimilation takes place, it is not possible to adequately compare the assimilation processes of different ethnic groups. As a result, it is theoretically impossible to describe one part of an ethnic group as more assimilated than another. Thus, as certain ethnic group members gradually come to adopt new styles of living, new speech patterns, or alternate cultural mores which differ from those of the majority group members, are they becoming "unassimilated" or are they simply "evolving" culturally? It is this question which current assimilation models fail to answer.

Perhaps one means of overcoming this difficulty in determining the speed and phase of assimilation of one ethnic group vis-a-vis another is by means of investigating a number of groups in different cities over time (Lieberson, 1963). This does not solve the problem of "uneven" assimilation but does provide an alternative perspective for the study of ethnic societal penetration.

Current Sociological Approaches and Principles of Assimilation

The early sociological and anthropological acculturation studies prior to 1953 were, for the most part, straightforward descriptions of migrant and host community culture contacts. In that sense, they were listings of factors which affected the process of acculturation but despite their large numbers, they were neither theoretical nor comparative and hence were not cumulative in nature (Beals, 1953). Within the last two decades there has been somewhat of a shift in the orientation towards, and the study of, the problem of assimilation. It is presently considered in terms of several interconnected factors (Peterson and Scheff, 1965).

The study of this phenomenon has also been made easier by major breakthroughs in sociological analysis. This has included the development of a plethora of statistical techniques since World War I which have made available more precise and sophisticated tools for sociological research. More importantly, this has resulted in the development of a qualitatively different, more comprehensive approach to the question of immigrant assimilation. Thus:

By using a barely explored mine of past and present data about immigrants and their children, we can now gain a more comprehensive understanding of the status and process of ethnic assimilation than was possible in the earlier case studies of individual ethnic groups. (Lieberson, 1963: 2)

Although in the present day, studies of a purely descriptive nature are still being carried out, the majority of studies are based upon theoretical and analytical assumptions (Cancian, 1960). The present trend in sociology emphasizes the use of sophisticated mathematical models. These have been utilized in an attempt to determine under which conditions certain relationships will hold (especially when controlling for some other factor as, for example, length of stay in the host community or job satisfaction) (Blalock, 1960; Goldlust and Richmond, 1974). There continue to persist, however, some traditional disagreements as to whether equilibrium models provide useful insight into the phenomena of acculturation and assimilation. On the one hand, acculturation was regarded as a social event in itself (Vogt, 1951), rather than as a deviation from some sort of state of equilibrium. Elsewhere, however, an alternative model (Cancian, 1960) utilized functional analysis as a form of moving equilibrium in order to focus upon inter-ethnic contacts.

Nevertheless, despite these disagreements as to the most optimal theoretical framework for the study of assimilation, certain general principles have been formulated. These principles provide empirical guidelines for a study of the assimilation process.

First it should refer to both the individual immigrants and the ethnic groups of which so many are members; i.e. it must cover the

assimilation of migrants as persons and the often much slower assimilation of those ethnic groups in which some migrants may pass their whole life but through which more mobile persons may move quite rapidly.

Second it should refer both to the immigrant or minority people and to the individuals and groups of the host or receiving society.

Third it should have an extended time-range; i.e. it should cover both the difficulties of adjustment in the first few years of settlement and the long term problems of the second and third generations.

Fourth it should be dynamic; i.e. it should not only describe the various stages or phases of assimilation but should explain the way in which one stage passes into the next.

Fifth it should be sufficiently general to cover numerous local situations and groups. ... But it should not be so generalized, as happened in some of the general statements produced in the United States, that it loses its power to order and explain the detail complexities of each situation. (Price in Jackson, (ed.), 1969: 192)

At this point it is necessary that we discuss the basic theoretical assumptions of our analysis. Of particular importance is the consideration of the assimilation model and its component spheres for this will provide the framework for our data analysis.

The Assimilation Model: A Definition of Terms

It is important to note that our analysis will not deal with the assimilation model in its entirety but will instead concentrate upon secondary assimilation with the primary focus upon the occupational mobility of Polish immigrants living in Toronto. However, in order to provide focus and direction to this analysis we shall initially briefly review the entire assimilation model. This was felt to be necessary since in a subsequent chapter we will go on to provide an empirical analysis of the nature of the occupational mobility process with occasional reference being made to other spheres of assimilation.

Assimilation, for the purpose of this study, will be defined as the process of penetration by an individual or a minority group of individuals into the social institutions of an ethnic group to which the minority group member did not originally belong (Hughes and Kallen, 1974). The process of assimilation involves the major public institutions of the majority ethnic group. An analysis of assimilation must take into account the host society's economic, educational, legal, political, and cultural institutions and the extent to which these have been penetrated by the minority group member. Moreover, assimilation takes place not only in the context of such public institutions but on a private level as well, within

the context of informal relationships with the majority ethnic group. Assimilation in the public sector, however, may be equated with structural integration (see Hughes and Kallen, 1974: 151) and must be distinguished from acculturation or cultural integration.

In short, the concept of assimilation will be used for our purpose to

refer to the process by which one becomes a recognized member of any (or all) of the social institutions of an ethnic group other than one's own. Within the context of majority-minority relations, it is the process whereby the minority ethnic group member gains entrance into, that is, membership in, the social institutions of the majority society (public sphere) and the majority ethnic group (private sphere). (Hughes and Kallen, 1974: 152)

These do not necessarily follow in any causal order as some spheres may have fewer restrictions than others and therefore may be more easily accessible to migrants.

In accordance with the work of Hughes and Kallen (1974), the process of assimilation may be subdivided into three major spheres. A discussion of these follows.

(i) Secondary Assimilation

Secondary assimilation generally refers to the process whereby ethnic minorities enter the formal public economic, legal, and educational institutions of the majority society. Not only does this encompass the nature of ethnic participation in the organizational life of the majority society, but it is also determined by the position of

the minority ethnic group within the stratification system of the host society, that is, within the legal, educational, political, and occupational structures. More specifically, the degree of secondary assimilation is determined by the amount of societal power and rewards available to the minority ethnic group.

As indicated previously, one of the most crucial determinants of secondary assimilation is the occupational standing of minority group individuals. It is this, that is, the occupational standing and occupational mobility of Polish-born immigrants that will be the main focus of this analysis. It is felt that an understanding of this aspect of secondary assimilation will contribute to our knowledge of the nature of the entire assimilation process.

(ii) Primary Assimilation

This sphere of assimilation refers to the entrance of ethnic minority group members into the private informal networks, into social clubs and social relationships with majority group members. From a sociological perspective, the focus of interest here is upon the qualitative nature of primary group relations, the types of acculturation patterns, the private lives of the ethnic group members and the way in which these relate to those of the majority society members. This sphere of assimilation, therefore, goes beyond formal public relations to encompass the intimate, private world of the minority vis-a-vis

majority group members.

Primary assimilation, it is important to point out, is in turn dependent upon two other additional types of integration --- namely, stereotypical integration and identificational integration (Hughes and Kallen, 1974).

Stereotypical integration denotes the degree to which prejudice and discrimination exist within the social and cultural relationships characterizing the different ethnic groups. The greater the stereotypical integration the greater the degree of mutual communication between ethnic groups. This is usually accompanied by a corresponding lessening of social distance, which in turn, positively affects social interaction between the minority and majority groups. More specifically, the majority group tacitly accepts the "other" ethnic group members as equals and this may promote or at least permit inter-group interaction in other than ethnic stereotypical terms. The extent to which this is the case with any particular ethnic group may be determined by looking at the number and quality of inter-group social relationships. Thus:

Viewed in the context of majority-minority relations the degree of stereotypical integration of ethnic minorities can be measured in terms of the extent to which social relationships between majority and minority ethnic categories are characterized by prejudice, discrimination and the employment of ethnic stereotypes. (Hughes and Kallen, 1974: 154)

A reference group is that group whose social rank,

cultural perspective, or level of social achievement is used to evaluate and rank all other social groups. If the minority ethnic individual's reference group is not his own then identificational integration, the second sub-component of primary assimilation, has taken place. This process of identificational integration comes about over time as the members of a minority group become more involved with the public and formal institutions of the host society. However, it is also dependent upon the qualitative nature of the ethnic group community life maintained by the minority group.

Moreover, it is important to note that primary assimilation is further dependent upon not only the extent to which the minority group has acquired interactive skills but also upon the degree of its acceptance by the majority ethnic group. As a result, secondary assimilation may take place at a much faster pace than primary assimilation. One explanation given for this is the fact that acceptance into the private ranks of the majority group may be ascribed a priori on the basis of one's ethnicity rather than on the basis of one's achieved social status or economic penetration. Thus, secondary assimilation, that is, entrance into majority group society on a public level, is not necessarily accompanied by entrance into primary relationships since the latter presupposes a high degree of stereotypical integration and acculturation.

(iii) Marital Assimilation

Marital assimilation or amalgamation is the last sphere of the assimilation process insofar as it refers to marriage with a person of the majority group. This may be considered as the final step leading to complete absorption with the majority ethnic group (Hughes and Kallen, 1974).

Before going on to discuss occupational mobility (as an indicator of occupational assimilation), it is necessary that we first consider the relationship between occupational mobility and ethnic affiliation. Although sociologists have argued that ethnic affiliation exerts a considerable influence upon the occupational status of ethnic individuals, it is our position that ethnicity is of secondary importance in accounting for occupational attainment. We will return to this issue later in our analysis where we hope to demonstrate that non-ethnic factors, that is, structural and market variables, are of primary importance in bringing about the occupational assimilation of the Toronto Polish-born.

Occupational Mobility and Ethnic Affiliation

An occupationally mobile individual is a person who is moving through a social structure. Social structure is generally used to describe the nature and type of regularized interaction of individuals with other persons (Smelser and Lipset, 1966: 2). Construed in this way, the social and occupational movement of immigrants and all other minority group individuals is largely a function of the wider economic and organizational societal structure and its rate of development. Thus:

social mobility may be viewed as a consequence of the organizing principles involved, the capacity of the society to maintain such organizing principles, and their effectiveness in achieving the ends for the society. Mobility in turn is an important variable in determining the rate and form of development, and development in its own turn may feed back to the organizing principles and pattern of mobility by occasioning shifts in the power balance of society, changes in the distribution of wealth and so on. (Smelser and Lipset, 1966: 2)

In this way, it may be seen that social mobility is a very complex phenomenon insofar as it is linked to much of societal functioning, that is, to its growth patterns, its power balance, the fundamental legal and economic principles which govern it, and even its prevalent social and cultural values.

The differential rates of upward economic mobility between ethnic groups have been found to depend upon a number of factors (Smelser and Lipset, 1966: 16). First

of all, these may include the economic conditions and opportunities at the time of the group's arrival. For example, since the post-war immigrants were presented with better economic opportunities at all levels of the economic structure, their occupational mobility may thus be correspondingly higher. Secondly, ethnic mobility is affected by the extent of discrimination prevalent within the host environment. As a result, the lack of mobility of a certain group may be due to the fact that the avenues of occupational advancement have been blocked by the employers.

Thirdly, the degree of internal or adaptative resources of a given ethnic group is crucial not only on the financial but also on the socio-cultural level. As Smelser and Lipset point out, Jews, Greeks and Armenians had greater commercial traditions than the Poles, Irish or Italians. However, the Irish maintained kinship and community loyalty patterns which made them particularly suited for effective political party life in America.

Lastly, occupational mobility depends upon the maintenance of particularistic ties with those members of one's own ethnic group who have already managed to advance into higher level occupations. Thus:

Once an ethnic group makes an inroad on a higher-level occupation, the successful few will allocate their new talent and resources to bringing in people of their own kind to reap the advantages. This particularistic

pressure applies in varying degrees to every ethnic group. (Smelser and Lipset, 1966: 16)

Ethnic occupational mobility has, for some time now, been of considerable interest to sociologists. One of the more important Canadian works dealing with the relationship between ethnic affiliation and occupational standing suggests that immigration and ethnic affiliation are important factors in social class formation in Canada (Porter, 1965). Of particular significance for the Canadian economy is the immigration policy which determines "entrance status" occupations for newcomers entering Canada. Since the newly arrived immigrants are an important means of replenishing the bottom layer of this country's stratification system (Richmond, 1967), it then follows that the majority of the newcomers may be expected to initially enter the entrance status, lower level occupations.

After a passage of time, it is important to evaluate the immigrants' occupational distribution in order to determine whether they have moved towards equality of occupational status and have been able to leave their entrance status occupations. The extent to which the newcomers are able to bypass, or eventually move out of, entrance status occupations directly affects the extent of their economic penetration. Gradually, an equality of occupational status may occur. This only happens when the immigrant's occupational attainment is no longer due

to his entrance status, but is instead a function of education, job qualifications, or a generally equal opportunity to compete for jobs with the majority society. In this way, the extent of the individual's occupational attainment (that is, the extent of his occupational movement since his arrival in this country) would be indicative of the extent to which he has penetrated the societal economic structure. In turn, the degree of economic penetration, as indicated by occupational attainment, may be used to determine the extent to which an immigrant group is assimilated occupationally.

The importance of determining the mobility (that is, occupational attainment) of an immigrant group stems from the fact that ethnic occupational penetration is indicative of the extent to which Canada's stratification system is ethnically delineated. This has been acknowledged by a number of sociologists.

Depending upon the immigration period, some groups have assumed a definite [occupational] entrance status. It is interesting to discover what happens to these various groups over time; whether they move out of their entrance status and show by their subsequent occupational distributions that ethnic origin was not a factor impeding their social mobility. If it was not they will have achieved an equality of status with the charter group. On the other hand, where cultural groups tend to be occupationally specific, with successive generations taking on the same occupations as earlier generations we can say that ethnic affiliation is at least a correlative

factor in the assignment of occupational roles and thus in social class. (Porter, 1965: 73-74)

As we will argue in the ensuing discussion, the extent of the individual's occupational movement is largely a function of structural and market variables rather than the individual's ethnicity. In this way, newcomers who possess the most occupationally valuable skills are best able to penetrate the host society's occupational structure, that is, become occupationally assimilated. This assumption will be developed in greater detail in our analysis.

Methodology

It is important to note that some levels of assimilation may have taken place only to a degree while others may not be present at all. For example, large-scale occupational assimilation may be conducive to increased rather than lessened discrimination. Also, cultural or behavioural assimilation may not necessarily result in widespread intermarriage. This is dependent upon such factors as the extent of group cohesion, institutional completeness within the ethnic group, and the nature of primary level contact with the host society.

Some scholars have argued that:

Where ethnic groups become more similar to one another in style of living, attitudes, speech, and so forth, we speak of cultural or expressive assimilation. Where ethnic groups become more different in these respects we speak of cultural or expressive differentiation. ... In the discussion of assimilation and differentiation of this type the unit of reference is the individual or the discrete group, or the cultural trait, or so on. The unit of reference in speaking of structural assimilation is the social system and its elements --- position, status, role, reference group, and so on. (Vallee et al., 1957: 394)

Generally speaking, occupational assimilation may take place only when ethnicity, or ethnic origin, no longer plays a part in determining the occupations, functions, and roles occupied by a particular group of ethnic individuals. Conversely, structural differentiation in the working

world implies that ethnic origin or ethnicity promotes and perpetuates social and/or occupational differentiation of immigrants.

It must be emphasized at this point that this study will not consider all the spheres and subprocesses of the assimilation model presented in this chapter. The focus of this analysis will be restricted to a narrow, selected area of secondary assimilation, namely occupational assimilation. It is beyond the scope of this work to concentrate upon other spheres such as primary assimilation, the legal or educational aspects of secondary assimilation, or marital assimilation. For our purposes, occupational assimilation will be studied in terms of the occupational mobility of the Toronto Polish-born. It was felt that the individual's occupational mobility is the main indicator of the extent to which he has undergone occupational assimilation.

Occupational assimilation refers to the extent to which the given ethnic group has left the entrance status and moved closer towards an equality of status or a state of structural assimilation. In turn, occupational attainment denotes the degree to which such an ethnic group is occupationally assimilated. It is indicative of the extent to which the given ethnic group has managed to penetrate the organizational (that is, occupational) and economic structures of the host society. Furthermore, occupational

mobility is also somewhat indicative of the degree to which the charter groups have accepted this group as a social equal (Porter, 1965). It is our position, therefore, that occupational assimilation will provide us with some idea of the extent of the secondary assimilation of this ethnic group. This position is supported elsewhere insofar as occupational mobility, that is, breaking out of the entrance status and penetrating into the institutional and organizational structures of the host society, has been found to be a main precondition for structural assimilation (Porter, 1965) or, as otherwise referred to, secondary assimilation (Hughes and Kallen, 1974). Studies have shown occupational mobility to be an important indicator of such assimilation (Porter, 1965; Smelser and Lipset, 1966).

