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Determinants of Language Assimilation In
Three Ethnic Groups in Canada

Janice Paola Clarini

A Thesis
in
The Department
of
Sociology

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts at
Concordia University
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ABSTRACT

Determinants of Language Assimilation in Three Ethnic Groups in Canada

Janice Paola Clarini

Language assimilation as a component of ethnic identity change has become an area of concern for the sociologist. This thesis examines the different determinants of language assimilation for Greek, Italian and German immigrants in Canada. These determinants have been classified according to background characteristics, socio-economic characteristics and family characteristics. Particular attention is given to factors related to the latter and the effects these have on language assimilation.

The Family Files of the Public Use Sample Tapes of the 1981 Census of Canada were used as the sources of data. In order to test the impact of these factors on language assimilation regression analysis is utilized. The findings suggest that family characteristics are important in determining whether the ethnic language will be maintained or whether the language of the majority will be adopted and that intermarriage, more so than any of the other family characteristics affects this. This is generally consistent with those expected, with the coefficients produced having the same direction as proposed.

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INTRODUCTION

The study of language has become an area of recent concern for the sociologist. Presently, much energy is being directed towards the study of languages and their maintenance or abandonment in favor of other languages. One area in which this is becoming increasingly more obvious is in the area of ethnicity, as it provides an arena in which displaced populations can be examined in relation to ethnic language maintenance or loss.

Language is the use of a set of symbols with shared meanings. Language provides the basis for communication and is the prime vehicle by which culture is transmitted (Haas and Shafir, 1978; Goffman, 1977; Vallee, 1975). Language is but one of the elements involved in the social system which facilitates integration into the host society. Whereas language maintenance is a concrete expression of language loyalty, language abandonment is viewed as an expression of language antipathy (Kloss, 1966). This can be taken one step further in hypothesizing that language antipathy is related to a further loss of ethnic identity.

Immigration to Canada finds the immigrant confronted with the task of acquiring new skills, learning to perform new roles and acquiring a new set of values. One of the most important skills concerned is that of learning to speak

English or French, depending on the province of residence in Canada.

Assimilation and acculturation are concepts applied to the quality and degree of change in norms, values, customs and interactions which occur in an immigrant group upon entering a new country or society (Ziegler, 1972). Individuals entering a new society, to some extent or another become involved in the process of adjustment to new values and behaviours they come in contact with. Acculturation involves changes in culture, or more specifically, the learning of new roles, norms and customs and the internalization of these patterns of behaviour (Jansen, 1971). Linguistic acculturation is said to have occurred when there has been a change in the language used by an ethnic group, without a corresponding loss of the ethnic tongue (Anderson, 1979).

Assimilation, on the other hand, involves social change as seen through involvement in both formal and informal relationships with members of the host society. The former results in the ethnic group's involvement in the economic, political and cultural sectors of the host society, while the latter implies that interaction on a day to day basis is occurring with the host society. This ultimately represents a change in reference groups, as the ethnic group becomes integrated into the majority (Anderson, 1979; Haas and

Shafir, 1978). Porter, (1965) further develops the concept of structural assimilation, in stating that this results in equality of status as brought about by the ethnic groups' involvement in the institutional structure of the host society. Linguistic assimilation occurs when the language of the majority is accepted as the language of the ethnic group. Although there is concern with the study of assimilation, this study focuses on one index: language assimilation.

Linguistic change on the part of an ethnic group is to some extent an indication that the process of absorption is occurring. The adoption of a new language is one means by which movement away from identification with the ethnic group and a more pronounced identification with the new society is measured. Retention of one's native tongue can indicate a continued emphasis on ethnicity (Anderson, 1980; Lai, 1971). However as Anderson and Frederes (1981) point out, linguistic change does not necessarily predetermine ethnic identity change (1). Cultural traditions faced with

(1) Anderson and Frederes describe possible complications by stating that some ethnic groups are ethno-religious groups and do not emphasise language. Furthermore, it is possible to continue to exist as an ethnic group even if the traditional mother tongue is lost. There are many groups who have lost their national language as well as other customs but who continue to view themselves as one, separate from the majority. The degree to which a group feels that their identity is being eroded by changes in language dominance, is related to the emphasis that they place on language as an essential part of identity. (i.e. the Chinese)

religious distinctiveness may maintain such identity even when there is language loss. Despite other factors which may mitigate its effects, linguistic change still remains an important component in identity change.

As already stated, one of the principal components of ethnic identity change is linguistic change. Many ethnic groups adopt the language of the host society in order to facilitate their interactions with this society and yet continue to maintain the ability and desire to speak their mother tongue. Other ethnic groups lose this ability and/or desire in favour of total adoption of the language of the majority. Many factors influence whether the ethnic language will be retained to any degree in the new country.

In this study I hope to ascertain what factors, if any, influence an ethnic group once it has settled in Canada to adopt one of Canada's two official languages as their own. Some groups become linguistically accommodated, as seen through their ability to speak the new language and at the same time maintain the old. Although this brings about equality in respect to communication skills, the fact that they retain their ethnic language separates them from the dominant group. Other groups become linguistically assimilated and use the language of the majority in place of their ethnic language. One measurement of linguistic assimilation is the use of the language of the majority in

the home as this is one environment in which it is possible to continue using the ethnic language. As Hayden (1969) points out, active use of the mother tongue in the home is primarily responsible for enabling the children to master it and to continue using it. It is those factors influencing the adoption of the language of the majority in the home that this study will deal with. Furthermore, since different ethnic groups have immigrated to Canada at various times and under totally different conditions it is felt that a comparative study will facilitate in identifying whether similar factors influence linguistic acculturation for all ethnic groups. For this reason, Germans, Italians and Greeks are being utilized in order to examine which if any factors have influenced their ability to maintain their native languages.