The task of this analysis is to establish the factors which determine the occupational attainment of the Toronto Polish-born. More specifically, we shall attempt to determine which factors are responsible for their occupational performance since their arrival in Canada. We shall examine the influence of length of stay in first job in Canada, auspices of migration, English language fluency, community size of the newcomers' former place of residence, and education upon the respective patterns of occupational attainment of these immigrants.

Sociologists have also argued that it is not uncommon to find that the minority ethnic group may be

internally differentiated in terms of some variables but may be internally homogeneous with respect to others. As a result, the ethnic group's inner homogeneity and differentiation processes may occur simultaneously but at different levels. For example, although working-class Polish may be similar to the middle class in terms of speed of ethnic identity change, ethnic community participation, or political affiliation, they may also be differentiated in terms of education, circumstances of migration, or English language fluency. In turn, these similarities and differences may have a direct influence upon the nature of the occupational attainment of these ethnic group members.

Our task in the subsequent analysis will be to provide an understanding of the way in which this group's occupational attainment is dependent upon the homogeneous and differentiating influence of structural and market variables. In order to establish those factors which determine the occupational attainment patterns of the Toronto Polish-born, empirical relationships between particular variables must be examined in detail. Moreover, a third test factor should be introduced in order to specify the original relationship.

One of the most glaring gaps within assimilation research is the virtual absence of multi-variable assimilation studies (Peterson and Scheff, 1965). Most of the investigators

looking at the process of immigrant assimilation do so in terms of zero-order correlations. Only a handful have attempted to determine whether or not certain associations persist when controlling for some other major variables.

The greatest single need is for cross-cultural studies of immigrants to different host societies and studies of the type conducted by Eisenstadt and Lieberman which examine the relative assimilation of immigrants to the same host society who differ with respect to such variables as time of arrival and their status in the home country. ... we still have many propositions of the type: immigrants who migrate to industrial host societies will tend to have higher rates of acculturation than immigrants to feudal or colonial host societies and no systematic data with which to test them. (Peterson and Scheff, 1965: 171)

The method of introducing a third test factor is advantageous insofar as it takes into account a number of other important factors which may influence occupational attainment. In this way, it furthers our understanding of the ways in which this group is homogeneous and in what respects it is simultaneously differentiated. The introduction of the test factor into the original relationship may therefore not only refine, but may even reverse, the direction of the relationship between the two variables. This will provide a more precise account of the factors influencing the occupational attainment of the Polish-born.

Moreover, since occupational attainment is further determined by a number of other variables, the introduction of a test factor into the original correlation will help

us to determine which variables are dependent and which are not. Nevertheless, the following reservation must be made:

no decision can be made as to whether the observed relationship is causal or whether the significant measure of association means that the so-called "independent variable" is merely another indicator of assimilation. (Peterson and Scheff, 1965: 159)

The main difficulty lies in a correct interpretation of various demographic, social, and economic factors. This problem has been formulated elsewhere in sociological literature.

The usual classification of differences is insufficient to explain the assimilation process. Though a good general classification meets many of our requirements (especially those referring to the individual and the group, the immigrant and host societies, and the local and national situation) it does not in itself describe or explain how one set of differences succeeds another over time. Even classifications setting out differences at successive points of time do not in themselves do this; to go further, the various items must be linked to each other and to the social system before we can understand why and how some differences survive longer than others. (Price in Jackson (ed.), 1969: 199; underlinings added)

To provide such a linkage of factors and relate these to the structural penetration and the occupational attainment levels which characterize the Toronto Polish-born, the "descriptive method" will be used. Its value stems from the fact that such an analysis allows for the

interlinkage with a number of variables characterizing the Polish-born and permits us to examine their influence upon the occupational attainment of these individuals.

Thus, it is our position that:

Any extended account of social behavior will both contain and presuppose explanations of some portions of that behavior ... otherwise there will be no way of indicating the causal connections which hold among the events in question. The importance of indicating such connections will be obvious when we recall that accounts of social behavior are chiefly concerned, as the phrase suggests, with processes and activities. (Brown, 1963: 24)

In short, our task is to provide an empirical analysis of various working relationships between the occupational attainment of the Toronto Polish-born and a number of important structural and market variables. We hope to demonstrate in this study that the occupational attainment of these immigrants is covariant with a number of sociologically meaningful variables such as length of stay in entrance status occupation, auspices of migration, English language fluency, community size of place of former residence, and education. By this means, we will be better able to account for the way in which these Polish-born individuals are able to penetrate the occupational structure of this society. Where applicable, the data will be treated to crosstabular analysis¹.

The results of this analysis of the occupational attainment patterns of the Toronto Polish-born are important

insofar as they will provide a perspective on the present class position of this group. As we have indicated previously, the economic status of a minority group is initially determined by its "entrance status". Over generations, or with the passage of time, the extent of this group's occupational attainment may be assumed to be equivalent to the degree to which the group undergoes an overall occupational uplifting. It is important, however, to establish whether the variables which determine the degree of the ethnic group's occupational penetration have to do with entrance status or whether they are ethnically related. In short:

whether there are differences attributable to ethnicity rather than entrance status is one of the most important empirical questions that must be tackled by those interested in developing theories of ethnic stratification. Once the stage has been set by entrance status changes in class position are a matter of the degree of mobility. (Breton et al., 1975: 82)

Finally, our analysis will not only give some indication of the change in economic or class status experienced by this Polish group, but will also provide us with some explanation of the factors which promote or hinder the occupational and class advancement of the Polish-born since their arrival in Canada. In this way, this study attempts to evaluate the extent of occupational penetration of the Toronto Polish-born into the prevailing occupational structure.

Statement of the Problem

In this study we shall focus upon only the occupational aspect of assimilation and thus leave aside the other public components of secondary or structural assimilation. The main reason for this stems from the limitations imposed by our data. The information available does not permit an adequate analysis of the extent to which these ethnic group members have managed to penetrate the other formal public institutions, that is, the degree of legal, educational, or political equality that they have obtained within this society. Such an analysis of these other components of the secondary assimilation process of Toronto's Polonia would be beyond the scope of this study.

Our analysis will therefore focus upon the nature and pattern of the occupational assimilation of the Toronto Polish-born. Although many sociologists have utilized ethnic variables in attempting to account for the mobility and economic performance of ethnic group members, some studies have indicated that ethnicity, or ethnic variables, are of secondary importance in determining the income and occupational opportunity of these individuals (Lanphier and Morris, 1974; Raynauld et al., 1967). These studies have suggested that the economic attainment of minority group members may be accounted for in terms of structural and market variables --- a factor which has been often

ignored in ethnic mobility studies. In view of these findings, this study will be concerned with the way in which occupational attainment is determined by such structural and market variables as length of stay in entrance status occupations, auspices of migration, English language fluency, community size of former place of residence, and education. In our analysis we shall concentrate upon examining the precise influence exerted by these variables so as to determine how occupational assimilation, an important indicator of secondary or structural assimilation, takes place.

In examining the influence of these variables, it is expected that our analysis will support the following hypotheses:

- (i) The shorter the length of stay in entrance status occupations, the greater the probability that the Polish-born individual will be occupationally mobile.
- (ii) Sponsored Polish immigrants are more likely to be occupationally upwardly mobile than those who are non-sponsored.
- (iii) Higher English language fluency is directly related to higher levels of occupational attainment.
- (iv) Those Polish-born immigrants with a former urban background tend to achieve higher levels of occupational standing.
- (v) The higher the educational standing of the Polish-born immigrant, the higher the level of occupational attainment.

Summary

The early concepts emerging from works on assimilation seem somewhat anachronistic when applied to present-day, post-industrial society. The post-war international migration trends posed clearly unique adaptative situations for both the newcomer and the host society which resulted in the necessity of redefining the assimilation process. Furthermore, the emergence of a plethora of statistical and analytical techniques, the development of equilibrium models, and the application of functional analysis aided in the formulation of new basic principles with respect to the study of assimilation.

Assimilation, as it is used in this study, is defined as the process of penetration by an individual or a minority group into the institutions of an ethnic group to which these minority group members did not originally belong.

Secondary assimilation refers to the penetration into the formal, public (that is, the legal, educational, economic, and cultural) institutions of majority group society.

Primary assimilation refers to the process by which ethnic minority group members enter into informal social relationships with majority group members. Finally, marital assimilation refers to the extent of intermarriage that takes place between members of the minority ethnic group and the majority group.

Occupational and social mobility are linked to the

basic organizing principles of society and are related to much of societal functioning. In this way, occupational mobility and economic absorption are indicative of the equality of status of immigrants in this society and therefore designate the extent of the occupational assimilation of these newcomers. By our definition, the occupational assimilation of immigrants takes place only when ethnicity no longer plays a part in determining their occupational roles and status. Moreover, if this is the case, it is to be expected that most occupationally assimilated individuals have left their entrance status occupations (which, as indicated, are usually lower than the individual's occupational qualifications) and have moved into jobs which are more consistent with their occupational and educational capabilities.

The analysis of this study will therefore examine those factors that influence the occupational attainment of the Toronto Polish-born. As we have argued, occupational attainment is the chief means of determining the extent to which secondary (structural) assimilation has taken place. Our goal in this analysis is to determine the types of relationships which link occupational attainment patterns with various structural and market (rather than ethnic) variables. In turn, the association between occupational attainment and these variables will be subjected to selected test factors so as to determine the strength of the relationship.

CHAPTER III

Introduction

Before going on to discuss the nature of the relationship between occupational attainment and the structural and market variables under study, we will first describe Toronto's ethnic expansion in recent years and provide background characteristics of Toronto's Polish community to serve as a point of departure for further analysis. Because of its highly concentrated ethnic mosaic, Metro Toronto offers an ideal setting for research on immigrant groups.

Furthermore, we will provide a description of how the data were collected and the selection of the sample used for this study. We will also attempt to explain the type of generalizations we hope to make with regard to the influence of the structural and market variables under consideration and their relationship to the occupational mobility of Toronto's Polish-born.

Metro Toronto and its Ethnic Expansion

Metropolitan Toronto is one of the most multifunctional of North American cities., It provides direct access to the Atlantic Ocean (via the St. Lawrence Seaway) and also is the centre of one of the most densely populated areas on the continent. One estimate approximates that virtually half of Canada's population is within fifteen hours by rail or road travel of this gargantuan industrial and urban network.

Because of its historical and demographic population shifts, and because of its early British influence throughout the nineteenth and the early part of the twentieth centuries, Toronto developed a very traditional British character. Toronto's Anglo-Saxon character lasted until the mid 1940's despite a considerable Irish and Scottish population. Gradually, however, its ethno-demographic composition began to change as a number of ethnic groups began settling in the area.

Following 1945, during the post World War II era, Metro Toronto has undergone a tremendous population expansion. By 1961 the Metropolitan Toronto area was the second largest municipality in Canada and the thirteenth largest in North America. Toronto's wealth accounted for over one third of all bank clearings in Canada, not to mention the fact that it is one of the most lucrative sources of government tax revenue. More than 30 per cent of corporate

and 20 per cent of personal income taxes emanate out of this area. Furthermore, it is the site of active trading, manufacture, and stock market activity.

The wholesale trade has long been an important part of the city's economy; in fact the city functions as a great emporium through which an incredible variety of goods passes. Closely associated with distribution is retailing which is not only local in function but also regional and in a few categories even national. Furthermore the wealth of Toronto supports specialty shops, high-class restaurants and galleries not found in other parts of Ontario or even Canada except Montreal. The rise of Toronto as a financial centre however has been most remarkable. Both stock-market transactions and bond dealings exceed those of Montreal and in some categories are surpassed in North America only by those of New York. (Spelt and Kerr, 1973: 1)

The 1961 Census figures indicate that the British population fluctuated in its distribution --- that is, anywhere from over 84 per cent of the population at Leaside to less than 50 per cent of the population of the Township of York. About this time, there was a gradual decline in the British ethnic population of Toronto City, with a conversely increasing population of other ethnic groups. For example, the British comprised 80 per cent of the population of Toronto in 1931, and 68 per cent in 1951. In the subsequent decade, however, the British population began to erode much more rapidly as a successively greater proportion of the city's population was becoming non-British (Richmond, 1967). This trend may be accounted

for by not only the large-scale immigration influx from overseas but also by the mass movement of British residents from Toronto's city centre to the suburbs. This trend is seen to have continued to recent times --- the 1966 Census indicates that the number of individuals of British origin fell to 43 per cent of the City population and 66 per cent of the suburban population.

Notably, with regard to the total immigration into Canada, Ontario, as one of the most industrialized and urbanized areas, has received approximately 50 per cent of the total number arriving in this country. The Metro Toronto area has, not surprisingly, absorbed approximately 50 per cent of the Ontario immigrants. This helps to account for its phenomenal growth in the last decade.

Between the years 1961 and 1966, for example, approximately 152,000 immigrants have entered the Metropolitan Toronto Area¹ --- approximately 30,400 persons yearly. The following two years, however, have seen a sudden decline with the implementation of the Federal government's revised immigration policy and the resultant changes in regulations affecting the sponsored immigrant (Social Planning Council, 1970: 6). This proved to be only a transitory fluctuation as Metro Toronto continued to expand because of current in-migration, a corresponding rate of natural increase, and continued immigration.

According to the 1966 Census, the entire population within the Census Area in Metropolitan Toronto had undergone a 18.3 per cent increase, as opposed to a 16.3 per cent increase for the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto between 1961 and 1966. Of this increase, 8.4 per cent had come about as a result of natural causes while 9.9 per cent was brought about by incoming migrants. Over half of this latter figure was made up of immigrants from abroad ("Trends Affecting the Development of Social Services in Metropolitan Toronto", Social Planning Council, 1970).

Polish Immigrants in Toronto

Since the majority of Canada's immigrant Poles have settled in urban areas, Metro Toronto was selected because it has the largest concentration in all of Canada --- approximately 43,000 Polish residents (Statistics Canada, 1971). As it is the social and cultural hub of the entire Polish ethnic group in Canada, it also plays a major part in maintaining Polonia's organizational structure in this country.

According to immigration statistics, the Metro Toronto area was the prime destination of over 50 per cent of all Polish immigrants entering Canada between 1961 and 1971. Thus an analysis of the social and economic mobility patterns would not only disclose the reason why the Toronto area is so attractive to the Polish newcomers but, in addition, would provide us with a perspective on the degree to which the occupational assimilation of these Polish migrants takes place within an urban environment.

It is important to note that because of internal migration, the demographic composition of Poles is constantly changing as there is a tendency for Poles to move from the prairie and western provinces into Ontario. For example, during the twenty-year period from 1941 to 1961, Ontario experienced an increase of 31,000 Polish individuals while the number of Poles in the western provinces dropped

by 22,000 (Kogler, 1969). This is not surprising given the fact that since the end of the last war, Poles in Canada have moved en masse from rural to urban areas at a faster rate than the Canadian population as a whole. This process has included not only the second and third generation Poles but also most Polish newcomers entering this country (Matejko and Matejko, 1974). Contrary to expectations, however, despite internal migration and the influx of immigrants into urban Canada, the decrease of individuals who state that their ethnicity is Polish continues.

Data to support this are presented in Table 1. Figures from the 1961 and 1971 census reports are given so as to indicate the number of people who stated that "Polish" was the ethnic group to which they or their ancestors on the male side belonged upon arrival in Canada. The figures clearly imply that the Canadian Polonia is diminishing in number. Over the ten-year period from 1961 through 1971, the Polish population decreased by approximately 18 per cent in Toronto City, by 25 per cent in Metro Toronto, but by only 3.5 per cent in Ontario, and 2 per cent in Canada as a whole. On the other hand, during this ten-year period, Canada received 19,889 Polish immigrants (that is, persons who indicated their country of former residence to be Poland) (See Table 2).

As indicated in Table 1, much of the decrease has

taken place in the Metro Toronto area (despite continuing natural increase and despite immigration from Poland). The Metro Toronto Polish diminished by 25 per cent between 1961 and 1971 (from 58,578 to 43,520), compared to only 2 per cent for Canada as a whole. These figures imply that the decrease of the Polish group is not spread evenly across Canada. It seems that the highest decrease rates have taken place in the large urban areas. Evidently, incentives for change in ethnic affiliation are highest in large cosmopolitan urban centres, particularly in the Toronto area where there are substantially large Jewish, Ukrainian, and Anglo-Saxon ethnic groups.

Despite the reported drop in number of the Polish population in Toronto, we have uncovered no evidence in our data or in selected ethnic literature that would suggest that it was cultural assimilation, identificational assimilation, or occupational assimilation that resulted in the diminishing of the Polish ethnic group. On the contrary, recent publications indicate that other factors, such as the change in the criteria used for determining ethnicity for the Canada Census, may in part be responsible for the apparent decrease of the Polish.

This finding is supported by Census analysis which has indicated that a number of individuals have changed their ethnic allegiance from Polish to Jewish, Ukrainian, or Anglo-Saxon (Kogler and Heydenkorn, 1974). By far the

largest proportion of this decrease between 1961 and 1971 is the result of change in ethnic allegiance to that of the Jewish ethnic group (this group was included as an ethnic choice for the first time in the 1971 Census). As a result, although in 1961 there were over 27,000 individuals of Jewish religion within the Polish group, in 1971 there were none. Moreover, another 10,500 were enumerated with the Ukrainian group, a further 10,000 with the Anglo-Saxon and others, and 9,100 were not enumerated in the 1971 Census (Kogler and Heydenkorn, 1974).

Furthermore, shifts in the ethnic affiliation of members of the Polish ethnic group have also come about as a result of intermarriage. Poles have one of the lowest endogamy rates of all ethnic groups in Canada. Only an estimated 50 per cent of all Polish marriages are endogamous (Matejko and Matejko, 1974).

These factors would therefore provide some explanation as to why the Census figures indicate a drop in the number of individuals affiliated with the Polish ethnic group. More importantly, the influence exerted by these factors suggests that changes in ethnic affiliation by members of this group need not necessarily be dependent upon the extent of, for example, occupational assimilation or economic integration of this minority group. Instead, it may be accounted for in terms of the influence exerted by other non-ethnic variables.

Given this fact, it is therefore not improbable, as suggested by some sociological literature, that the extent of mobility or occupational assimilation of this group is unrelated to other spheres or components of assimilation. If this is the case, then the extent of occupational assimilation may be determined in terms other than the degree of this group's cultural assimilation, change in ethnic identity, civic assimilation, or other ethnic variables.

As previously indicated, we will attempt to demonstrate in our analysis that the degree of occupational penetration of the Toronto Polish-born may be accounted for in terms of the influence exerted by the particular structural and market variables under study. By so doing, we hope to demonstrate that the influence of ethnic variables is of secondary importance in determining the extent of occupational assimilation of these individuals.

Source of Data

The data on which this analysis is based were collected for a major survey conducted in Toronto by the Institute for Behavioural Research --- The Survey Research Centre. It was co-ordinated by Anthony H. Richmond (1969-1970). As a result of the findings of this research several reports and publications have been written. Among others, these works include the analysis of ethnic residential segregation (Richmond, 1972), as well as a discussion of the characteristics of Italian householders in the Metro Toronto area (Ziegler, 1972). Moreover, further analysis was made of processes of immigrant adaptation in terms of a multivariate model (Goldlust and Richmond, 1974a) which included economic (Goldlust and Richmond, 1973) as well as cognitive and linguistic processes of accommodation (Goldlust and Richmond, 1974b)².

Since the only comprehensive report on Toronto ethnic groups (Richmond, 1972) did not differentiate the Polish from the other Slavic groups such as the Russians, Ukrainians, Macedonians, or Yugoslavians, it could only provide a general overview of the Polish group. This study will utilize the survey data to further our knowledge of those factors which bring about the occupational assimilation of the Polish ethnic group in Toronto.

Sampling Techniques and Respondent Selection

The heads of households who were interviewed for this survey could not simply be chosen by a random selection process since this would not provide an adequate number of householders representing the main ethnic groups in Toronto.

As a result, Richmond decided to:

adopt a strategy involving the definition of ethno-geographic sub-strata, with varying probability of selection according to locality of residence. Furthermore, the survey was conducted in two phases (although interviews for both phases might be carried out consecutively on the same visit). Phase I interviews were conducted with any responsible adult in the household and provided basic economic and demographic information (including the ethnicity of the head) which determined eligibility of the head for a much longer Phase II interview. Altogether 8434 first phase interviews were completed and 3218 second phase interviews. (Richmond, 1972: 68)

The population distribution of the Toronto ethnic population was determined on the basis of the actual number of each representative ethnic group. However, an "ideal" sample design was required for Phase I and Phase II of the project. In order to facilitate this, ethnic sub-strata were developed to correspond with individual ethnic group characteristics.

Moreover, sample weights were introduced so as to counteract the effects of sample probability and the differential response rate of each sub-strata. A special computerized tabulation program was used which assigned a

specified weight to every respondent (depending upon his respective ethnic sub-strata) so as to ensure that all those interviewed would adequately represent all households (and all major ethnic groups) in Metropolitan Toronto. This sampling technique was specifically designed for the York University Survey Research Centre by Dr. Ivan Fellegi.

The sample was a two-phase, multi-stage disproportionate cluster (see Kish, 1965; Lazerwitz, 1968). This method involved the definition of an ethno-geographic strata or sub-strata, a random selection of enumeration areas within these very sub-strata, and a further random selection of households for the first phase of the study.

The Metro Toronto area was divided into three concentric zones: the inner city, the inner suburb, and the outer suburb. In each zone, the high concentration area of each respective ethnic group was further differentiated from its low concentration area. Subsequently, this led to the determination of high areas of concentration of the Slavic, Jewish, Italian, British, and "Other European" ethnic groups. Richmond states that:

Enumeration areas not so classified were placed in a "residual" category. Subsequently, it was decided to combine the "Other European", British and residual groups into a single category for selection purposes, because their distributions were very similar.

It was necessary to determine what constituted an ethnic concentration. Some trial and error was involved in determining the appropriate cutting points for each ethnic group. (Richmond, 1972: 72)

It may be added here that because of the small number and great dispersion of the Jewish, Slavic and Italian households in Phase I, all were allocated to further Phase II interviews.

(i) Determination of Ethno-Geographic Strata

Prior to defining the sampling ratios of the various ethnic groups, information was gathered concerning their geographical locations in the Metro Toronto area. Since the 1966 Census did not include questions on birthplace or ethnicity, information from the previous 1961 Census had to be utilized. Despite the fact that this information did not correlate precisely with "ethnic origin", Richmond maintains that an adequately close correlation between the two warrants the assumption that areas of ethnic residential distribution remained relatively unchanged between the years 1961 and 1969.

Richmond offers a succinct account of the selection procedure of household heads.

It was decided that 400 enumeration areas would be selected, with probabilities proportional to the 1966 census household counts in each stratum. The allocation of the sample between the 400 E.A.s [enumeration areas] was made roughly to equal the first phase interviewing load (approximately 10,000 households, as of 1966). This figure was divided by 400 to obtain the expected first phase sample take per selected enumeration area. The total population of households in each stratum was then divided by the latter number to obtain the number of E.A.s selected in that stratum. This number

was adjusted to be even so that two parallel samples could be drawn to facilitate the calculation of coefficients of variation, as measures of sampling error. In each enumeration area selected all households were listed. Given the predetermined sampling ratios and a random start, appropriate households were selected for the sample. (Richmond, 1972: 70-71)

Each interview was of considerable length and has provided a wealth of material concerning immigration auspices, the extent of immigrant occupational, social, and economic attainment to mention but some examples. Before proceeding with our analysis, we shall first discuss the definition of ethnicity and the sample selection for this study.

Ethnicity

The term "ethnicity" is derived from the Greek word "ethos" which means "people" or "nation". Very broadly construed, a conglomerate of individuals with a sense of shared feeling of peoplehood is an "ethnic group".

Some consider an ethnic group to be characterized by "race, religion or national origin, or some combination of these categories" (Gordon, 1964: 27). Others (Price in Jackson (ed.), 1969) defines ethnic group as that which because of religious, historical, physical, or linguistic reasons considers itself or is considered by others to be a distinct people.

However, ethnicity as such does not simply involve social, psychological and ancestral background but also implies that futuristic orientations are to be in terms of the psychology and perspective of the group.

All of these categories have a common social-psychological referent, in that all of them serve to create, through historical circumstances, a sense of peoplehood for groups. (Gordon, 1964: 28)

Construed in this way, ethnicity could also be utilized as an attribute which determines and describes various social characteristics of individuals within a social system. Some scholars have noted this in their own definitions. The following, for example, refers to ethnicity as

descent from ancestors who shared a common culture based on national origin,

language, religion, or race or a combination of these. Ethnicity will be considered as an ascribed attribute like age and sex, defining status and role in certain situations. (Vallee et al., 1957: 541)

Stated more precisely, the concept of "ethnicity" is an ascribed attribute which allows a determination of descriptive and processual properties characterizing this social group. Furthermore, it implies a whole range of other related socio-economic characteristics. As the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism phrased it:

Ethnicity ... is the effect of ethnic origin when all other factors are held constant: it is the expression of a complex phenomenon composed of many elements which are impossible to separate; among these are the quality of schooling; work attitudes; occupational choice; motivations and values; the quality, orientation and effectiveness of institution obstacles to mobility, discrimination and the weight of the past. (Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 1969: 63)

Ethnicity thus defined may be said to directly affect behaviour. It may, for example, affect occupational, residential or educational patterns or it may affect the type of social and cultural environment in which they live. In short, ethnicity is a crucial factor affecting virtually every facet of the individual's life (B. & B. Report, 1969).

Moreover, because of its flexibility and wide range of meaning, the term "ethnic group" is invaluable for the social researcher insofar as it describes a variation of the community type. Thus it is imperative to keep in

mind that what we are concerning ourselves with here is the social significance of such a community type, or more specifically, the actual worldly consequences of Polish ethnicity within the economic and socio-cultural confines of Canadian society.

Despite the fact that sociologists and anthropologists do not agree on any one single definition of ethnicity, ethnic origin, or ethnic group, the majority agree that ethnic members are those individuals who have some common relationship to their own ancestors who shared a common culture. Applying this to the Polish immigrants, the term "Polonia" may be defined as the Polish ethnic group and is generally comprised of Polish immigrants and their successive generations. Their one universal characteristic is their common Polish ancestry (Wojciechowski, 1967).

The term "Polonia" is used to include Poles all over the world or to denote individuals of Polish ancestry living outside Poland. It may, in addition, be used in an organizational context. The concept demonstrates a certain amount of versatility. It may be used in the context of an organized "peoplehood" or it may refer to an "organized ethnic structure". In short, individuals comprising the Polish community, or Poles residing in Canada, are roughly denoted by the term "Polonia".

Selection of Sample

Whether or not people should be identified by their ethnic origin within the social, economic and political milieu is an entirely different matter from the problem of establishing the fact that people of differing ethnic origins (and cultural background) differ from each other in some meaningful way; regardless of one's emotional feelings the conceptual problem remains the same. How does one identify these ethnic origins within the limitations of ... data collecting procedures? (Kalbach, 1970: 8)

Our sample could potentially be chosen from all individuals who stated that they, or their ancestors, belonged to or identified with the Polish ethnic group, that is, we could select from the entire Polonia sample.

However, for the purposes of this study, we did not use identification with the Polish ethnic group as a criterion for inclusion in our sample. First of all, identification, as much of ethnic literature has shown, is not a permanent feature of ethnicity as it changes over time. In addition, although identification with a certain ethnic group may be the result of ancestry, it need not necessarily be so. It may merely reflect the "desire" to be part of such a group, and subsequently to identify and to be identified by others as a part of such a group. As a result, sole reliance upon identification as the criterion of ethnicity may not necessarily include those who are Polish-born but merely those who express sentiments of affiliation for this group. Conversely, this method

of selection could ignore those who, because of a long period of residence in Canada, no longer consider themselves to be affiliated with the Polish group, despite the fact that they were Polish-born.

In short, one must allow that in a number of cases, personal declaration of one's own ethnicity does not always correspond to the individual's country of origin. This was indicated

in the data gathered by the Canadian immigration officials before World War II as well as during the post-war influx of exiles and refugees from Europe. The changes in ethnicity of immigrants from Poland became clearly obvious in examining data provided by the Central Statistical Bureau in Warsaw and comparing it to the data provided by the Canadian Bureau of Statistics. A certain number of Poles would be registered by the Polish as emigrating to Canada but the Canadian officials would show a much smaller number of Poles arriving. (Kogler and Heydenkorn, 1974: 28)

In order to avoid such difficulties as are inherent in ethnic identification we have elected to employ other criteria of ethnicity to select our sample.

The selection of our sample necessarily had to be done in the context of both historical circumstance and interview data limitations³. As a result, the decision was made to select the sample on the basis of both the respondents' ancestral and territorial affiliation, that is, on the basis of Polish birth⁴. Thus the respondent was selected if he reported Poland as his birthplace⁵. On this basis, the social and cultural attributes of this

group of migrants could be determined.

The selection of the Polish-born sample offers several advantages. It allows us to consider those questions which are inherently involved in the migration and occupational assimilation processes of immigrants. We will therefore be able to determine the extent to which such factors as the degree of English language fluency, and length of stay in entrance status occupations affect the newcomers' occupational attainment.

Thus, since one of the main components of our analysis involves the determination of immigrant "entrance status" and the ensuing level of occupational attainment, only the Polish-born were selected for our study. Immigrant "entrance status" by definition cannot apply to Canadian-born members of the Polish ethnic group.

Using these selection criteria, 187 respondents comprised our Polish-born sample⁶. Notably, 27 per cent of this sample was made up of the older "pioneer" generation of Poles who came to Canada prior to the Second World War. The majority of the rest came to this country during a post-war migration period that ended in the middle fifties. Given these immigration waves, we can therefore reasonably expect that the individuals comprising our Polish-born sample will be considerably differentiated with respect to their occupational attainment.

Summary

Metro Toronto has experienced tremendous immigrant population expansion in the post-war years and has the largest concentration of Poles in all of urban Canada. It therefore exhibits many of the characteristics common to urban Polish ethnic communities in this country.

The data on which our analysis was based were collected in Toronto by the Survey Research Centre of York University between 1969 and 1970. Heads of households were selected by means of a random selection process but in such a way as to represent all main ethnic groups in the Metro Toronto area. Each selected head of household was then interviewed and the data recorded and tabulated.

Due to the fact that the central argument of our analysis involves the occupational attainment of Polish individuals since their arrival in Canada, only Polish-born, non-Jewish individuals were selected from the entire Polonia sample. Thus this analysis of those factors which determine the occupational assimilation of Polish-born immigrants is formulated on the basis of a sample of 187 cases.

CHAPTER IV

Introduction

In this chapter we shall analyze the impact of a number of structural and market variables upon the occupational attainment level of the Toronto Polish-born. We hope to demonstrate that structural and market variables such as length of stay in entrance status occupation, auspices of migration (that is, sponsored or non-sponsored immigration), English language fluency, social background (community size of former place of residence), and number of years of education combine in different ways to determine the occupational attainment of the various occupational status groups. In short, it is expected that individuals maintaining a white-collar occupation or those who are upwardly mobile will be influenced by these variables in a different way than those immigrants who persist in working-class occupations or who have been occupationally downwardly mobile since their arrival in Canada. This, in turn, will permit us to evaluate the influence of these structural and market variables upon the occupational assimilation of this cultural group.

Occupational Attainment of the Toronto Polish-Born


Given the fact that much of the social and cultural life of immigrants emerges as a result of the type of economic integration which they undergo (Eisenstadt, 1954), this chapter will focus upon those factors which influence the occupational assimilation of Polish-born immigrants in Toronto. More specifically, the remainder of this work will consider the extent to which such structural and market variables as length of stay in entrance status occupation, auspices of migration, English language fluency, social background and education affect the occupational attainment of these individuals¹. There is little doubt that securing a job is an issue of immediate concern for the newcomer since he must provide for himself and his dependents the basic worldly amenities such as food and shelter which are necessary for establishing himself in his new environment. Our analysis will thus focus upon the factors which affect the process of occupational penetration of the Polish immigrants in Toronto since their arrival in Canada.

In a very large proportion of cases, the first entrance status occupations entered upon arrival in Canada were not the intended occupations of the newcomers but were simply the only type of employment available to them. It is therefore reasonable to assume that over time some occupational mobility occurred. This was not only dependent

upon the availability of opportunity but also upon the extent to which the immigrants held certain occupationally valuable characteristics.

The data indicate that the Toronto Polish-born were, in fact, characterized by a considerable amount of upgrading since their arrival in Canada (See Table 3). The majority of these individuals moved out of lower unskilled or semi-skilled jobs into skilled or white-collar employment. This shift allows us to account for the decrease in the proportion of individuals at the unskilled and semi-skilled occupational levels, that is, from 55 per cent at entrance status to 31 per cent at the present time. Furthermore, there was an increase from 24 per cent to 32 per cent of the Polish-born sample who are currently employed at skilled working-class occupations and an even greater increase from 21 per cent to 37 per cent who are presently working at white-collar jobs.

In our literature review in Chapter I and in Chapter II we have discussed some of the variables that are important in determining the mobility of an ethnic group. We have also indicated elsewhere that the importance of structural and market variables often has not been adequately appreciated by sociologists in determining the extent of the occupational penetration of ethnic minority groups. For our part, we shall attempt to examine the occupational movement of the Polish-born in terms of these



variables. By so doing, we hope to demonstrate that much of the occupational attainment of these Polish immigrants is due to their influence.