In general, it is felt that linguistic assimilation precedes structural assimilation. Once an ethnic group adopts the language of the majority, other things being equal, it begins the process of absorption into the larger society. It is felt that language is an important component of ethnic identity for all ethnic groups, and that the loss of mother tongue will lead to a further loss of ethnic identity.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Factors Affecting Linguistic Assimilation

This section will deal with the available literature on linguistic assimilation especially that which has helped to identify factors which have promoted this type of assimilation. Studies conducted in both Canada and the United States have been utilized as they have all facilitated the development of theories of linguistic assimilation. Both macro and micro level determinants of language assimilation will be identified.

Macro Level Determinants of Language Assimilation

The determinants of language assimilation to be discussed in this section are at the macro level. They involve the community as a whole in that the focus is upon the specific make-up of the ethnic group.

Entrance Status

The entrance status of an ethnic group plays a large role in the immigrant group's introduction to the host society. Immigrants tend to arrive in a new country with a 'depressed entrance status' (Horna, 1979). This is manifested in terms of occupational status as well as educational status and income opportunities (Driedger, 1978;

Porter, 1965). Entrance status further implies that the processes of assimilation will be defined by the host society and that the immigrant group will be subjected to these processes in order to achieve integration. If these are adhered to, entrance status position can change over time, depending on the judgements of the host society.

Those ethnic groups that were among the first to settle in North America quickly moved out of their entrance status positions to more prestigious ones. Groups that arrived early in North American history had an opportunity to settle on prime land (Porter, 1965). Settlers were welcome as they brought with them skills that could help to develop the country. Furthermore, their early arrival allowed them to easily secure employment in an ever growing country. As industries developed, manpower was required and the immigrant quickly found employment. As more immigrants arrived from other parts of Europe, these first arrivals were able to improve their occupational status by becoming supervisors and employers of more recent arrivals. These early immigrants seem also to have been able to move into higher educational and income status groups (Porter, 1965; Anderson and Frederes, 1981). For these immigrants the adoption of English or French went hand in hand with movement up the social ladder (Driedger, 1978). As they became responsible for other people in the work force, their communication skills also improved such that they could

share a common language with the majority.

The entrance status of a group is influenced by the views of those who see themselves as true Americans or Canadians; that is, those who were born in North America. Attitudes are held about the ability of various ethnic groups to assimilate by the main charter groups. These groups seem to be more likely to accept and respect the languages of those groups whose presence in North America goes back to the early days of colonization. The ethnic group's ability to effect the history of the country is also dependent on the size of the group. (Kloss, 1966; Anderson and Frederes, 1981). Such historical priority has led to the formation of large Spanish, French and German areas in the U.S.A. The use of a language officially, prior to Anglicization, seems to have accorded these languages a degree of prestige which has helped to maintain their recognition by the population as a whole (Kloss, 1966). Furthermore, the use of a language internationally affords it a certain prestige which can be a source of pride for the ethnic group and can therefore lead to its being better accepted by the host society (Giles, Bourhis and Taylor; 1977). Again, this is not always the case as seen with the French in Canada. Although French is respected as an international language, its recognition in the rest of Canada remains a problem.

Trends in Immigration

For many ethnic groups immigration to Canada has virtually ceased (Anderson and Frederes, 1981). Although large numbers of German and Dutch immigrants arrived in Canada during the 1800's and early 1900's, immigration today has drastically decreased for these groups. For those ethnic groups that no longer have new members arriving in Canada, the necessity to speak their mother tongue has decreased (Millet, 1979). The arrival of new immigrants reinforces the use of the national language as older immigrants once more feel a bond with their native land. Furthermore, as members of the ethnic group age, the viability of the group is threatened (Anderson and Frederes, 1981). Social dynamics of the ethnic group such as language spoken may end if younger members are not present to uphold them. Finally, immigration policies can consciously keep certain groups in a minority position such that numbers will not increase and assimilation will be facilitated (Giles, Bourhis and Taylor; 1977).

Place of Residence of Recent Immigrants

As members of an ethnic group arrive in Canada, they tend to congregate in areas where other members of their ethnic group have already settled, thus creating territories in which the minority language is the principle tongue used

in daily communication and interactions. Large communities of Italians, Greeks, Chinese etc., are visible throughout Canada. Within these communities, the home language continues to be used in local businesses as well as in informal groups. Residential segregation reduces the need to learn the language of the majority in order to survive day to day as tasks can be completed without this knowledge (Anderson and Frederes, 1981). For many, this eliminates the need to open channels of communication with members of the host society and therefore to become exposed to the language.

Two factors tend to influence the maintenance of language in territories established by minority groups (Kloss, 1966; Fishman, 1972; Anderson, 1978). Settlements established by ethnic groups which are isolated from the rest of the population are less exposed to the majority language. In such settlements, the ethnic group is better able to promote their ethnic tongue and ignore that of the host society. This leads to the premise that ethnic groups who have settled in rural areas are less likely to have been linguistically assimilated than those in urban areas. With the advent of mass communication and transportation, isolation is less likely today (Kloss, 1966). Consequently, the numbers of ethnic members and the size of the territory they have settled has become increasingly more important to language maintenance. If the language island is small, the

chances of its being swallowed up by the language of the majority becomes more likely. Maintenance of the ethnic language requires efforts and planning. On the other hand, the larger and more isolated the ethnic group is from the rest of the host society, the easier it is to maintain the national language of their home land (Kloss, 1966).

Institutional Completeness

Outside of informal contacts, the concept of institutional completeness also affects the retention of ethnic tongue. Many ethnic groups participate in formal organizations involving other members of their ethnic group. This reinforces the use of the national tongue in contacts within that group (Driedger, 1978; Anderson, 1978; Haas and Shafir, 1978; Jansen, 1981). Breton (1968) found that the presence of formal institutions in the ethnic community serve to minimize contacts with the host society and to increase social relations within the ethnic group. If an ethnic group is able to organize itself; it reduces the need for its members to go outside the group to have their needs met. The development of ethnic media and services allows a degree of independence from the host society as well as minimizes the ethnic groups' contact with the host society. Consequently, these ethnic groups stand a better chance at resisting adoption of the language of the majority.