For the purpose of the study, the Blishen occupational scale was selected as a means of determining the occupational standing of the respondents. The advantage of this occupational scale is that it not only encompasses the socially perceived social status of occupations but also involves a number of other dimensions such as income, prestige, and education. Blishen constructed this scale on the basis of the 1961 Canada Census for 320 occupations in Canada (Blishen, 1970) and it involved the ranking of these occupations by a number of respondents according to their commonly held prestige evaluation. These rankings were then combined to form a general socio-economic index based upon each occupation's education, income and estimated prestige evaluation. It is on the basis of this scale that we shall determine whether or not the newcomer advanced occupationally since his arrival in Canada.

It was decided that, for the purpose of this analysis, the determination of the extent of occupational movement, whether it be stable, upward or downward mobility, would be based upon movement between three distinct occupational levels (unskilled and semi-skilled, skilled, and white-collar) since the respondent's arrival in Canada. This was chosen as an alternative to comparing movement

between the actual occupations themselves. It was felt that this was consistent with our assumption that individuals who move across such distinct occupational status levels must necessarily possess easily identifiable, occupationally valuable characteristics.

In order to develop a means of analyzing the occupational movement of these Polish-born immigrants, a new mobility variable was created that was comprised of four occupational attainment status groups. This occupational attainment variable was made up of four different mobility status groups: stable white-collar, stable working-class, upwardly mobile and downwardly mobile. The new variable was based upon a comparison of the respondent's entrance status occupation, that is, his first occupation upon his arrival in Canada, and his present occupation, the job held at the time of the survey in 1969-1970. This comparison indicated that considerable occupational change did, in fact, take place. Less than half of our sample (47 per cent) maintained a "present" occupational level that was similar to that held at "entrance status".

Since this comparison designates the extent of occupational movement by the Polish-born into the societal economic structure, it is, in this sense, an index of the extent of the occupational penetration of these immigrants. In this way, occupational attainment is a convenient means of establishing the extent of the occupational assimilation

of these immigrants since their arrival in this country².

As we have indicated, occupational attainment was determined on the basis of the individual's occupational movement since his arrival in Canada. Every occupational attainment status group was designated on the basis of a specific occupational movement. The following discussion describes how each of the four occupational attainment status groups was determined.

(i) The Stable White Collars

This status group consists of those who have maintained a stable middle-class, that is, white-collar, occupational status since their arrival in Canada up to the present time. By middle-class, white-collar occupations, we are referring to those with a rating of 3500 or higher on the Blishen Occupational Scale. This group would include such occupations as social workers, teachers, salesmen, architects, managers, and doctors, to mention but a few examples. It is proposed that members of this group will exhibit the highest proportion of occupationally valuable characteristics, such as high education and high English language fluency, and that it is because of these that they have been able to achieve and maintain a white-collar occupational status since their arrival in this country. It was found that 16 per cent of the Polish-born Toronto sample belonged to this occupational status group (See Table 4; Square 9).

(ii) The Stable Working Class

These individuals entered and continued to occupy an unskilled, semi-skilled, or skilled occupation since their arrival in Canada. They are considered to be occupationally stable since they have remained in one occupational level (either in the unskilled, semi-skilled category or in the skilled category) during their working career in Canada. By definition, this would mean that they have not even moved from an unskilled or semi-skilled, to a skilled, position. The stable working-class group would include individuals whose occupations would rank between 2000 and 2999 (See Table 4; Square 1) and between 3000 and 3499 (See Table 4; Square 5) on the Blishen Occupational Scale. This would include such occupations as woodworkers, bricklayers, stonemasons, labourers, butchers, plumbers, storekeepers, clerks, and policemen. The findings indicated that 31 per cent of the Polish-born sample had attained this occupational level (See Table 4; Squares 1 and 5).

(iii) The Upwardly Mobiles

The upwardly mobile individuals were those who advanced upward occupationally out of their entrance status. This occupational status group is thus made up of immigrants who presently are employed in an occupation that, by its ranking, would be placed in a higher occupational level than their first job in Canada. The upwardly mobile individuals were selected in the following way: A) if they

moved from either an unskilled or semi-skilled entrance status occupation to a present occupation that was either at the skilled (See Table 4; Square 2) or white-collar (See Table 4; Square 3) level; or B) if they moved from a skilled entrance status occupation to a present white-collar occupation (See Table 4; Square 6). The data indicated that this status group contained the highest proportion, that is, a sum total of 40 per cent, of the entire Polish-born sample (See Table 4; Squares 2, 3, and 6).

(iv) The Downwardly Mobiles

This status group consisted of individuals who had fallen in occupational status since their arrival in Canada. Again, individuals were selected on the basis of a comparison of their present occupational standing with that at the beginning of their working career in Canada. It included not only A) those individuals who fell occupationally from a skilled to an unskilled or semi-skilled level (See Table 4; Square 4); but also B) those who dropped from a white-collar to a skilled occupation (See Table 4; Square 8) or to the unskilled or semi-skilled level (See Table 4; Square 7). This was by far the smallest proportion of the entire sample as only 13 per cent of the Polish-born belonged to this occupational attainment status group (See Table 4; Squares 4, 7, and 8).

It is important to note that the above four

occupational attainment status groups are mutually exclusive of one another. Furthermore, they are completely exhaustive of the Toronto Polish-born sample since the entire 187 cases are distributed among the four occupational attainment levels³.

The task of the remainder of this work is to determine the influence of selected structural and market variables⁴ upon the mobility variable, that is, the occupational attainment of the Toronto Polish-born. This analysis will therefore consider the impact of these factors upon the four occupational attainment status groups. By so doing, we will not only provide a perspective for our analysis, but we will also indicate how a certain variable or combination of variables influences the occupational performance of the various occupational attainment status groups. By accounting for the influence of these variables, we hope to outline the factors which bring about the occupational assimilation of the Toronto Polish-born.

Patterns of Immigrant Occupational Penetration

Since the publication of Porter's Vertical Mosaic (1965) there has been an ongoing debate as to the extent of ethnically delineated class distribution within Canada's social and occupational framework⁵. Furthermore, the debate has also focused upon the degree of economic opportunity available within the prevailing power structure of Canadian society for the incoming migrant. More specifically, the debate has centred upon the nature and type of social, cultural, and economic consequences which are associated with an individual's ethnicity. This reflects the widespread concern of Canadian sociologists with regard to the extent to which the cultural and ethnic affiliation of immigrants in Canada (whether it be Polish, Italian, German or British) affects the individual's life chances, that is, his class standing within the economic structures and institutional confines of this society.

In what is perhaps one of the most exhaustive works on the nature of class and power in Canada, Porter argues that there is a distinct relationship between a person's membership in a certain ethnic group and his class position. In this way, the ethnic affiliation of the individual is of prime importance not only because it determines the nature and pattern of the Canadian socio-economic structure, but also because it eventually affects the social class hierarchy. This assumption is supported by his findings

which indicate that the country of birth is strongly correlated with the individual's social class, religion, and occupational status.

Porter argues, moreover, that much of the present-day ethnically delineated social stratification system existing in Canada has emerged as a result of the government's immigration policy. This policy has had as its main goal, the task of satisfying the labour market needs of this country. Since much of the labour requirements tended to fall into the least desirable occupational sector, such as the agricultural, unskilled or semi-skilled levels, entrance status occupations were implemented which channelled newcomers into these lower status jobs immediately upon their arrival in Canada. As a result, being an immigrant often meant occupying a lower status occupation for at least some time after entry into this country. If the newcomers persist at these ethnically determined occupations for longer lengths of time, then an ethnically determined stratification system would emerge.

In recent years, the Federal Immigration Branch has continued to regulate the needs of the labour market by placing the newly arrived immigrants in the less attractive occupations, often in less desirable areas of the country and very often in the agricultural sector of the work-force. As a result, "entrance status" occupations continue to exist. These entrance status occupations, that is, the occupations

newcomers enter upon their arrival in Canada, are one of the basic means used to "select and sort Canada's migrants into various occupations, and as a result into a specific class system" (Porter, 1965: 60).

For example, in 1952 the Department of Citizenship and Immigration, with the co-operation of the Department of Labour, assessed the labour situation in Canada in order to determine the specific occupational needs of particular areas of this country. This was carried out by immigration officials who evaluated the economic requirements of these areas in terms of the demand for unskilled labourers, agricultural workers, skilled tradesmen, clerical and service workers, and various other types of manpower needs. In turn, these assessments were then passed on to the overseas immigration office branches which proceeded to recruit immigrants with respect to the determined occupational needs. Furthermore,

After 1955 there were further changes in the administrative arrangements. The selection criteria were broadened and an "Opportunity Assessment Report" was instituted. This was a master report indicating the relative demand situation for different occupations and in what districts there were opportunities. (Richmond, 1967: 49)

In this way, the decision as to whether an immigrant was allowed into this country, especially the non-sponsored newcomer, was contingent upon the nature of supply and demand, that is, upon the labour and economic needs of Canada at the time of migration. Given these circumstances,

the first occupations entered by immigrants generally tend to be inconsistent with their expectations and occupational qualifications and expertise.

In this way, the process of channelling immigrants into entrance status occupations results in the perpetuation of industrial and agricultural sectors which would otherwise either decrease in operation or lose out completely to the competition brought about by the developing Third World countries. Many of these occupations are not only economically undesirable but also often involve dangerous, dirty, or physically demanding conditions and often lack adequate job security, medical plans, and retirement funds. As a result, they are generally avoided by the indigenous population.

Furthermore, the persistence of the "entrance status" has usually varied from one ethnic group to another. The lesser preferred immigrants were assigned a lower socio-occupational status by the charter group of this country (Porter, 1965). This was usually contingent upon the level of general economic prosperity in Canada.

Periodically the need is stressed to admit larger numbers of unskilled immigrant workers to undertake those unpleasant and remotely located jobs which the indigenous workers are avoiding and accordingly are difficult to fill. (Parai, 1975: 476)

Although immigrant selection is made according to specific criteria, the immigration officials may exercise a wide measure of discretion in deciding who should come.

to Canada. Moreover, the basic assumption inherent in applying the present "point system" to prospective immigrants is that the most desirable newcomers are those who can fill the economic void by entering the worst paid, least skilled occupations rather than competing for those jobs which are most desirable⁶.

The admissibility of applicants is judged not in terms of a single criterion, but on a combination of factors so that a shortcoming in one respect may be more than offset in other respects. Nevertheless underlying the selection criteria is the strong belief that immigrant workers should help fill existing job vacancies in the economy rather than simply compete with residents for jobs already filled. (Parai, 1975: 460)

As a result, the greater the competition for jobs and the scarcer the resources, the lower the "entrance status" of the incoming migrant. This has meant that different periods of immigration have resulted in the placement of newcomers in different entrance status levels. Consequently, social class differences within Canadian society have become more intensely delineated and the implementation of entrance status has further crystallized the differences between the various ethnic groups.

Furthermore, the ensuing pattern of occupational assimilation and occupational mobility is dependent upon criteria which are determined and judged by the dominant ethnic group. These criteria may, for example, include such factors as the speed with which the immigrants learn English, the additional educational training which they may

undergo, and the development of their occupational skills. Gradually, as the minority group successfully assimilates according to the prevailing criteria, it may be permitted to move up into more desirable occupations and out of entrance status (Porter, 1965).

Over time, however, the immigrants may advance out of these entrance status occupations. If they are occupationally mobile and move out of their entrance status, then it may be assumed that their ethnic origin did not prevent them from uplifting their socio-economic standing. Ultimately, this results in occupational assimilation, that is, penetration into the economic organizations and institutions of the host society.

In summary, ethnic groups have become an important source of recruitment for the agricultural and lower level occupational sectors of this society. If occupational uplifting does not take place, then an ethnically differentiated class system emerges. Thus, some sociologists have argued that social classes in Canada have developed largely in response to immigration and the subsequent ethnic affiliation of the newcomers (Porter, 1965: 73). In this way, inequality of opportunity would continue to be perpetuated for certain minority ethnic groups. For our part, we shall attempt to establish the extent of the occupational uplifting of the Toronto Polish-born and by so doing, determine their penetration into the economic structure of this society.

The Influence of Length of Stay in Entrance Status
Occupation on Occupational Attainment

As we have indicated previously, immigrants often have no choice but to enter occupations which, in the majority of cases, are not consistent with their occupational expertise. However, after a passage of time, with the realization of greater occupational opportunity, with the development of greater English fluency, and with the attainment of Canadian job experience, it is expected that these individuals will begin to move out of entrance status occupations.

The data tended to support our hypothesis and the findings indicated that with the possible exception of the stable white-collar individuals, entrance status occupations obtained upon arrival in Canada were characterized by a considerable amount of instability (See Table 5). Furthermore, it was found that different occupational attainment status groups persisted at entrance status jobs for varying lengths of time and that they also tended to vary in terms of whether this change in occupations was accompanied by an uplifting of occupational status.

It is important to note that different occupations are generally characterized by different types of job security, seniority, promotion patterns, and conditions of employment. For example, working-class occupations may involve seasonal or temporary placement and tend to be

characterized by a considerable amount of transiency and job instability. As a result, job changes are usually of a horizontal nature and do not tend to result in the advancement of occupational status. On the other hand, white-collar occupations generally offer higher incomes, steadier employment, and more attractive pension schemes. As a result, these occupations are usually characterized by less job transiency since the need to change is lessened.

It is presumable that, for these reasons, the individuals at the stable white-collar occupational status group were proportionately more likely to persist the longest in their entrance status occupations⁷. It was found that the majority of the stable white collars stayed a year or longer at their first occupation in this country. This tended to support our hypothesis that there is less job transiency at white-collar occupations. This also suggests that at the white-collar level, a higher proportion of immigrants entered their intended occupations.

On the other hand, of the stable working-class population, slightly under half remained at their entrance status occupation for under a year which tended to support our assumption that there is considerable instability at this occupational level. This was due to considerable horizontal mobility by the individuals of this occupational status group which is evidenced by the fact that job changes did not result in occupational advancement since these

immigrants remained at the working-class level. Thus, it is reasonable to assume that such occupational change is due more to working-class instability than to their vertical occupational advancement.

The situation appeared very different for the upwardly mobiles. For these individuals, a change in job generally tended to result in a higher occupational status, that is, vertical mobility. Moreover, the majority of the upwardly mobiles tended to remain in their entrance status occupations for under a year which suggests that their occupational movement began taking place very soon after their arrival in Canada. On the other hand, our data indicated that immigrants who persist in their entrance status occupations for longer lengths of time are much less likely to advance occupationally.

The findings also indicated that the downwardly mobiles also exhibited a tendency to change jobs. About half of these individuals moved occupationally within a year of their arrival in Canada.

In summary, although a high proportion of the stable working-class and downwardly mobile individuals tended to change their first jobs very early after their arrival in Canada, they did not advance occupationally. As a result, we can expect these two occupational status groups, that is, the stable working class and downwardly mobile immigrants, to differ considerably from the upwardly

mobiles in terms of such occupationally valuable characteristics as English language fluency, education, and social background. The importance of these differences will be examined in the following analysis.

Language fluency is one of the more important preconditions of successful integration into the Anglo-dominated occupational structure⁸. In this analysis, we shall argue that high English language fluency not only results in a quick exit out of the lower occupational levels, but also tends to contribute to persistence in the higher white-collar occupations. It is partly because of their lower English language fluency that we may expect stable working-class individuals to persist in their occupations for a greater length of time (See Table 6).

When language fluency was introduced as a control, it was found that the stable white collars, the majority of whom remained in their entrance status occupation for over a year or to the present time, tended to be highly fluent in English. This suggests that the higher English fluency contributed to the white collars' stability in their occupational status. Furthermore, as the length of stay in entrance status occupations increased, the proportion of highly fluent increased also. This implies that high English language fluency becomes a gradually more important factor in not only obtaining but also holding a white-collar occupation.

In contrast to this, a much higher proportion of stable working-class individuals have a lower level of English fluency. This, in turn, results in their propensity to remain at their entrance status jobs for longer lengths of time and to persist at working-class occupations.

As a result, low language fluency exerts a considerable influence in preventing these immigrants from changing jobs. The data would further suggest that as the lesser fluent working-class immigrants persist in their occupations for longer periods of time, the likelihood of their advancing out of this status decreases. Thus, although it may be possible for the working-class individuals to change occupations soon after their arrival in Canada, this becomes increasingly more difficult in subsequent years if their English language fluency continues to remain at a lower level.

In short, for the occupationally stable white-collar immigrants, high English language fluency was directly related to a longer length of stay in the more desirable white-collar entrance occupations. Conversely, for the stable working-class individuals, the opposite was found to hold --- namely, that lower English language fluency resulted in a greater persistence at working-class entrance status occupations.

Given these findings, it is not surprising that high English language fluency was also found to be related

to upward occupational mobility. The majority of the upwardly mobile newcomers moved out of their entrance occupation within a year of starting their first job in Canada. The upwardly mobile immigrants tended to move out of their entrance occupation early (within a year or less) partly because of their higher English language fluency. This trend suggests that high English fluency is an important factor promoting movement out of the entrance occupation early in the occupational career of the newcomer. It also, however, continues to affect the upward mobility of the newcomer if he persists in the entrance occupation beyond one year.

The relationship between occupational attainment and length of stay in the entrance occupation was further analyzed by examining the influence of education. It was expected that those stable white collars with higher educational attainment would tend to remain in their entrance occupations for longer lengths of time. This is based upon the assumption that white-collar occupations are not only more desirable but also tend to offer more job security. With regard to the upwardly mobile immigrants, however, we would expect that those with higher education would tend to stay less than a year in their entrance occupation since higher education usually leads to earlier job upgrading (See Table 7).

The findings indicate that the stable white-collar

individuals with a higher education (that is, ten years of education or more) tended to remain at their white-collar entrance occupations for longer lengths of time (anywhere from a year to the present time). It is argued that this was due, at least in part, to the fact that their higher educational standing allowed them to enter an occupation that was more commensurate with their educational and occupational qualifications upon their arrival in Canada. As a result, there was less need for these individuals to change their occupation.

The occupational performance of the upwardly mobile immigrants was also affected by their educational standing. We have already indicated that much of the occupational movement of the upwardly mobiles begins to take place within a year of the newcomers' arrival in Canada. It was also found that those with the higher educational standing have a definite advantage over those who are not as highly educated. This suggests that higher education is an important factor in promoting an early exit from the entrance occupations and increasing the likelihood of advancing occupationally. However, those upwardly mobile individuals who persist in their entrance occupation beyond the first year are more likely to have to rely upon factors other than education. Additional factors such as higher English language fluency, help from sponsoring party, or greater sophistication brought about by a

predominantly urban background may play a more important role in promoting their upward mobility. In short, the longer the upwardly mobile individual persists in the entrance occupation, the less influence education has in bringing about his upward mobility. We shall examine the influence of the other factors in the ensuing analysis.

In conclusion, the higher education of the white-collar immigrants resulted in their longer length of stay in their more desirable entrance occupations. On the other hand, although the stable working-class individuals also stayed longer than a year at entrance occupations, it was due, at least in part, to their lower educational standing and low English language fluency which, in turn, prevented them from upward mobility. The upwardly mobile individuals with higher education tended to advance out of their entrance occupation within a year of obtaining their first job. The findings indicate furthermore that the importance of education in affecting the length of stay in entrance status is greatest early in the immigrant's occupational career in Canada. Immigrants who become upwardly mobile later on in their career generally tend to have lower education and therefore must rely upon factors other than higher education in order to advance occupationally.

The Influence of Auspices of Migration on
Occupational Attainment

The one most prominent characteristic of the early post-war period was an overall labour shortage brought about by the post-war industrial boom. This situation resulted in the increased importance of immigration as a means of meeting the expanded industrial and manpower demands. Gradually, however, as the annual growth rate began to decrease by 1956, the number of migrants entering this country was correspondingly reduced. Thus, as the number of immigrants into Canada increased during this period, Canadian immigration authorities acted to curtail and control the flow of migrants into the country.

As a result of this, the mass immigration of Poles during the post-war period came to a halt by the end of 1955. During this period, 80,529 Polish immigrants came to Canada whereas from 1956 to the present time, the number of Polish immigrants entering this country dropped drastically to 1,000 to 2,000 per annum.

For some time now, Canada's immigration policy has had the task of assimilating newcomers from various countries into her social, cultural, and economic framework. As a result, a type of sorting process has emerged (that is, Canada's Immigration Act) which tends to select and categorize the incoming migrant so that he best fits into the prevailing class and occupational structure. As one critic noted, the

immigration policy served as a reflection of "the evaluations of the 'charter' members of the society of the jobs to be filled and the 'right' kind of immigrant to fill them" (Porter, 1965: 60).

An important variable determining the occupational standing and the subsequent occupational mobility of immigrants entering Canada is the immigration policy prevalent at the time of an individual's migration (Blishen, 1970). Thus the auspices of migration of the newcomer is an important indicator of the prevailing policy since the immigration policy itself is class selective with respect to ethnic background (Richmond, 1967: 3). It was mostly middle-class immigrants who were encouraged to migrate from Britain while it was working-class individuals who were encouraged to migrate from the non-English speaking parts of Europe⁹.

Generally speaking, immigration into Canada during the early post World War II era was not all that strictly controlled. The Immigration Act at that time did not merely use occupational criteria for admittance into this country. Citizens from the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, France, and the United States were allowed free entry irrespective of their occupational qualifications. They could be denied entry only on the basis of character or medical criteria. Those immigrants who had become Canadian citizens or in some cases, those who simply were

permanent residents, could apply for the sponsorship of certain categories of close relatives into this country. This was especially characteristic of immigrants who, not being eligible for entry into Canada because of the lack of occupational qualifications, could not qualify for the open-placement category and therefore had to be sponsored by close relatives in order to immigrate to Canada.

The sponsor from Canada had to indicate that he was able to support the migrant and this acted to remove any occupational criteria that the immigrant might otherwise have had to fulfill. In the late fifties, the number of sponsored immigrants had almost tripled to 16.7 per cent of the unskilled labour force. Most of these immigrants were from Italy (Richmond, 1967). These sponsored immigrants could thus enter the country with less education and with lower industrial and occupational skills than the non-sponsored migrant who was required to meet certain educational and occupational qualifications in order to be eligible to enter Canada. As a result, since the sponsored immigrants did not have to fulfill any educational or occupational requirements, it is expected that their level of occupational attainment will be correspondingly lower than that of the non-sponsored immigrants.

Of our entire Polish-born sample, approximately 48 per cent were former sponsored immigrants. (33 per cent stated that they were sponsored by a close relative, while

15 per cent were sponsored by another person or organization). The remainder (52 per cent) came to Canada under some other auspices --- some because they had job offers, some were political war refugees, some as children with their parents, and the rest under various other circumstances¹⁰.

Although no correlation was found between the motives for migration and occupational performance, there was a definite relationship found between the auspices of migration (that is, whether or not they were sponsored) and the occupational attainment of these migrants. The non-sponsored newcomers fared much better occupationally in comparison to those who were "sponsored" into Canada.

For the most part, we shall argue that immigration into Canada on the basis of a points system results in an initially better performance by the non-sponsored migrant who qualified for entry on the basis of having the required educational and occupational characteristics. However, we also maintain that since the sponsored immigrant is able to benefit from his sponsor's occupational expertise and knowledge of available occupational opportunities, then there is a greater probability that he will be more occupationally mobile than the non-sponsored individual (See Table 8).

The data indicated that the non-sponsored immigrant had a great advantage over the sponsored in obtaining and maintaining white-collar occupations. These findings would

suggest that since the white-collar non-sponsored group is characterized by a number of occupationally valuable skills, they have been able to maintain themselves at this occupational level. Furthermore, it was predominantly on the basis of these skills that such individuals managed to qualify for non-sponsored migration into this country.

As expected, this situation reversed itself for the stable working-class population. The sponsored were slightly more represented here; presumably, because these individuals did not have to meet certain occupational criteria for entrance, their occupational level tended to be lower than that of the non-sponsored migrants. However, the fairly large population of non-sponsored migrants also present at the stable working-class level would indicate that meeting entrance requirements was no guarantee of a white-collar job or of being occupationally mobile.

The distribution of those who were occupationally upwardly mobile also revealed some very interesting trends. This time it was the sponsored immigrants who were more upwardly mobile than the non-sponsored. On the other hand, fewer of the sponsored were downwardly mobile as compared to the non-sponsored cohort.

This may be partly accounted for by the fact that the sponsored individual is more likely to be at the lower occupational levels and thus there is less possibility of downward mobility. This is in contrast to the non-sponsored

migrants whose somewhat greater proportion in the higher white-collar occupations results in the greater possibility of downward mobility. Presumably, there is a greater tendency for newcomers to move down occupationally from middle-class or professional levels than from lower-skilled working-class occupations. It may, in fact, be the case that such barriers as lack of knowledge of job-market opportunities, low English language fluency, or lack of adequate Canadian job experience adversely affect the mobility of white collars more than that of working-class individuals (Richmond, 1967).

In short, this trend indicates that the non-sponsored newcomers have an initial advantage over the sponsored since the former have satisfied a number of occupationally valuable criteria such as higher education or greater English language fluency. These, in turn, have allowed them to maintain stable white-collar status since their arrival in Canada.

However, the sponsored immigrants were more upwardly mobile than the non-sponsored despite the former's somewhat lower education. This trend may be explained by the fact that the sponsored individual may take advantage of the extra assistance offered to him by his close relatives or sponsoring party and thus may be better able to advance occupationally than his non-sponsored counterpart.

Thus, the sponsored migrants have more assistance

in actualizing their job-obtaining potentials and if, in addition, they also possess some of the occupationally valuable traits (as, for example, higher education), then presumably there is a greater tendency for them to be upwardly mobile than the non-sponsored. Similarly, the lower downward mobility rate of the sponsored as compared to their more educated, non-sponsored counterpart can be explained in part by the "shielding" effect produced by the availability of assistance from relatives or sponsoring party (See Table 9).

These assumptions were in fact supported by our data when we controlled for the influence of education. The stable white-collar occupational level was occupied predominantly by the better educated non-sponsored individuals. On the other hand, the stable working-class occupational level was occupied by a greater proportion of sponsored individuals with lower education. Thus, both of these occupational levels were affected by the lower educational standing of the sponsored migrants. Few of the sponsored individuals occupied jobs at the stable white-collar level while a great number were at the stable working-class level.

However, if the sponsored newcomer had a higher level of education, he would invariably be much more likely to be upwardly mobile than the non-sponsored individual. Presumably, this may be attributed to the

fact that a higher educational standing combined with the resources of an immediate sponsoring family or sponsoring institutions would enable the immigrant to better utilize his educational attainment in improving his occupational standing.

It is the absence of this type of assistance which hindered the upward mobility of the non-sponsored migrants with higher education. It should be pointed out, however, that the higher education of the non-sponsored did result in a high proportion of these individuals at the stable white-collar level.

Furthermore, because of the availability of assistance to the sponsored, a kind of "shielding" effect is produced which results in a lower rate of downward mobility for these individuals than for their more educated non-sponsored counterparts.

In short, because of his somewhat lower educational level, the sponsored newcomer is much less likely to initially enter white-collar occupations. However, the assistance offered to him by his sponsoring party aids in his considerably higher rate of upward mobility and serves to protect him from falling in occupational status.

The above findings would therefore indicate that if sponsored individuals have acquired at least some of the occupationally valuable traits (as, for example, higher education), there is a greater tendency for them to become

occupationally uplifted and at a much faster rate than the non-sponsored.

Conversely, since the non-sponsored migrants have a greater proportion of higher educated individuals, they are more likely to persist at the stable white-collar occupational level since their time of arrival in Canada. However, because of their non-sponsored status and corresponding absence of assistance from a sponsoring party, in comparison to the sponsored immigrants, the non-sponsored experienced a lower rate of upward mobility and a slightly higher rate of downward mobility, especially among the non-sponsored with fewer years of education.

The Influence of English Language Fluency on
Occupational Attainment

Language and all that is contained and transmitted by it, becomes the link through which the members of the "mass" society are bound to each other and to the center [that is, the central institutional system and value order of the society]. The sharing of a language is the sharing of the essential quality which confers membership in society. (Shils, 1962: 35)

Probably one of the main indices of successful socio-economic adjustment is fluency in one of the official charter languages (that is, English or French). An earlier Toronto study (Richmond, 1967) indicated that high fluency or command in either of the official languages was very highly correlated with such variables as income, occupational status, acculturation, social integration, and naturalization.

High English language fluency is, without a doubt, an indispensable precondition for higher occupational standing within the Anglo-dominated economic structure. This is especially true of white-collar occupations which emphasize communicative skills, and organizational and leadership capabilities, and which therefore presuppose a high degree of English language fluency. This one factor is perhaps even more important than education in accounting for occupational differences between ethnic groups (Warburton, 1973). As Warburton points out, a large proportion of British-trained accountants, engineers,

and teachers who migrated into this country did not have university training at home but still managed to enter these professions in Canada.

On the other hand, a substantial proportion of university-trained, non-English speaking European individuals fell in status upon entering Canada and remained at a lower level entrance status for a much longer period of time than their English-speaking counterparts (Richmond, 1967). This indicates the tremendous economic and occupational advantage maintained by those who speak English fluently.

Given these facts, it comes as no surprise that the occupational attainment of the Polish-born individual tends to be directly related to his English language fluency (See Table 10).

The data indicate that high English language fluency is an important factor in bringing about higher occupational attainment. Of the stable white-collar workers, for example, the majority were highly fluent in English. Similarly, of those who were upwardly mobile, the majority were highly fluent. These trends tend to support the above assumptions as they indicate that the greater the individual's English language fluency, the greater the likelihood that he will be able to achieve a higher level of occupational attainment.

On the other hand, of those individuals who were at the stable working class level or who were downwardly mobile, the majority had only a "fair" or lower rating of

English language fluency. The somewhat lower fluency of the latter two groups would thus help to account for their correspondingly lower occupational attainment.

In this way, those with a lower English fluency are more likely to be either at the stable working-class level or downwardly mobile. Conversely, the opposite holds true for the highly fluent who are more predominant at the stable white-collar level or who are upwardly mobile. These distributions are not surprising since knowledge of occupational opportunities is directly proportional to the degree of communicative skills brought about by English language fluency.

The above relationship between occupational attainment and language fluency was further specified by controlling for the community size of the respondent's former place of residence. Notably, individuals with a formerly urban background were not only more fluent but also had other advantages that allowed them to perform better occupationally than individuals with rural backgrounds. As a result, highly fluent migrants from a rural background did not tend to perform as well occupationally as highly fluent urbanites (See Table 11).

The data indicate that highly fluent urbanites have a generally higher occupational attainment level. This immediately becomes apparent at the stable white-collar level which is predominantly occupied by immigrants

who are highly fluent in English and who formerly resided in large urban centres. Furthermore, of the highly fluent upwardly mobiles, the majority were urbanites while the lesser fluent upwardly mobiles were more likely to have been rural dwellers.

However, if the former small-town highly fluent individuals are not as highly represented in white-collar occupations or in the upwardly mobile category, they are overly represented in working-class occupations and at the downwardly mobile level. This distribution would therefore suggest that even if the small-town, rural dwellers have a high English language fluency, they do not perform as well occupationally as migrants from large urban areas. Presumably, the urbanites hold some additional advantages (that is, in addition to high English language fluency) such as better opportunity for higher education, and a greater knowledge of the availability of occupational possibilities open to them in large urban areas and therefore are more likely to achieve a higher occupational standing.

The circumstances of migration have also been found to influence the way in which high language fluency affects occupational attainment. As expected, although the sponsored are somewhat less represented at the stable white-collar level, they are more likely to be upwardly mobile than the non-sponsored if they are highly fluent

in English (See Table 12).

The findings indicate that the highly fluent stable white-collar workers immigrated predominantly under non-sponsored circumstances. As indicated elsewhere, non-sponsored immigrants are required to meet certain occupational and educational qualifications which, as we have seen, tend to influence their generally much higher occupational attainment.

On the other hand, although the sponsored immigrants did not have to meet any such requirements, they were more likely to be upwardly mobile if they were highly fluent in English. This would suggest that the assistance offered by the sponsoring party (already established in this country), combined with greater English language fluency, is highly conducive to a greater rate of upward mobility for the sponsored migrants. We have explored this in some detail elsewhere in our analysis.

The assumption that high language fluency is one of the most important factors positively affecting occupational attainment was further supported when we considered the influence exerted by ethnicity of friendship networks. Although friendship patterns provide an important source of information with regard to occupational opportunity (Price in Jackson (ed.), 1969), they are nevertheless not as significant as the high degree of communicativeness brought about by high English language fluency (See Table 13).

It is important to note that of those who had lower English fluency, ethnicity of friends, whether ethnically mixed or restricted to only Polish, did not influence occupational attainment in any significant way. This would suggest that lower English fluency exerted a stronger influence than friendship patterns and therefore resulted in a lower occupational attainment for those with low English fluency.

However, this was not the case for those who were highly fluent in English. Most notably, the stable white-collar migrants, the majority of whom were highly fluent, tend to have predominantly ethnically mixed friendship networks. This may be attributed to the fact that high language fluency and the communicative skills developed through contact with English-speaking individuals tends to aid the stable white-collar workers in maintaining their higher occupational status.