Religion

One organization that helps to bolster language maintenance is the church. Many ethnic groups tend to unite as a collectivity once in Canada through their religion, which provides them with common beliefs and goals (Lai, 1971, Anderson, 1980). For many ethnic groups, the church is set in their ethnic community and provides a setting in which the ethnic language continues to be utilized. Millet (1979) proposes that strong minority churches support other minority institutions which result in an increase in institutional completeness. Commitment to one's religion is therefore another vehicle by which identity with the home land can be maintained. If an ethnic group shares their religion with other ethnic groups, services will be provided in the language of the majority, as this is the language familiar to all those who share the religion but who do not share a common ethnicity. Moreover, the presence of churches within the ethnic community do not only affect the social relations of those who use them. According to Breton (1968) even those who do not attend church tend to have more in group relations when more than one ethnic church is present in the ethnic community.

Language maintenance is found to exist more specifically in religious groups (Haas and Shafir, 1978; Kloss, 1966). Many ethnic groups immigrated to North

America, as a result of religious persecution in their homeland, and formed self-sufficient societies in the new land. Ethnic identity, for these groups, is based on an explicit ideology. Consequently, these groups are more resilient to the process of assimilation than are those groups whose identity is not grounded in the culture of their homeland. Many of the former maintain their ethnic language for the sake of the preservation of their religion rather than for the sake of the language itself (Kloss, 1966). These lines are quite often blurred.

Parochial Schools

• For many ethnic groups, the primary factor in language maintenance is that the preservation of their religion led to the founding of parochial schools. In order for religious beliefs to be transferred to their children, these schools were established and the children were instructed in the ethnic language. For the establishment of parochial schools to be possible, the ethnic group itself must involve large numbers of individuals who support the institution. Furthermore, a certain level of intellectual functioning must exist such that specific individuals who possess the necessary skills can organize others for participation in this institution. One finds that parochial schools exist for those ethno-religious groups who have settled in large numbers in concentrated settlements, and who have members

capable of organization of the masses (Kloss, 1966).

In the past several decades, legislation against use of foreign language in schools has resulted in a decrease on the overall use of the mother tongue (Anderson, 1978; Kloss 1969). While there have been periods in history in which ethnic schools have promoted the use of the ethnic language, presently, these schools offer instruction in the ethnic language for only a small part of the day while the majority of the instruction occurs in the language of the majority. This has resulted in attitudinal changes among the children in the schools, who now tend to see the language itself as just another subject they must study.

Micro Level Determinants of Language Assimilation

This section will deal with the identified micro level determinants of language assimilation. These determinants are specific to the individual within the ethnic group and do not involve the make-up of the community or of the group as a whole.

Intermarriage

A decrease in immigration from the native land can result in an increase in marriage outside the ethnic group (Millet, 1971; Anderson, 1978). As exposure to the new

society grows and ties to the old society decrease, individuals begin to make contacts with individuals outside their ethnic group. Once this occurs, the need to retain the ethnic language decreases. In situations of intermarriage, the high status language tends to survive as the language of the home and of childrearing (Giles, Bourhis and Taylor, 1977). In a study of Germans in Saskatchewan, McLaughlin (1985) found that the frequency of English being spoken in the home increased when one of the spouses were not German. Consequently, if an immigrant marries a Canadian, the language of the latter will probably be utilized in the home due to its high status. If two individuals of differing ethnic origin marry, one can presume that the language of the majority will be adopted unless one of the individuals is also fluent in the language of his/her spouse. Intermarriage has become a trend for many ethnic groups and brings with it a re-definition of ethnic identity if not its de-emphasis entirely (Anderson, 1979; Millet, 1971).

Occupation

Many ethnic groups immigrated to Canada and the U.S.A. during periods where labourers were in demand. This led to hopes of securing employment and providing a secure environment for their families, which led them to settle in North America where the promise of opportunity existed.

Many of these individuals immigrated from rural areas in Europe where poverty was the norm. Although, they lacked both educational training and occupational skills, opportunities existed in industries such as construction, mining, and manufacturing. For these individuals it was not necessary to adopt the language of the majority in the work place, one area where new language skills are readily transmitted. They could find others who shared a similar ethnic origin and could therefore communicate with them in the shared ethnic tongue while learning only those expressions necessary to function. This occupational segregation lessens the chances of learning the language of the host society due to lack of contact with those who speak the language of the majority.

Education

Education also seems to play a role in language assimilation, although some contradictory evidence can be found. Some authors indicate that low levels of education in an immigrant group contribute to their resistance and inability to learn a new language (Jansen, 1979; Lai, 1971). Feelings of being subordinate related to lack of education in a society where education is valued can result in immigrants sticking together and making little effort to learn the new language. Lack of time due to job demands as well as feelings of insecurity around learning a new skill

deter them from attending school to learn the new language. Furthermore, as Kloss (1969) indicates, low educational levels hamper the formal development of ethnic institutions to facilitate the maintenance of their mother tongue. Leaders who possess qualifications made possible through education are necessary in an ethnic community, such that ethnic institutions can be established in order to maintain the ethnic language. If these institutions are not developed, the second generation is not shielded from the new language and contacts with it bring for them a greater identification with it and movement away from use of the ethnic tongue. This is not necessarily the case for groups whose main objective is the maintenance of religious beliefs. For these groups language maintenance results from the maintenance of religion.

The immigration of individuals with higher levels of education has varying effects on ethnic language maintenance. These individuals prove to feel better equipped for success in the new society, and therefore are more assertive and possess a greater degree of self respect (Lai, 1971; Kloss, 1969). Pride in nationality can, in turn, lead to conscious efforts and planning in the maintenance of ethnic language through the organization of ethnic clubs and schools in which ethnic language maintenance can be facilitated.