However, perhaps the most surprising finding here concerns the friendship patterns which characterize the upwardly mobile Polish immigrants. The majority of the highly fluent upwardly mobile individuals continue to maintain friendship ties exclusively with others of the same ethnicity. This would suggest that upward mobility would readily take place without the necessity of changing one's cultural affiliation. Evidently, the influence of high English language fluency is greater than that of

friendship patterns and tends to foster occupational
uplifting without the necessity of having to change one's
friendship network or cultural milieu.

The Influence of Community Size of Former Place of Residence on Occupational Attainment

The immigrants' preference of Toronto as a destination of settlement is not really surprising if we consider the social, cultural, and economic opportunities available there for the newcomers. A greater degree of specialization and division of labour is generally better sustained within a cosmopolitan area and, as a result, more occupational demand and therefore more occupational opportunity is available. Moreover, other important factors, such as the greater availability of non-manual occupations, the development of a large number of positions of higher status, and the generally lower fertility rates in the city (Lipset and Bendix, 1968) all contribute to greater economic opportunity in large urban centres. It is understandable, therefore, that urban rather than rural areas become the destination of such a great proportion of immigrants.

The newcomers who were originally urban dwellers usually gained and maintained a considerable social and economic advantage by residing in a city environment. For one, they are better able to take advantage of educational facilities and are more likely to be aware of the advantages of doing so than someone who lives away from an educational institution. They usually have access to a better quality of schooling and also are better able to relate their

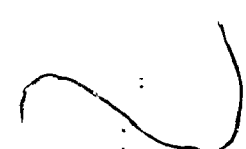
educational program to the occupational opportunities available to them. Lastly, the more extensive bureaucratic and occupational structures in urban areas usually promote higher middle-class occupational aspirations among urbanites (Lipset and Bendix, 1968).

As one researcher argued:

Those born in medium sized cities tend to attain higher occupational status because of their advantage in acquiring education; those born in large cities seem to have some kind of superiority in the ability to take advantage of the occupational opportunities presented to them once they begin their career, that is over and above advantages in attaining education.
(Raczynski, 1972: 196)

In short, the generally higher occupational performance of urbanites, in comparison to that of small-town or rural dwellers, is related to the urbanites' knowledge of occupational opportunities in the urban area. This advantage is further reinforced by the nature of the urban labour market, its needs and requirements, which by its very complexity and differentiation favours the more sophisticated large-city dweller. For these and other reasons, whether an immigrant's background is predominantly urban or rural is one of the more important determinants of occupational attainment.

Given the fact that it is the urbanite who is best able to take advantage of the occupational opportunities available in large urban areas, we may expect that former



urban dwellers will be more capable of higher occupational attainment (See Table 14).

The findings indicate that this, in fact, holds for the Polish-born sample under study. If the last place of permanent residence in Poland was a large urban centre, then the newcomer had a better chance of performing well occupationally. Of the stable white-collar workers, for example, the majority were from large urban areas. On the other hand, at the stable working-class level, it was small-town and rural dwellers who were most predominant.

Furthermore, the upwardly mobile individuals were predominantly former urban dwellers. Proportionately fewer of the urbanites were in the downwardly mobile category.

These trends tend to support the original assumption that newcomers from large urban centres fare better occupationally than those from small-town or rural areas. Not only are they more occupationally stable at the white-collar level, but also they are proportionately slightly more upwardly mobile. In short, the former urban dwellers are better able to take advantage of occupational opportunity than their small-town and rural counterparts.

The introduction of a number of additional factors has aided in our analysis and understanding of this relationship. The original correlation between occupational attainment and community size of former place of residence

tended to disappear when education was introduced as a control. This suggests that education exerted a greater influence than the size of the community of former place of residence in determining the individual's occupational attainment. However, English language fluency was a most important factor in accounting for the tendency of large urban dwellers to perform better occupationally than their rural and small-town counterparts (See Table 15).

Consistent with our expectations, urban background combined with high English language fluency resulted in higher occupational attainment for the Polish-born immigrant. This is largely a result of the fact that the degree of English language fluency affected the extent to which the community size of the former place of residence was related to occupational performance. Thus, knowledge of English resulted in considerable occupational advancement for those with an urban background. However, English language fluency had very little impact on the occupational advancement of those from a small-town or rural background.

More specifically, of those individuals who originated from larger urban areas, high English language fluency was positively related to occupational attainment. These highly fluent urbanites were much more likely to maintain a stable white-collar status from the time of their arrival in Canada. They were also much more likely to be

occupationally upwardly mobile. In addition, the data indicate that very few of these highly fluent urbanites were at the stable working-class occupational level and only a very small number were downwardly mobile. On the other hand, if the individual had low English language fluency, he would be unable to advance himself or maintain a white-collar occupations irregardless of whether or not he had an urban background.

These findings would therefore indicate that high English language fluency combined with an urban background tends to result in higher levels of occupational attainment. In short, the occupational attainment of those with high English language fluency but a small-town or rural background, or those with an urban background and low English fluency tended to be much lower in comparison to that of the highly fluent urbanite.

This suggests that higher occupational attainment results from a combination of high English language fluency and an urban background. Any other combination, as for example, urban background and low English fluency or rural background and high English fluency, results in a much lower job standing for the Polish immigrant. Presumably, low English language fluency hinders entrance into Anglo-dominated white-collar occupations and a small-town or rural background is associated with a lack of knowledge of occupational opportunities in large urban areas.

Furthermore, the very nature of the urban occupational structure in Canada is such that it favours the more sophisticated skills of the highly fluent urban dweller. It comes as no surprise therefore that individuals with either a lower English language fluency or a formerly rural background (or both) have a much lower occupational performance than their highly fluent urban counterparts.

The Influence of Education on Occupational
Attainment

Much of today's manpower requirements are generated by the highly differentiated occupational structure and may be satisfied only by producing highly educated specialists. The extent of present-day industrial development and modernization owe their very existence to an internally complex and extensively developed educational system. As education becomes more closely integrated with the needs of the economy, the role of education in affecting and determining the status positions of members of society correspondingly increases. Thus, in turn, educational attainment has a direct influence upon occupational mobility. As one critic stated:

The paths of social mobility run through the school; the system divides the young and assigns them to adult statuses by means of years of schooling and specific occupational preparation. Thus the equality of educational provision and access across divisions of class, ethnicity and race, becomes a critical and social problem. ... Massive inequality is generated in modern society when there is considerable difference in the quantity and quality of schooling between rural and urban areas. (Clark, 1968: 511)

Education is, without a doubt, one of the more important variables affecting the occupational attainment and occupational mobility of migrants (Lipset and Bendix, 1968). A number of sociologists have come to realize that it is precisely because ethnic group members entering

Canada differ to such a great extent in terms of their educational standing (Richmond, 1967) that differential occupational and mobility patterns characterize the various ethnic groups (Porter, 1965; Blishen, 1970).

As we have indicated elsewhere, the Canadian Immigration Act utilized an ethnically differentiated, class-selective immigration policy (Richmond, 1967) which used educational level as one of the criteria for admission. This was implemented in order to recruit a labour pool (using the non-English ethnic groups) for the lower occupational levels and the less desirable agricultural and semi-skilled occupations in Canada. Nevertheless, a considerable proportion of the Polish immigrants were intelligentsia or white-collar individuals who migrated to this country in the post-war era. Many were political refugees and demobilized soldiers who did not wish to return to Poland after the last war and instead decided to come to Canada. A substantial proportion of this group were highly educated, middle-class, professional individuals.

For our part, we shall argue that higher education brings about not only an initially higher occupational standing (as evidenced by the great proportion of better educated, stable white-collar individuals), but also contributes to the upward occupational mobility of the Polish-born immigrants. On the other hand, lower education would result not only in a lower level of occupational

attainment but would also tend to hamper upward mobility. It is expected that occupational attainment will vary directly with number of years of education.

The total Polish-born sample had on the average 9.1 years of education. Of the respondents, 23.5 per cent had at least primary schooling, 31.6 per cent had between seven and nine years of schooling, and another 18.7 per cent had between ten and twelve years of education. The remaining 26.2 per cent had over twelve years of schooling. Furthermore, out of the total sample, 7.0 per cent had university degrees, 5.9 per cent had other professional degrees or qualifications, and 1.1 per cent had some other post-Grade 12 education. Moreover, 16 per cent of the Polish-born had various other types of trade certificates, technical qualifications, or licenses.

We found that slightly over half of the Polish-born migrants had nine years of education or less and the remainder had at least ten years of schooling or more. The sizeable proportion of individuals having grade-school education could thus be accounted for by the presence of a high number of older rural immigrants whose educational training emphasized only the basic reading and writing skills.

The findings indicate that the occupational attainment of the Toronto Polish-born was directly related to the number of years of education of these respondents. Generally

speaking, the higher the education, the greater the occupational attainment (See Table 16).

By far, the greater majority of the stable white-collars and approximately half of the upwardly mobiles had ten or more years of education. This suggests that higher education is an important precondition for higher occupational attainment since educational standing determines whether the individual is able to obtain and maintain a white-collar occupation or whether he will be occupationally upwardly mobile. On the other hand, individuals maintaining working-class occupations and those who were downwardly mobile were predominantly at the lower educational level (that is, they had less than ten years of schooling).

Although educational standing is an important determinant of the newcomers' subsequent occupational attainment (Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 1967), it is a widely documented fact that many migrants do not attain an occupational position which is consistent with their educational and occupational potential (Richmond, 1967). Persistence in entrance status occupations often reflects this fact. However, the lack of occupational advancement may also be the result of other factors. Thus, we may expect some individuals to not perform as well occupationally, despite their higher education, because of other factors such as social background or advanced age.

As a result, it is hypothesized that higher education is a necessary but not always a sufficient precondition for higher occupational standing in Canadian society. A number of other factors may exert a negative influence which tends to lower the occupational attainment of the better educated Polish-born. We shall consider two such additional factors, social background (that is, the community size of the respondent's former place of residence) and age, and attempt to examine the impact which they exert on occupational attainment (See Table 17).

We maintain that the better educated urban dwellers hold a considerable advantage over the better educated small-town or rural dwellers in terms of their level of occupational attainment. This may generally be accounted for by the nature of the urban occupational structure which tends to favour those individuals with an urban background. Thus, we may expect to find that those Polish-born immigrants with higher education and from large urban centres will achieve the highest level of occupational attainment.

Since many of the educational facilities are located within the larger urban areas, we may expect that the size of the respondent's former place of residence, that is, whether he has a large urban or small-town, rural background, would affect his educational attainment and in turn, his occupational performance.

It was, in fact, found that of those having a lower

educational standing, no significant differences were observed within the four occupational attainment categories between former urbanites and those individuals formerly from small-town or rural areas. This suggests that immigrants with a lower educational standing experience similar barriers with regard to their occupational career irregardless of their social background, that is, the size of their community of former residence in Poland. Thus, the occupational performance of immigrants with fewer years of education is generally much below that of immigrants with higher education.

The findings indicate a very different situation for those with a greater number of years of education. It was found that the stable white-collar and upwardly mobile immigrants had the greatest proportion of highly educated individuals from large urban centres. However, for the two remaining occupational categories, the influence of social background is reversed; the stable working-class and downwardly mobile immigrants with higher education were predominantly from small-town or rural areas. It is suggested that such a small-town, rural background acts as a "neutralizing" factor with respect to the individual's educational advantage. As a result, even if they had obtained higher educational qualifications, the former small-town or rural immigrants did not advance occupationally in as great a proportion as their urban counterparts. On

the contrary, they were characterized by a higher proportion of working-class individuals and slightly more downwardly mobiles.

The findings therefore indicate that newcomers with higher education who formerly resided in a large urban area have the best opportunity for stable white-collar achievement or upward occupational mobility in Canada. On the other hand, those with higher education who originated from smaller towns or rural communities in Poland experienced greater difficulty in advancing themselves occupationally. It is argued that since higher occupational attainment is related to knowledge of occupational opportunity within the urban labour market (Raczynski, 1972), the small-town or rural immigrant would be at a marked disadvantage in the urban occupational structure which favours specialized, more sophisticated urbanite skills. It is therefore not surprising that the higher educated individual with a small-town or rural background did not perform as well as his highly educated urban counterpart.

The relationship between occupational attainment and educational level was further examined by introducing the age of the respondent as an additional factor to be considered. It was expected that because of the greater emphasis on education in recent years, a greater proportion of younger, highly educated immigrants would be the more likely to achieve and maintain the higher white-collar

occupations. On the other hand, it was also expected that although older individuals might initially fall occupationally upon their arrival in Canada, other factors such as greater knowledge of occupational opportunity (as a result of prolonged job experience) would somewhat compensate for their lower education and would therefore tend to result in a higher rate of occupational mobility in comparison to similarly educated younger individuals (See Table 18).

The findings indicate that of the higher educated, stable white-collar immigrants, a significant proportion belonged to the younger (54 years and younger) age cohort. Older individuals were greatly underrepresented in this occupational category.

Those immigrants persisting at working-class status since their arrival in Canada did so predominantly as a result of their lower educational standing. Although the influence of age was rather slight, the older individuals were somewhat more represented among those working-class immigrants with higher education. On the other hand, there was a slightly higher proportion of younger individuals with a lower educational level in this occupational status group. This would suggest that immigrants persisting at working-class occupations either tended to be younger with a lower level of education or if they did have higher education, their educational advantage was somewhat offset by their more advanced age.

For the better educated, upwardly mobile immigrants, age was of little value in helping to account for their occupational attainment. It would seem that higher education was more important than age in explaining the upward mobility of this status group. However, the influence of age was much more significant for the lower educated upwardly mobiles (the majority of whom were 55 years of age or older). It is suggested that these older immigrants with lower education had achieved a greater degree of occupational expertise and were presumably more aware of the occupational opportunities open to them. As a result, they were able to advance in occupational status. On the other hand, the lower educated downwardly mobiles tended to be younger individuals which would suggest that lower age and fewer number of years of education result in a greater tendency for downward mobility.

In conclusion, our data indicate that higher educational standing is an important determinant of higher occupational attainment. However, although higher education is necessary, it is not always a sufficient precondition for a higher level of occupational standing in Canada. Factors such as a formerly small-town or rural area of residence or advanced age tend to exert a "neutralizing" influence and therefore tend to somewhat offset the occupational advantage which is obtained by having a greater number of years of education. As a result, fewer older

(that is, 55 years of age or over) individuals with higher education have entered and persisted at the white-collar occupational level since their arrival in Canada. On the other hand, despite their lower education, older immigrants were more likely to be occupationally upwardly mobile which presumably is a result of their lengthy work experience and greater knowledge of occupational opportunity.

Summary

The analysis has shown that the structural and market variables under consideration did, in fact, directly influence the occupational attainment levels of this sample of Polish-born immigrants in Toronto. The findings suggest that each of the occupational attainment status groups was influenced by a specific combination of these factors. In this section we will briefly summarize each of these occupational attainment levels.

The Stable White Collars:

These individuals possess, by far, the greatest proportion of occupationally valuable structural and market characteristics and it is these that have aided in their persistence in these more desirable occupations since their arrival in Canada. This occupational attainment status group includes such middle-class occupations as, for example, doctors, managers, and teachers.

This status group was the most likely to remain in their first entrance occupation for the greatest length of time. Presumably, since these individuals were more likely to have the higher qualifications, in terms of educational and occupational capabilities, they were more likely to enter their intended white-collar occupations shortly after their arrival in Canada. It should be noted that because of the presence of these educational and occupational characteristics, these individuals tended to

enter Canada as non-sponsored immigrants. Furthermore, since this group of Polish-born migrants has such occupationally valuable qualifications as high English language fluency, higher levels of education, and the advantages associated with former urban residence, they have the best chance of not only obtaining a white-collar job as an entrance occupation, but also of maintaining their occupational standing at that level.

The Stable Working Class:

The Polish-born immigrants who maintained themselves in a working-class occupation were characterized by a different set of characteristics. These individuals entered working-class level occupations upon their arrival in Canada and did not advance out of this occupational status group. This could be accounted for in terms of the influence exerted by the structural and market variables.

The stable working-class individuals tended to be horizontally mobile in that they would change their entrance status occupation within a year of their arrival but without any significant improvement in their occupational status. It seems that working-class occupations tend to be characterized by considerable job instability which may result in frequent job changes for these individuals with no appreciable gain in occupational status.

It was found that slightly over half of this status group were sponsored immigrants which, in turn, reflects

their lower occupational qualifications. They were also characterized by a lower level of English language fluency which was found to negatively influence their occupational attainment. Their lower educational standing also tended to prevent these immigrants from advancing occupationally.

Their stability at the working-class level was partially explained by their predominantly small-town and rural background. Immigrants formerly from small-town or rural areas tend to be at a marked disadvantage (in comparison to former urbanites) when it comes to occupational advancement in larger urban centres.

The combination of structural and market variables characterizing these individuals in the stable working-class occupational status group, such as fewer years of education, small-town or rural background, lower English language fluency, and persistence in entrance status occupations tend to erect barriers to occupational advancement.