Studies of Germans, Ukrainians and Poles (Anderson, 1979), as well as of Greeks (Gavaki, 1977), have found that use of the language of the majority increases through high school graduates but decreases for the university educated. Kloss, Fishman and Nahirny (1969) point out that higher levels of education in members of an ethnic community can also have negative effects on ethnic language maintenance. Higher levels of education often result in greater mobility, both occupationally and geographically as well as a greater desire to become incorporated into the new society. Furthermore, Fishman and Nahirny (1969) point out that although many cultural leaders maintain and promote their ethnic tongue, inevitably much of their communication with others occurs in the language of the majority. Furthermore, many cultural organizations have opened their doors to anyone who is interested in that culture and therefore ethnic language maintenance is no longer a characteristic of the members or a priority of the organization. Consequently, it would appear that although present day leaders and institutions can help to maintain ethnic language, they also are more tolerant in many cases to the learning of the language of the majority. Finally, the adoption of the point system in Canada saw immigrants earning points for knowledge of English or French. Therefore, these more recent immigrants are likely to have their own language as well as some knowledge of English or French.

Presence of Children ,

In order for linguistic assimilation to occur, the immigrant must come into contact with the new language (Child, 1943). The school system provides a setting for children of immigrants to have contact with the language of the majority. This system forces the individual to take part in social situations where rewards and punishments are administered by persons who are natives of the new culture. The adoption of Canadian traits, behaviours and language is met by the approval of teachers and the friendship of peers. This period also can begin the process of linguistic assimilation for the parents of these children. As children begin to communicate with each other in English, parents find themselves separated from them by a barrier that can be broken only if they too learn this language (Anderson, 1978). In order to maintain their position in the family adults find that they must learn to speak English such that their children are not forced to become the interpreters for the family. Consequently, children play an important role in the socialization of their parents, and help to facilitate the learning of the language of the majority.

As the children begin to learn the language of the majority, the ethnic tongue itself is altered. Neologisms, or slang, are adopted by many of the children, so that English expressions or words are used in place of those from

the ethnic language. This introduces the indigenous language to the family in a practical sense as all members can use these expressions in day to day interactions (Anderson, 1980). (2)

Through many studies involving many different ethnic groups in both Canada and the U.S.A., both macro and micro level determinants of linguistic assimilation have been identified. The presence or absence of certain conditions will benefit either ethnic language maintenance or linguistic assimilation.

Summary

The literature reviewed has examined many factors which are important determinants of linguistic assimilation. The adoption of the language of the majority is closely related to the length of time an ethnic group has been in North America and the circumstances under which the group immigrated. Furthermore, attitudes of the host society towards the ethnic group influence whether a group will be accepted or will be pressured into adopting the culture and

(2) Anderson points out that expressions and words describing household appliances are the first to replace parts of the ethnic language. Many English and French words have been altered and become accepted as part of the ethnic language, i.e. caro for the word car is used by Italians. These words seem to be initially introduced by the children and lead to a change in the ethnic language itself..

language of the host society.

Similarly, characteristics of the group such as the numbers who have immigrated and the areas they have immigrated to will affect whether extensive contact with the host society will occur and therefore whether their culture and, specifically their language will be threatened. Contact with the host society is reduced if the ethnic group is able to establish institutions for the satisfaction of their needs, such as ethnic schools and ethnic parishes. Where this occurs, the ethnic language can be maintained indirectly through the maintenance of these institutions. In general, it can be stated that increased contact by the ethnic group with the host society will tend to increase the probability that the language of the majority will be adopted. In order to control for these factors, a separate analysis will be conducted for each group.

Also, other variables such as the type of employment found and the level of education attained can either facilitate or hinder ethnic language maintenance. These variables, in addition to the presence of children which will constitute part of the main focus of this study, will be considered as determinants of language assimilation.

Immigration Patterns In Canada

The terms multicultural, pluralistic and mosaic are often used to describe present day Canadian society. These concepts are all used to describe a society in which a number of ethnic groups reside within one nation state separated from each other and the society of the majority by boundaries. (Porter, 1965; Anderson and Frederes, 1981; Elliot, 1971). These boundaries can be clear cut as is evident in the case of French-speaking Quebec or subtle as in those that exist in a city in which separate ethnic groups co-exist.

Belief in a pluralistic society is belief in a system whereby different ethnic groups co-exist peacefully, yet maintain different cultural practices such as language use (Porter, 1965). Within this type of society, it is possible for culture to be transmitted from one generation to another and therefore to survive even after displacement to a new country occurs. Porter (1965) points out that in Canada social control is maintained by the British charter group even though an ethnic mosaic exists, leading to segregation in the social structure. This results in an interdependency among ethnic groups as one common political structure exists (Anderson and Frederes, 1981).

The U.S.A. has been described as an ethnic melting

pot, as ethnic groups, upon immigration, have undergone a radical breakdown of national ties and old forms of stratification (Porter, 1965). Yet, this view has been challenged by various sociologists as they cite cases of existing German, French and Spanish communities in the U.S.A (Porter, 1965; Anderson and Frederes, 1981; Anderson, 1980).

Attempts have been made to trace patterns of immigration historically in Canada. According to the work of Elliot (1971) and Anderson and Frederes (1981), there are five distinct phases in Canadian immigration.

Phase I, or, the French era ended with Confederation and saw the domination of the British both politically and economically. Although the proportion of French settlers grew until 1867, this was mainly a result of a high birth rate, rather than immigration (Anderson and Frederes, 1981).

Phase II saw the arrival of the British nationals to Canada in the period from 1867-1902. Anderson and Frederes, (1981) point out that British settlers arrived in multitudes in hopes of thwarting the French and American influence in Canada. The building of the railroad and canals brought about a call for labourers, attracting members of various ethnic groups (Krauter and Davis, 1978). During both Phase I and Phase II, virtual free entry into Canada was possible as population increase was of primary concern (Elliot,

1979).

Phase III, occurring from 1903 to W.W.II saw the beginning of selective immigration, as the focus became settlement of the agricultural land in the West (Elliot, 1979). The Canadian government developed an aggressive policy to attract farmers to Western Canada. Those that arrived during this time came with agricultural skills, but few language and educational skills. Consequently, the development of concentrated settlements composed of members of specific ethnic groups became evident (Anderson and Frederes, 1981). Such geographic concentration made it possible for these groups to maintain their culture and language. Immigration during this time saw large numbers of Germans, Dutch and Ukrainians arrive in Canada (Anderson, 1980).

The onset of W.W.I saw a slowdown of immigration which continued through the depression of the 30's until the end of W.W.II. During this time, laws were passed to restrict certain ethnic groups that were not easily assimilable from immigrating to Canada. Although these restrictions were lifted, the dominant groups in Canada maintained general attitudes about the ability of some groups to assimilate easily (Anderson and Frederes, 1981). Those immigrants that did settle during this time, were more apt to do so in rural areas as had those who immigrated earlier.

After W.W.II, immigration to Canada increased once more. As industry developed, labourers were needed again and were found within ethnic groups. The chain migration of the Italians, during this time, provided manpower in manufacturing, construction and mining. During this time, a shift in immigration trends occurred in that urban areas became the focus of ethnic group settlement. Again, due to poor language, occupational and educational skills, many ethnic groups settled in concentrated areas, thus establishing close enclaves within urban settlements (Anderson and Frederes, 1981).

The final phase of immigration, in which Canada is presently involved seems to have commenced in the mid 60's with the adoption of the point system. This brought about the selection of immigrants on the basis of points earned in areas such as education and occupation. (As previously mentioned, points were also given for knowing English or French so that the new immigrant was likely to possess some English or French as well as his own language. Consequently, characteristics of immigrants to Canada changed drastically at this time. Rather than extensive immigration of family members, made possible through sponsorship, a more educated group arrived possessing higher levels of education and a wider variety of occupational skills (Elliot, 1979). Furthermore, settlement in urban areas predominated in comparison to past rural settlement.

Many immigrants must now agree to settle in areas where employment is available for a predetermined length of time, before they are accepted into Canada. Finally, immigration from European countries has decreased, while Third World immigration has increased (Anderson and Frederes, 1981).

It is expected that there is a difference in the extent to which linguistic assimilation has occurred associated with these different waves of immigration. Groups that immigrated during the first wave of immigration have been exposed to the new language for much longer than those who immigrated during the final wave. Consequently, it would be expected that individuals who have been in the country for longer would be more likely to have adopted English or French than those who are recent immigrants. The three groups used in this study have immigrated as a result of differing historical conditions and have been accepted to different degrees by the host society, thus necessitating a separate analysis by ethnic group.

A Brief Overview of Three Ethnic Groups

Many demographic studies of ethnic groups residing in different areas in Canada have been conducted and have helped to develop a profile of these groups. This section will attempt to trace immigration patterns for three ethnic groups in Canada; that is, for Germans, Italians and Greeks. Furthermore, an attempt will be made to describe such characteristics and circumstances which have affected the process of linguistic assimilation.

Anderson and Frederes (1981) found that 74% of the total population in 1971 was composed of members of the two charter groups; that is, the English and the French. Of the remaining 26%, Germans constituted 6.1% while the Italians and Greeks constituted 3.4% and 0.6% respectively. These ethnic groups have immigrated to Canada at different times and under different circumstances. A brief overview will follow.

The Germans

The Germans were one of the first ethnic groups to follow the British and French and settle in Canada. Kloss (1969), Anderson (1978, 1981), McLaughlin (1985) and Stadler (1983) have provided valuable information on this ethnic group.

Some German immigration occurred early in the days of colonization. These individuals emigrated from a country where their language was not specific only to their country. Furthermore, diverse religious orientations coupled with shifting political borders led to problems in the formation of a German identity. The Germans arrived in Canada with an openness and willingness to learn the new language.

As most of the earlier German immigrants had been farmers in Germany, they arrived to settle the fertile land in Canada. These agricultural skills led them to settle in the Western Prairie provinces and in Southern Ontario. The arrival of other ethnic groups after them, allowed them to quickly leave their entrance status positions. This was also facilitated by attitudes maintained by both the ethnic group and the charter groups towards their identity.

Being among the first to arrive in a country that was in its pioneering stage, led to feelings of co-founding the nation. Attitudes of superiority developed, both towards German language and German culture, as all agreed that the German group had much to offer this new country. Furthermore, the positive relationship between the German and British aristocracy made it possible to be easily accepted in one of the Commonwealth countries. Isolated societies were formed in rural areas where the existing population was low. Within these societies, the Germans

began to develop institutions and organizations which facilitated the maintenance of their language and customs. German literature was published and was made available. Furthermore, parochial and independent schools were established, thus decreasing the need to make contacts with the host society. Yet, there was also a desire to participate in English speaking society which led to the acceptance of the new language and culture.

During and after both W.W.I and W.W.II, a change was seen in the attitudes of the host society towards the German people. Anti-German sentiment developed as news of actions in Europe became well known. This did much to accelerate linguistic assimilation as the Germans in Canada began to identify themselves as German Canadians whose fate was tied to that of Canada rather than to that of Germany. The 1921 census showed a marked decrease in the number of Germans who admitted to being German in origin. German family names became Anglicized as did names of communities such as Berlin, Ontario which became Kitchener. Schools where instruction was offered in German were outlawed forcing children to be taught in the language of the majority. The Lutheran Church, which had given up instruction in German in its colleges and seminars hastened linguistic assimilation as young ministers conducted services in English.