The Upwardly Mobiles:

This occupational status group was composed of those Polish-born immigrants who advanced upward out of their entrance status occupations. They were selected from the entire Toronto Polish-born sample if they moved upward occupationally across occupational levels, that is, if they moved from an unskilled or semi-skilled to a skilled or white-collar occupation or if they moved from a skilled to a white-collar job. The performance of this status

group is by far the most interesting, not only because it provides some indication of the factors which result in the occupational advancement of this group, but also because it will help us to determine those circumstances and conditions that allow the Polish-born immigrant to penetrate the occupational and economic structures of society.

The majority of the upwardly mobile Polish-born were the most likely of the occupational attainment status groups to move out of their entrance status occupations within a year of starting their first Canadian job. This suggests that early exit from entrance status occupations eventually results in the uplifting of one's occupational status, that is, upward vertical mobility. In addition to this early occupational movement, high English language fluency, and a higher educational standing tended to characterize these individuals and further promoted their occupational upgrading.

The majority of the upwardly mobiles tended to be sponsored immigrants (implying that they did not enter this country on the basis of their educational or occupational qualifications). However, the fact that they had the possibility of assistance from their sponsoring party tended to foster upward mobility, especially for those immigrants with higher education.

High English language fluency was also an important factor influencing the proportion of Toronto Polish-born

who were upwardly mobile. This characteristic, in combination with the fact that the majority of these individuals were formerly from urban areas, resulted in their advancement in occupational status.

Educational standing also exerted an important influence at the upwardly mobile level. Slightly over half of the upwardly mobiles had a higher educational standing (ten or more years of schooling). On the other hand, lower educated upwardly mobiles tended to be older. Presumably, many years of occupational experience in Canada compensated somewhat for their lower educational level and thus resulted in their occupational advancement.

In summary, the occupational attainment of the upwardly mobile status group was influenced by many of the occupationally valuable structural and market variables which we initially found to be characteristic of the stable white-collar individuals. As it turned out, many of the upwardly mobile Polish-born advanced occupationally into white-collar jobs.

The Downwardly Mobiles:

The downwardly mobile occupational status group was comprised of only 13 per cent of the entire Polish-born sample. As a result, because of such a small number of cases, even the strongest correlations characterizing this status group may not necessarily be representative of the true influence exerted by the structural and market variables.

Of the downwardly mobile individuals, about half changed their entrance status occupation within a year of their arrival in Canada. The majority of these immigrants were non-sponsored which would suggest that their occupational attainment was dependent upon factors other than assistance from a sponsoring party.

Moreover, the majority of downwardly mobiles tended to have a small-town or rural background, had fewer years of education, and a lower English language fluency all of which tended to lower their occupational attainment level. It is interesting to note that the structural and market variables characterizing this status group similarly characterize the stable working-class group. This would suggest that the influence of this particular combination of variables tends to not only suppress but even lower the occupational attainment levels of these respondents.

CHAPTER V

Summary and Conclusions

Assimilation of minority groups has always been in the forefront of sociological analysis. The large number of assimilation studies carried out since the beginning of this century have been characterized by manifold approaches in the attempt to study minority and majority relations. Perhaps the most important development emanating from these early works is the formulation of the "Race Relations Cycle". This was the first comprehensive theoretical framework to be developed in the attempt to account for the minority group assimilation process in its entirety. Despite its usefulness, this approach was ultimately abandoned in recent years. The changing patterns of post-war international migration has necessitated that new perspectives on assimilation be developed if the adaptative process characterizing the newcomers vis-a-vis the post-industrial society were to be more adequately explored.

Although current usage of the term "assimilation" is characterized by a great amount of inconsistency of usage and considerable theoretical difficulty, it is still possible to give some account of the nature of the contact which takes place between individuals of different cultures.

In recent years, considerable interest has been shown by sociologists in determining the nature of the adjustment processes of immigrants in larger urban centres. It has subsequently become apparent that much of the assimilation which newcomers undergo, whether it be social, cultural, or marital assimilation, is dependent upon the extent of the socio-economic disparity between the host community and themselves.

With only a few exceptions, if immigrants entering Canada were from a non-charter ethnic group, they were usually channelled into lower level entrance status occupations. As a result of this occupational downgrading, the immigrant's occupational standing was initially lowered and he was dependent upon his ability to become upwardly mobile in order to attain equality of status. To the extent that he persisted in entrance status occupations, to that extent was there inequality of occupational status. As a result, being an immigrant or ethnically affiliated has implied a lower occupational status for these individuals.

In turn, some sociologists have argued that immigrant occupational penetration is a function of the choice which the newcomer has made: that is, either assimilation into the host society, thereby acquiring a means for occupational mobility and other societal rewards or the maintenance of his own ethnicity within the context of his own ethnically enclosed institutions but at the cost

of persisting at the lower entrance status occupations. The latter choice usually implied little or no integration into Canadian society and the subsequent social and economic deprivation would thus eventually result in an ethnically delineated system of social stratification (Porter, 1965).

Moreover, such an ethnically delineated system of social stratification would mean inequality of opportunity as it would provide the immigrant with only a marginal degree of access to the institutional and cultural rewards of this society. In this way, the nature of the social inequality could be perpetuated for generations.

A continued lack of assimilation with the outside community would serve to reinforce itself as the migrant learns little or no English and thus is able to compete for only the lowest unskilled occupations. As a result, there would be little hope of attaining educational or judicial equality within the larger society.

Consequently, it would seem that affiliation with the ethnic community is construed as a kind of "dumping ground" for the occupationally immobile immigrants, for those who cannot become successfully integrated into the various institutional levels within the Anglo-Canadian society, for those who speak little or no English, or for those who identify least with their new Canadian environment. In this way, being ethnically affiliated implies that the individual is generally removed from the mainstream

of Canadian cultural, economic, and organizational life.

As a result:

there is the danger that a policy of "bilingualism within a framework of multiculturalism" which has now been endorsed by the federal and most provincial governments could lead to the emergence of a system of ethnic stratification in which immigrants from some countries experienced prolonged economic and social deprivation that persisted through more than one generation. In this sense Canada's mosaic could continue to be a vertical one in which there were gross inequalities of opportunity in the education system and in the subsequent achievement of occupational status (Porter, 1965). (Richmond, 1972: 6)

In this way, due to the prevailing class and power structures of this society, being ethnically affiliated is synonymous to persisting in occupations close to one's entrance status. In turn, the persistence of such a status ultimately results in the formation of an ethnically determined class system which continues to perpetuate the occupational inequality of minority ethnic groups in Canada (Porter, 1965; Blishen, 1970).

To paraphrase then, being ethnically affiliated, that is, being an immigrant, suggests that occupational assimilation cannot take place since the newcomer's occupational status is determined by his entrance occupation at the time of his arrival in Canada (Porter, 1965). On the other hand, it is argued that if these individuals sever their ethnic ties and affiliation, or refute their

own ethnicity, that is, if they negate the influence of their ethnicity and all which this entails, they would be able to advance occupationally and thus move out of their ethnically determined entrance status occupations. In this way, they would improve their occupational attainment level. However, it is this argument which our analysis has attempted to refute.

Occupational assimilation, as evidenced by the extent of the occupational attainment of the minority ethnic group, is indicative of the degree of the group's equality of opportunity in the occupational and economic spheres. More importantly, occupational assimilation is a crucial component of structural assimilation since no cultural minority may be expected to be successfully integrated into society if it is denied the higher occupational and economic rewards. In this way, the extent of the occupational assimilation of an ethnic group is often related to other spheres of assimilation.

As mentioned previously, the ethnically selective immigration policies have determined to a considerable extent the class standing of a minority cultural group in this country. As a result, the majority of non-charter group immigrants entering Canada were channelled into lower level entrance status occupations (usually unskilled or semi-skilled jobs). Thus, the only means available to the newcomer for changing his predetermined class standing

was through upward occupational mobility, that is, out of the entrance status occupations.

Even today, sociologists continue to debate the factors which bring about differential patterns of occupational attainment of the various ethnic minorities. As indicated, a number of sociologists assume that ethnic occupational advancement is dependent upon severing one's ethnic ties. However, a number of others have indicated that although different ethnic groups in North American society have advanced occupationally at different rates, much of this mobility may be explained by holding constant various structural and market variables. This would suggest that much of the explanatory value of ethnicity in accounting for the variation in the occupational attainment of the various cultural minorities becomes greatly attenuated.

The object of this study was to determine the relationship between occupational attainment and a number of structural and market variables in order to determine their influence upon the occupational assimilation of Toronto's Polish-born.

In this study, we have argued that much of the occupational attainment and occupational mobility of the Polish-born immigrants in Toronto may be explained by the influence exerted by a number of structural and market variables such as length of stay in entrance status occupation, auspices of migration, English language fluency, community

size of place of former residence, and education. It is suggested that these variables may be used to predict the extent to which the Polish-born immigrants have penetrated the societal occupational structure. In turn, this helps us to confirm the assumption that it is the influence of structural and market variables, rather than that of ethnicity, that determines the extent of the occupational attainment (occupational performance) of ethnic group members. It is not improbable that the severing of ethnic ties may play very little part in determining the ethnic individual's occupational attainment. It is our position that the extent of the occupational attainment of the Toronto Polish-born is largely contingent upon the influence of structural and market variables.

The empirical findings have supported our position that higher (or lower) occupational attainment is dependent upon the combined influence of these structural and market variables. The combination of higher education, having a sponsoring party, former urban background, high English language fluency, and an occupationally beneficial length of stay in the entrance occupation produce occupationally favourable circumstances for the Polish-born which result in stable white-collar occupational attainment or at least contribute to upward mobility.

It is these structural and market variables which exert an influence upon the Polish-born individuals in the

stable white-collar and the upwardly mobile occupational status groups and which result in the tendency towards the occupational assimilation of these two status groups. In short, it is because of the influence of these factors that these individuals are in the best position to penetrate the formal economic and institutional structures of this society. Thus, these immigrants were not only the most likely to enter and persist at the more desired white-collar occupations upon their arrival in Canada but were also more likely to be upwardly mobile.

On the other hand, these structural and market variables exerted a different influence upon the stable working-class and downwardly mobile occupational attainment status groups. The immigrants in these groups were characterized by lower education, former small-town or rural background, a low level of English language fluency, sponsored migration, and a shorter length of stay in entrance occupations without a corresponding rise in occupational status. Thus, it is because of the influence of these variables that these immigrants persisted at working-class occupations or were downwardly mobile. As a result, they were the least able to penetrate the formal economic and institutional structures of this society.

The findings of the study thus indicate that it is not justified to think of the Toronto Polish-born as maintaining a higher or lower occupational standing by virtue

of their ethnic status or cultural affiliation. We have demonstrated that the difference in occupational attainment was due, in large part, to the nature of the influence exerted by these structural and market variables. It becomes evident, therefore, that these variables play an important role in determining not only whether the Toronto Polish-born maintain occupations of a similar status as their entrance occupation, but also the extent to which they are able to penetrate the societal economic structure. It is our position that much of the occupational assimilation of these Toronto Polish-born immigrants may be explained by the nature of the influence exerted by these variables.

Implications For Further Research

The findings generate many important implications and questions for further study. First of all, although the immigrants possessing the most occupationally advantageous characteristics were successful occupationally, no evidence was found to indicate that they were also the first to undergo cultural and social assimilation, or that they were the first to undergo a change in ethnic identity. This would suggest that the decrease in size of the Polish ethnic group in Toronto would have to be accounted for in terms other than whether or not this group became assimilated occupationally. We have suggested elsewhere that much of this loss is due to changes in the census classifications, but it is felt that a much more detailed analysis is necessary in this area in order to determine why the numbers of the Polish ethnic group continue to diminish despite continuing immigration from Poland.

Second of all, this assimilation study, like all others, has had its share of theoretical difficulties. Occupational assimilation is construed as occurring if occupational penetration takes place. This would suggest a middle-class bias to this study. Carried to its extreme, this would imply that individuals in intended working-class occupations are not assimilated occupationally since they have not advanced their occupational entrance status since their arrival in Canada.

In addition, we cannot resolve the dilemma of uneven occupational assimilation. It is not possible to indicate whether individuals who have higher education but lower English language fluency have penetrated the economic structure to a greater extent than those with low education but high English fluency. Although the empirical comparison of the mobility rates of such status groups would indicate which had the higher occupational attainment rate, no theoretically determined assumptions are available to indicate which of the structural and market variables is the more "valuable" indicator of occupational assimilation. This would suggest that the assimilation model continues to suffer from serious theoretical deficiencies and requires much clarification in this area.

Furthermore, although our data have indicated that occupational attainment is mainly a function of structural and market variables, it is still not entirely improbable that ethnic variables exert some influence. For example, approximately 28 per cent of our respondents stated that they experienced discrimination in the work world. The possibility that this might influence the nature of the occupational performance of the Polish-born should not be overlooked. It is suggested that further research could use alternative approaches for collecting data such as participant observation or unstructured interviews.

Presumably, these methods would uncover additional kinds of data which are not provided by the method of data collection used in this study. This would allow us to determine the way in which factors such as "discrimination" affect the values, attitudes, and desire for occupational advancement of the various occupational attainment status groups.

Finally, because of the small proportion of downwardly mobile individuals (13 per cent), we were severely limited in the extent of our generalizations with regard to those immigrants who fell in occupational status since their arrival in Canada. Given a greater number of cases, future studies could focus upon these immigrants in order to formulate a more detailed and precise account of those characteristics which bring about a drop in occupational status.

APPENDIX:

Statistical Source and Data Tables

Table 1

These 1961 and 1971 Census figures indicate the number of people who stated that "Polish" was the ethnic group to which they or their ancestors on the male side belonged upon arrival in Canada. *

Canada Census	Toronto City	Metro Toronto	Ontario	Canada
1961**	27,191	58,578	149,524	323,517
1971***	22,340	43,520	144,115	316,425
% Decrease (approx.)	18%	25%	3.5%	2%

* These figures are only approximate because of changes of boundary in the Census Tracts.

** Source: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1961 Census of Canada, Ethnic Groups, Bulletin 1.2-5, 30-11-1962.

*** Source: Statistics Canada, 1971 Census of Canada Advance Bulletin, Catalogue #92-762 (AP-11), September, 1973.

Table 2.

Number of Persons Entering Canada Whose Country of Last
Permanent Residence Was Poland*

<u>Year</u>	<u>Number of Persons</u>
1960	3182
1961	2753
1962	1601
1963	1482
1964	1944
1965	1975
1966	1678
1967	1470
1968	1092
1969	859
1970	723
1971	1132
1972	1321
1973	1261
1974	945

Total Number from 1961 to 1971: 19,889

*Source: Immigration Statistics: 1960 through 1974. Released annually by the Department of Manpower and Immigration, p. 8.

Table 3

Comparison of Entrance Status and Present Occupational Standing

Occupational Standing	Entrance Status Occupation %	Present Occupation %
White Collar	21	37
Skilled (Working Class)	24	32
Unskilled and Semi-skilled	55	31
Total %	100	100
Number	187	187

Table 4

A Comparison of the Movement Between Entrance Status
and Present Occupation

Entrance Status Occupation	Present Occupation			
	Unskilled and Semi- Skilled	Skilled	White Collar	
Unskilled and Semi-Skilled	1* 40 21	2 36 19	3 28 15	N %
Skilled	4 15 8	5 18 10	6 11 6	N %
White Collar	7 4 2	8 6 3	9 29 16	N %

Total % = 100; Total N (Number of cases) = 187

* The digit in the upper left-hand corner of each square denotes the square number.

Determination of Mobility Variable (Occupational
Attainment Status Groups)

Occupational Attainment Status Groups	Square Number	N	%
Stable White Collar	9	29	16
Stable Working Class	5+1	58	31
Upwardly Mobile	2+3+6	75	40
Downwardly Mobile	4+7+8	25	13

Total % = 100; Total N (Number of cases) = 187

Table 5Occupational Attainment by Length of Stay in EntranceStatus Occupation

Occupational Attainment	Under 1 Year %	Over 1 Year %
Stable White Collar	5	18
Stable Working Class	27	38
Upwardly Mobile	56	32
Downwardly Mobile	12	12
Total %	100	100
Number	78	97

$$x^2 = 13.24; p \leq .01$$

Table 6Occupational Attainment by Length of Stay in EntranceStatus Occupation and Language Fluency

Occupational Attainment	Under 1 year in Entrance Occupation		Over 1 year in Entrance Occupation	
	High Fluency %	Low Fluency %	High Fluency %	Low Fluency %
	Stable White Collar	11	2	29
Stable Working Class	14	32	21	51
Upwardly Mobile	68	50	38	25
Downwardly Mobile	7	16	12	14
Total %	100	100	100	100
Number	28	44	42	51

Table 7Occupational Attainment by Length of Stay in EntranceStatus Occupation and Educational Standing

Occupational Attainment	Under 1 year in Entrance Occupation		Over 1 year in Entrance Occupation	
	High Education %	Low Education %	High Education %	Low Education %
Stable White Collar	11	0	32	7
Stable Working Class	17	36	29	45
Upwardly Mobile	67	47	32	32
Downwardly Mobile	5	17	7	16
Total %	100	100	100	100
Number	36	42	41	56

Table 8Occupational Attainment by Auspices of Migration

Occupational Attainment	Sponsored %	Non-Sponsored %
Stable White Collar	9	22
Stable Working Class	34	28
Upwardly Mobile	47	34
Downwardly Mobile	10	16
Total %	100	100
Number	90	97

$$x^2 = 8.89; p \leq .05$$

Table 9

Occupational Attainment by Auspices of Migration and
Educational Standing

Occupational Attainment	Sponsored		Non- Sponsored	
	High Education %	Low Education %	High Education %	Low Education %
Stable White Collar	13	6	34	10
Stable Working Class	22	43	21	34
Upwardly Mobile	60	38	32	36
Downwardly Mobile	5	13	13	20
Total %	100	100	100	100
Number	37	53	47	50

Table 10Occupational Attainment by English Language Fluency

Occupational Attainment	High Fluency %	Low Fluency %
Stable White Collar	28	7
Stable Working Class	17	41
Upwardly Mobile	44	36
Downwardly Mobile	11	16
Total %	100	100
Number	79	98

$$\chi^2 = 21.68; p \leq .001$$

Table 11

Occupational Attainment by English Language Fluency and
Community Size of Former Place of Residence

Occupational Attainment	High Fluency		Low Fluency	
	Large Urban %	Small Town or Rural %	Large Urban %	Small Town or Rural %
Stable White Collar	30	13	11	4
Stable Working Class	7	32	43	40
Upwardly Mobile	58	36	29	40
Downwardly Mobile	5	19	17	16
Total %	100	100	100	100
Number	40	31	35	63

Table 12

Occupational Attainment by English Language Fluency and
Auspices of Migration

Occupational Attainment	High Fluency		Low Fluency	
	Sponsored %	Non- Sponsored %	Sponsored %	Non- Sponsored %
Stable White Collar	12	39	8	6
Stable Working Class	18	15	45	37
Upwardly Mobile	64	31	33	39
Downwardly Mobile	6	15	14	18
Total %	100	100	100	100
Number	33	46	49	49

Table 13

Occupational Attainment by English Language Fluency and
Ethnicity of Friends

Occupational Attainment	High Fluency		Low Fluency	
	Same Ethnicity %	Mixed Ethnicity %	Same Ethnicity %	Mixed Ethnicity %
Stable White Collar	12	41	10	4
Stable Working Class	21	14	42	40
Upwardly Mobile	58	32	33	36
Downwardly Mobile	9	13	15	20
Total %	100	100	100	100
Number	33	44	48	45

Table 14

Occupational Attainment by Community Size of Former
Place of Residence

Occupational Attainment	Large Urban Area %	Small Town or Rural Area %
Stable White Collar	21	7
Stable Working Class	24	39
Upwardly Mobile	45	39
Downwardly Mobile	10	15
Total %	100	100
Number	76	103

$$\chi^2 = 11.20; p \leq .01$$

Table 15

Occupational Attainment by Community Size of Former Place
of Residence and English Language Fluency

Occupational Attainment	Large Urban Area		Small Town or Rural Area	
	High Fluency %	Low Fluency %	High Fluency %	Low Fluency %
Stable White Collar	30	11	13	5
Stable Working Class	7	43	32	39
Upwardly Mobile	58	29	36	40
Downwardly Mobile	5	17	19	16
Total %	100	100	100	100
Number	40	35	31	63

Table 16Occupational Attainment by Number of Years of Education

Occupational Attainment	1-9 Years of Education %	10 Years or more of Education %
Stable White Collar	8	25
Stable Working Class	39	21
Upwardly Mobile	37	44
Downwardly Mobile	16	10
Total %	100	100
Number	103	84

$$x^2 = 15.66; p \leq .001$$

Table 17

Occupational Attainment by Number of Years of Education
and Community Size of Former Place of Residence

Occupational Attainment	1-9 Years of Education		10 Years or more of Education	
	Large Urban %	Small Town or Rural %	Large Urban %	Small Town or Rural %
Stable White Collar	5	6	28	8
Stable Working Class	41	40	17	36
Upwardly Mobile	36	37	48	44
Downwardly Mobile	18	17	7	12
Total %	100	100	100	100
Number	22	78	54	25

Table 18

Occupational Attainment by Number of Years of Education
and Age of Respondent

Occupational Attainment	1-9 Years of Education		10 Years or more of Education	
	54 Years of Age or less %	55 Years of Age or over %	54 Years of Age or less %	55 Years of Age or over %
Stable White Collar	6	10	31	12
Stable Working Class	43	35	19	28
Upwardly Mobile	29	44	42	48
Downwardly Mobile	22	11	8	12
Total %	100	100	100	100
Number	51	52	59	25

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER I

¹For the most part, the acculturation studies of the 1930's and 40's, which constituted much of the work done by anthropologists at this time, were of a descriptive processual-analysis type. In the majority of cases, they attempted to determine the combination of cultural elements that resulted in the subsequent adaptation or resistance to the culture of the host society. In a number of cases, there were some distinct similarities between the methodological and analytical aspects of the anthropological studies, on the one hand, and the work done by the sociologists of the Chicago School, on the other.

CHAPTER II

¹Throughout our analysis we have "dichotomized" our variables in such a way that the number of cases in the two values of any given variable is as equivalent as possible. This is advantageous because it prevents a misrepresentation of the direction of the influence of the variables when crosstabulating. In this way, it does not overload one value at the expense of losing cases in the other values of a variable. In short, dichotomizing is not simply an arbitrarily determined cut-off point but instead is a means of facilitating a more efficient interpretation of our data.

CHAPTER III

¹It should be noted that the Metropolitan Census Area includes peripheral municipalities such as Oakville, Streetsville, Milton, Toronto Township, Markham, and Pickering. Its population is from 275,000 to 300,000 larger than Metro's.

²For a more comprehensive bibliography see Ethnic Research Programme. A pamphlet published by the Institute for Behavioural Research, York University, Toronto, 1974.

³It is interesting to note that approximately 5 per

cent of our Polish-born sample identified themselves as being of an ethnic group other than Polish or Canadian; namely as German, Ukrainian, or Russian. This illustrates one of the special problems that can be encountered in attempting to determine a precise definition of a "polish" immigrant. The difficulty stems from the fact that there have been a number of changes in the Polish border and this has meant that before World War I a number of "Poles" were not born in Poland as such, These areas became Polish only after Poland regained her political independence at the end of World War I.

During the inter-war period, Gdańsk, which is a sea-port on the northern coast of Poland, was a Free City to which Poland had access only by the Polish Corridor. Germany (at this time) retained possession of Eastern Prussia (on the northeast side of Poland) and Western Silesia. At the end of World War II, Poland regained Gdańsk and the southern portions of East Prussia and Silesia but at the expense of giving up Lwów and all of its eastern territorial possessions to the Soviet Union. This eastern border change affected a substantial proportion of Polish immigrants (especially Polish ex-servicemen who migrated to Canada immediately after the cessation of hostilities of World War II). A large proportion of these immigrants originated from these areas that were formerly administered by Poland. However, at the same time, it is quite conceivable that some of the Polish-born may, in actual fact, belong to a non-Polish cultural affiliation (such as German, Ukrainian, or Russian). This, in fact, turned out to be the case for approximately 5 per cent of our sample. Despite the fact that they claimed that they were Polish-born, these individuals indicated that they spoke another language (other than Polish or English) at home, felt themselves to be of a different ethnic group (other than Polish), and read and were affiliated with another ethnic community.

⁴The criteria of selecting only those individuals who are Polish-born offers the added advantage of providing a "zero starting point" for subsequent analysis. In short, it focuses upon individuals who (we assume) were initially the product of another culture. Furthermore, the majority of this sample of Polish-born immigrants were in a similar position upon their arrival with regard to knowledge of English, and knowledge of Canadian life-style, mores and values. Thus, given this "zero starting point", it is possible to more precisely examine the influence of those factors which promote the occupational mobility of these migrants since their arrival in Canada.

⁵We excluded from our sample all those respondents

who stated that their religion was Jewish. Not only does this eliminate confusion such as that illustrated by the census analysis, namely, the sudden "disappearance" of the Polish ethnic group when the Jewish category was added, but it is, furthermore, methodologically consistent with previous Toronto ethnic studies (Richmond, 1972). It is assumed that Jews are an ethnic group in their own right irrespective of their country of origin. This assumption is further supported by the findings of the study itself: of the Polish-born Jews, less than 1 per cent considered that they belonged to the Polish ethnic group.

⁶As we have indicated, our analysis is based upon a total sample size of 187 cases. However, the total number of respondents in a particular crosstabulation may be less than 187 cases due to missing responses. This is a result of the fact that some respondents did not answer all of the interviewer's questions.

CHAPTER IV

¹Caution is urged when considering the occupational mobility and attainment rates of ethnic group members. If we wish to account for the occupational attainment of the Polish-born then we must consider a plethora of related factors which may affect occupational standing. However, it is impossible to control for all factors and the influence of some variables may be difficult to determine.

Moreover, the degree of upward occupational mobility is dependent upon the type of job opportunity available to the newcomers at the time of their arrival in Canada. Thus, for example, during a time of economic boom, which is often associated with industrial expansion, one may reasonably expect that newcomers experience faster occupational mobility than during a recession when job competition is high and opportunity for advancement almost nil (that is, the newcomers are the last hired and the first fired). In this way, the measurement of immigrant occupational mobility is to some degree a measure of economic growth.

²It is important to realize that when we are referring to the occupational attainment of the Polish-born, we are talking about mobility between two occupational standings at two distinct points in time, that is, between the entrance status occupation obtained initially after arrival in Canada and the presently-held occupation. The term occupational standing must be clearly distinguished from occupational attainment. We use the former to refer

to the individual's occupational level at one point in time.

³The Blishen scores used to determine the three levels of occupational standing were as follows: the unskilled and semi-skilled level was comprised of individuals who had a Blishen occupational score rating between 2000 and 2999; the skilled occupational level was comprised of individuals with a Blishen score rating between 3000 and 3499; and the white-collar level of individuals with a Blishen score of 3500 or over.

Since our levels of occupational standing were determined on the basis of the Blishen scale which ranks occupations hierarchically, it is not impossible that some borderline white-collar occupations are of a skilled working-class character and vice versa. However, our data indicated that since only a small number of cases fall "on the line", this overlap does not significantly affect the occupational standing of our sample. Furthermore, this overlap exerts only a minimal effect upon our upwardly and downwardly mobile occupational attainment status groups. Thus, since most of the mobility took place between the unskilled, semi-skilled and skilled or white-collar occupational levels, the overlap between skilled and white-collar occupations would not significantly affect the number of individuals in the upwardly and downwardly mobile occupational attainment status groups.

⁴For our purposes, we have adopted the definition of "structural and market variables" utilized by Raynauld et al. (1967) in their study for the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. Structural and market variables are characterized as having a "directly measurable" effect upon the occupational attainment of an ethnic group and as such are to be differentiated from such indirectly measurable and "irrational" factors as, for example, the ethnic individual's propensity to take risks, or the discrimination he encounters, or the importance he attaches to his socio-economic advancement in his new environment. Furthermore, in addition to their "directly measurable" character, structural and market variables have "an objective, quantitative and universal aspect" (Lanphier and Morris, 1974: 65). In comparison to the "irrational" variables, these characteristics make it possible to determine the effect and influence of the structural and market variables with a higher degree of reliability.

⁵Despite the fact that Porter's contribution to Canadian sociology in the area of social class and power is one of the most important, there have nevertheless been some criticisms of his work with regard to conceptual and theoretical problems concerning "class" and "power"

(Heap, 1972). Heap argues that Porter's lack of consistency in his definition of class is inapplicable to his stated purpose. This, combined with the fact that Porter's basic theoretical assumptions concerning class structure are "unexplicated" and that he does not differentiate between power and authority, results in a considerable amount of conceptual and theoretical confusion when applied to inter-elite conflict.

One of the main problems concerns Porter's stratification system which does not delineate the number of classes within it. He does draw the boundary between lower and middle class as being an income of \$8,000 per year. By so doing, however, he implies that his class stratification system is a synthetic graduation. The result is a loss of credibility as to whether his is an "objective" measurement of class level. Moreover, his class system

is not organized statistically in terms of modal points around which incomes cluster, for example by defining the middle class in terms of a middle majority. Instead, external unexplicated, subjective criteria are employed. ... Porter's objective statistical class system is thus subjectively organized in terms of what he takes classes to be "really". (Heap, 1972: 177)

This, in turn, is a further departure from what in actuality constitutes a class since instead of using "class consciousness", which is the "classical" criteria for determining the existence of "real" classes, Porter has construed the term to refer to a specific life-style and consumption pattern (denoted by a certain yearly income). As Heap points out, Porter has misconstrued social isolation, or social distance between societal groups as being class boundary determinants.

⁶The rapid economic growth which characterized this country's development has had to have as its prerequisite the procurement of cheap and abundant labour. As a result, certain manpower and labour policies had to be implemented in order to ensure that these needs would be satisfied. More importantly, however, a means of social control was developed in order to ensure that such economic expansion would be inexpensive. To accomplish this aim, the social control of immigrants involved the following processes:

- a) it prevented the formation of worker solidarity by preventing union formation;
- b) it kept up as rapid a pace as possible in order to prevent work disruption;
- c) it made sure that the workers did not feel that they were entitled to better wage and

working conditions; and
 d) it fought against the establishment of all sorts of employment legislation (Breton et al., 1975: 89). Given such obstacles, it is not surprising that immigrants are often not able to compete with the indigenous population for the better occupations.

⁷Length of stay in entrance status occupation was determined on the basis of the response to the question "How long did you stay in that kind of work?" This was a follow-up to the the respondent's answer to the question "What was your very first job in Canada?" (The answer to this latter question was used to determine the "entrance status" occupation).

Although the respondents could misconstrue the former question to mean length of stay in the first particular job rather than length of stay in that type of occupation, it is felt that the possibility of such misunderstanding is minimal. The interview method used to collect this data allowed the interviewer to probe the answer further if the respondent misunderstood or did not answer the question correctly.

⁸Language fluency of the Polish-born respondents was determined by the interviewer immediately after the completion of the interview. The interviewer determined the respondent's English language fluency on a scale ranging from "poor" to "excellent".

For the purposes of this analysis, language fluency is considered to be a structural and market variable. First of all, language fluency has a universal character within the occupational structure as it applies with equal importance to any one individual or minority group within the working world. This is in marked contrast to ethnic variables which are characteristic only of ethnically specific minorities. Furthermore, determining the extent of language fluency satisfies the two remaining criteria for structural and market variables --- it may be objectively determined and also quantitatively analyzed. In short, English language fluency is to be understood within the occupational context rather than being construed as an ethnic attribute.

⁹In 1953, The Immigration Act was written in such a way that certain ethnic groups were given a preference and immigration officials were able to discriminate among those individuals entering Canada on the basis of ethnic criteria.

Immigrants from the United Kingdom tended to be of a higher socio-occupational status than most of the immigrants from other countries (Richmond, 1967). The fact that relatively few of them came from the semi-skilled

or unskilled worker categories resulted in the British migrants being underrepresented in the lower socio-economic classes but strongly overrepresented in the higher classes.

In this way the immigration from Britain reinforced the association between ethnic origin and social status that was already characteristic of the Canadian population. ... British immigrants were able to improve their position and those from other countries, particularly the ones who had been in professional or clerical occupations in their former countries suffered considerable decline in social status in Canada in the large majority of cases. (Richmond, 1967: 125)

In this way, the immigration policy enforced a working-class character on non-British immigrants which resulted in the working-class character of non-British ethnic groups.

Moreover, a further change in the Immigration Act in 1956 introduced an emphasis upon education, training, and skills as the main criteria of admissibility to Canada, irregardless of the country of origin of the applicant (Richmond, 1967: 17). In turn, this promoted an increase in middle-class and white-collar immigration from Britain. These individuals were in a better position to accomodate themselves into Canadian society and in addition, because of the absence of a language barrier, were able to take advantage of the educational and economic opportunities available to them.

¹⁰It is interesting to note the various motives and factors which resulted in the respondents' decision to come to Canada. By far the most common reply was the prospect of upgrading one's economic status (41%), followed by the unacceptability of the political situation in post-war Poland (32%). The remainder gave various other responses ranging from the desire to be near friends and relatives, to being a homeless refugee, or simply having the desire to travel.

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