This de-emphasis of the close link between ethnic

language and religion along with the breakdown of German institutional completeness helped to promote linguistic assimilation. Furthermore, rural depopulation with corresponding urbanization brought the German people in contact with the host society. Inter-marriage between Germans and people of other ethnic origins became increasingly more evident.

As a result, a shift in German language use emerged, especially among the young. This shift appears to have resulted in the gradual diminishment of the use of German. A large decrease in the numbers who immigrated from Germany in the past forty years has also resulted in a loss of mother tongue as few new members are arriving and bringing with them the language of the homeland.

The Italians

Italians immigrated to Canada at a later date than did the Germans. Jansen (1971, 1978) as well as Ziegler (1972) and Harney (1979) have studied this ethnic group in Canada. Italian immigration to Canada became visible in the 1900's. Economic hardships in Italy coupled with the demand for labourers in Canada resulted in the immigration of many males. These immigrants arrived with little education and few skills, thus placing them in low entrance status positions. Much of the best land had already been settled,

leaving the Italians to form small settlements in urban areas, specifically in Ontario and Quebec.

The end of W.W.I saw the arrival of women and children who in many cases came to join their husbands who had immigrated earlier. This saw further development of the Italian community where ethnic language and customs were practiced. The period between 1930 through the end of W.W.II saw a decline in Italian immigration, mostly due to the development of negative attitudes in the host society towards the rising threat of Fascism.

A large majority of the Italian group in Canada is composed of postwar immigrants, who were sponsored by family members. Attitudes towards ethnic groups at this time were becoming increasingly negative. Furthermore, the Italians continued to be predominantly uneducated with few employment skills. Consequently, low entrance status continued to negatively affect them.

Italians continued to congregate in the established 'Italian communities' within larger urban areas. These settlements were allowed to exist by the host society as they too benefited from the atmosphere found in these areas, i.e. the availability of various ethnic foods and services. Within these communities, services were provided in Italian through such channels as television, newspapers and stores.

The ethnic language continued to predominate as primary group relations did not change, in that Italians continued to limit their contacts to other Italians. Yet with the immersion of the children into the schools of the host society came exposure to the language of the majority. This quickly resulted in the alteration of the ethnic language, as English or French expressions became incorporated into their vocabulary. Italians, in general, have been unable to establish ethnic institutions to which they become loyal. Neither did they become involved in the institutions of the host society, nor did they become involved in the development and maintenance of their own formal institutions such as schools. As a majority of Italians are Roman Catholics, they are able to practice their religion in the established English and French churches. Furthermore, as Latin continues to be the language of the church in Italy, language maintenance through the church was not possible.

Since the mid sixties, immigration to Canada from Italy has decreased. The adoption of the point system saw more educated and skilled immigrants arriving in Canada, thus opening up the opportunity for better employment possibilities. Yet for these individuals, the ethnic community to which they arrived was very different from the land they have left. Although the community remains a close knit one, the cultural norms have changed such that they support the learning of the new language in order to

facilitate integration and improvement in the standard of living.

The Greeks

The final ethnic group to be discussed is the Greek group. Studies by Chimbos (1980) and Gavaki (1977) will constitute the basis of this discussion.

Although some Greeks immigrated in the early 1900's, the majority arrived after 1950. To this day, a slow degree of integration has been witnessed within the Greek community. Immigration to Canada saw the Greek immigrant organized in communities whose primary purpose was the maintenance of their religion.

Although a majority of Greeks emigrated from rural areas, they found themselves settling in concentrated areas within larger urban areas. Within these communities, the Greek group was able to establish institutions and organizations which accommodated the social needs of its members. The greatest influence on the Greek population's sense of cohesion in Canada has been its Greek Orthodox religion. Establishment of the Greek Orthodox Church in Canada has facilitated the maintenance of both its culture and its language. The church provides the ethnic group with a means by which they can maintain their ethnic identity.

As Greeks are a relatively new group in Canada, intermarriage is as of yet low. This too has facilitated the maintenance of the ethnic language.

Immigration from Greece still exists today. As of yet, it appears that they still arrive in low entrance positions even though individuals are better educated and more highly skilled. Lack of language skills may account for this.

As has been discussed, the Germans, Italians and Greeks have immigrated to Canada at different times and under different conditions. As a result the reception they have received from the host society has differed. This has led to varying levels of assimilation, and more specifically, varying levels of linguistic assimilation. Consequently, it is important to conduct a separate analysis for these three groups.

This study will examine specific factors and the effect that they have on language assimilation for Germans, Italians and Greeks. The next section will outline the specific problem to be dealt with as well as the concepts and their operational definitions.

MODEL SPECIFICATION

The Problem

The question of language retention or language assimilation has been one of great concern to ethnic groups who have immigrated to Canada. Conscious efforts and planning have become obvious on the part of many groups in an attempt to maintain their ethnic language in a Canada where English is spoken by the majority as well as by its American neighbours.

A recent example of concrete planning on the part of a language group can be found in the development of Bill 22 in Quebec. Accompanying a decrease in the birth rate in Quebec and an increase in intermarriage (Millet, 1977) came a corresponding fear that the French language would not survive. With Bill 22 came compulsory French education for children of immigrant parents in the hope that this would lead to an increase in the use of French. Policy makers in Quebec agree that schools act as socializing agents and consequently are using these arenas to teach and promote the use of French. Furthermore, if the premise that children do socialize their parents is true, then it would be safe to assume that they would introduce the language in the home.

The literature presented has discussed specific factors which promote language assimilation. Much of the literature

has been focused on the study of specific ethnic groups residing in a specific territory and how such factors as length of time in Canada and education, among others, have influenced the adoption of the language of the majority. From these studies, various theories of language assimilation have been developed. Yet gaps in the empirical support for these theories are obvious.

First, a majority of these studies deal specifically with the study of factors which are expected to affect language assimilation independent from each other. For example, the effect of level of education on language assimilation has been studied independent from the effect of length of time in Canada. This study will attempt to hold constant factors which are obvious correlates of other factors. This will eliminate the confounding effects of these variables. By holding constant the effect of such factors as length of time in the new country, a more reliable analysis of the effect of other factors can be attained.

A second problem in the empirical studies surveyed is that simple statistical procedures have been used, such as crosstabs and simple frequency analysis, to study the effect of various factors on linguistic assimilation. Consequently, the findings have provided us with information as to whether or not a relationship exists between a

variable and linguistic assimilation and whether or not this relationship is positive or negative. This study will utilize regression as the statistical procedure. Consequently, the amount of variance explained in the dependent variable by each independent variable entered will be determined. Furthermore, variables will be entered according to chronological priority; that is, length of time in Canada will be entered prior to occupation as the former precedes the latter and therefore affects the latter. Consequently, the effects of family related characteristics such as intermarriage, the presence of children and the presence of old people in the home on language assimilation will be determined, once the confounding effects of other variables are eliminated.

This study will also examine variables that have not been included in the literature to this point. In the literature presented, such factors as the presence of old people in the home, the age of the individual at immigration and the number of children in the home have not been studied for the effects they have on language assimilation. The inclusion of these variables will facilitate an understanding of the process that occurs in linguistic assimilation.

Finally, as previously mentioned, studies already undertaken have dealt specifically with ethnic groups residing in a specific area. Studies are available which

examine one ethnic group in one area of the country, or compare ethnic groups residing in a specific area. This study will look at three ethnic groups across Canada in order to determine which factors are important in language assimilation for these groups. These types of findings will be generalizable to the ethnic groups selected, across Canada.

Hypotheses

The first general hypothesis postulates that ethnic origin is a determinant of language assimilation. One expects that differences in ethnic origin will help to explain differences in language assimilation. This is supported in the literature, as various studies have found that due to differing conditions at immigration and differing value orientations among ethnic groups, the extent to which language assimilation has occurred for various ethnic groups is not the same. As Kloss (1969) points out, ethnic groups receive different reactions from the host society upon immigration. This, coupled with the ethnic group's reasons for immigrating and the feelings they have towards the country in which they have newly settled, will affect their linguistic assimilation. Germans, who immigrated under favourable conditions and who were well received by the host society are expected to have become more linguistically assimilated than either Italians or

Greeks. As all other variables will be held constant, the true value that ethnicity adds will be determined.

Given that the importance of some variables has already been tested and that these variables have been found to influence language assimilation, it is also the objective of this study to bring to light the effects of other, more subtle factors related to family composition. The second hypothesis being tested is that once certain factors related to background and socio-economic characteristics are controlled, it is expected that family related variables will have significant effects on language assimilation. The variables related to family composition will be added separately so that the amount of variance added by each one can be determined.

The first hypothesis with regard to family composition has to do with the influence of school age children. It is expected that those families who have children in school will be more likely to speak English or French in the home than those who do not. Children come in contact with the new language through attendance at school. Once children attend school, the onus for them becomes acceptance from their peers and their teachers. One way of attaining this is by adopting the culture and specifically the language of their peers. Once this occurs, it is expected that the parents will also begin to adopt the new language as efforts are made to 'keep up' with their children and to continue to

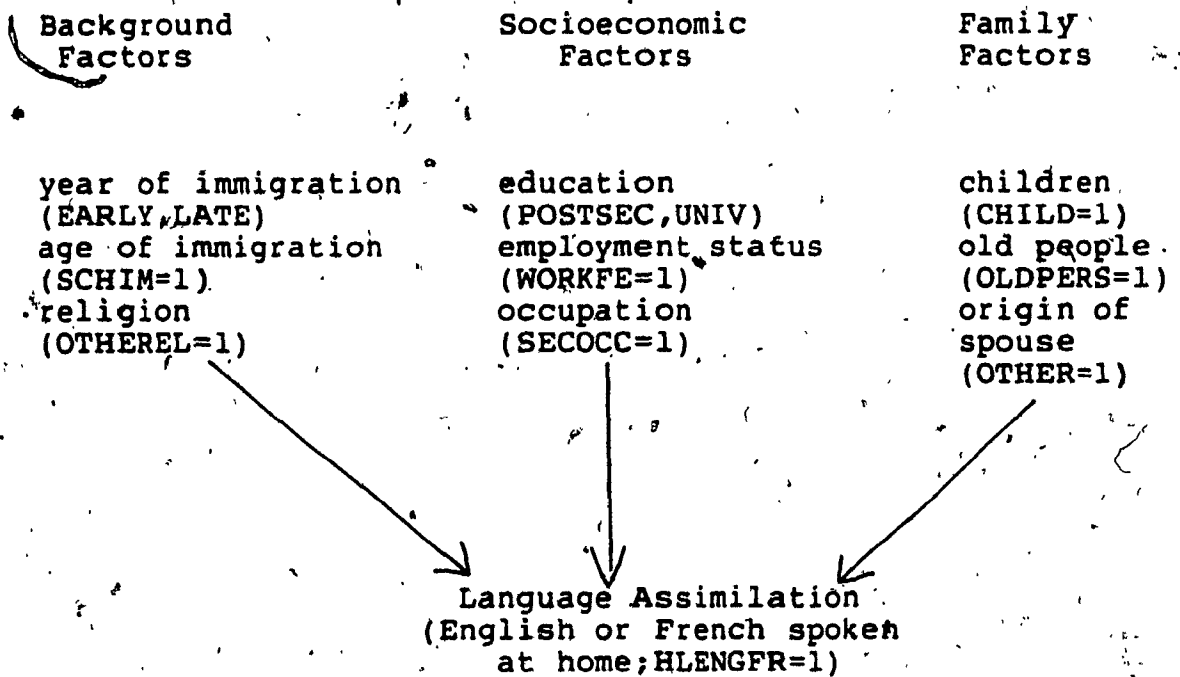
be role models for them.

The second hypothesis to be tested is as follows. The presence of individuals in the home over the age of 65 will explain differences in the degree to which language assimilation has occurred. Many ethnic groups continue to maintain an extended family household in Canada. Immigration through sponsorship has allowed members of the extended family to immigrate. Once in Canada, it is expected that these older individuals will reside with family members. Many of these older individuals feel that it is too late for them to change many of their ways, including the language in which they communicate. Consequently, one would expect that in households in which older immigrants are present, the ethnic language will be maintained.

The final hypothesis to be tested is that intermarriage will explain differences in the degree of language assimilation that has occurred. One expects that if one marries someone who shares a similar ethnic origin and consequently a similar language, they will continue to use this language in the home. On the other hand, those individuals who marry outside their ethnic group will adopt a common language in which to communicate. As the language of the majority is available and also offers a degree of prestige and acceptance from the host society, it is

probable that those individuals who marry outside their ethnic group will adopt this language with their families.

The model to be tested can be demonstrated through the following diagram:



METHODOLOGY

The Data Base

The data are based on the Public Use Sample Tapes of the 1981 Canadian Census (family file). Selected from this sample was a subsample of immigrants consisting of all males and females of Greek, Italian and German origin who were born in Greece, Italy and Germany. This resulted in a total sample of 4562 individuals. There were a total of 2260 women; 573 German, 314 Greek and 1373 Italian women. Finally, there was a total of 2302 men; 500 German, 349 Greek and 1453 Italian men. Separate analyses were conducted for the men and women in each subsample such that differences in the effects of the independent variables on language assimilation for the two sexes and different ethnic groups could be determined. Separate analyses were also conducted for the pooled sample of all men and women so that the impact of ethnicity could be tested. Furthermore, a separate analysis was also conducted for those women who work, again so that differences in language assimilation for employed women could be determined. It is expected that the effects of the variables will be different for the subsamples of women, thus justifying a separate analysis. The total number of working women from each ethnic group is 193 Greek women, 349 German women and 761 Italian women.

It is important to discuss the limitations of the data

used. First, the data were not collected specifically for use in this study. Consequently, many variables which were discussed in the literature could not be included in this analysis as data was not available. Had a questionnaire been developed to deal specifically with demographic, socio-economic and institutional factors, a more reliable analysis would have resulted.

Language assimilation is a complex concept and involves changes in attitudes. Orientations must change towards those of the host society in order for linguistic assimilation to occur. The available Canadian Census data did not include any variables related to attitudes and beliefs. Again this is a flaw of this study, as these variables could not be included even though it is likely that they would affect language assimilation. Consequently, the choice and construction of the indicators is based completely on the form in which the data were available.

Regression analysis is used in this study so that the relative impact of the independent variables on language assimilation can be measured. The variables were entered in terms of chronological priority such that the confounding effects of variables could be eliminated. Those variables related to background characteristics were entered as the first block, while those related to socio-economic status were entered as the second. The variables related to family

characteristics were entered individually after these two blocks. Consequently, the relative impact of each family factor on language assimilation can be determined.

The Dependent Variable

In the hypotheses to be tested in this study, the dependent variable is linguistic assimilation, which can be measured by the language spoken at home, HLENGFR (French, English=F). As Canada is a bilingual nation, and as this study includes data collected from members of the three ethnic groups across Canada, the adoption of either English or French in the home will indicate that language assimilation has occurred. Furthermore, adoption of either one of these languages would indicate assimilation as they are not native to Germany, Greece or Italy. No matter what ethnic origin an individual feels loyal towards, adoption of either of the two national languages in Canada will represent a shift towards language assimilation.

The Independent Variables

The major relationship to be studied in this analysis is that between family characteristics and language assimilation. In order to determine the amount of variance in the dependent variable explained by the family related variables, all other independent variables that could possibly serve to help explain language assimilation were

utilized as control variables.

In order to control for length of time in Canada, two dummy variables were created for the variable year of immigration. The first, EARLY, refers to those who immigrated before 1955, or during the first major wave of immigration in Canada. LATE refers to all those who immigrated between 1967 to 1981, or the most recent immigrants. It is assumed that those who immigrated early will be more assimilated than others. One would expect that most of the variance in the dependent variable will be explained by EARLY as the longer one has resided in a country, the more likely he/she will be to speak English or French in the home. The reference group is those individuals who immigrated between 1955 and 1967. Although those who immigrated after the adoption of the point system are likely to possess some English or French, these immigrants are less likely to have adopted one of these languages in the home than are those who immigrated earlier due to less familiarity and comfort with these languages.

The next dummy variable to be created was SCHIM, and refers to those individuals who immigrated before the age of 16. This cut off point was used as it is assumed that those who immigrated before the age of 16 would be more likely to have attended school in Canada and consequently to have been exposed to the language of the majority. It is also felt

that immigration at a young age will result in greater openness to becoming integrated in the host community. Consequently, it is expected that these individuals will be more likely to speak English or French in the home than those who were over the age of 16 when they immigrated. In order to construct this new variable, the following process was used. As the intervals used for year of immigration were not consistent, midpoints were chosen. These midpoints representing year of immigration were subtracted from the present age of the individual, which was then subtracted from the present year. This resulted in the age at immigration of the individual.

The dummy variable OTHEREL was created and represents those immigrants who are affiliated with religions other than those that are specific to their home land. For the Germans, OTHEREL includes all religions except the Lutheran and Mennonite religion as these are major religions in Germany. Although many Mennonites are Russian in origin and entered Germany as refugees, this sample chose only those individuals born in Germany. For Italians, OTHEREL includes all religions except Roman Catholics, while for Greeks, it excludes Greek Orthodox. It is expected that those individuals included in the category of OTHEREL will be more likely to speak English or French in the home than those in the reference category. One explanation for this is that many ethnic groups have been able to form religious institutions where not only religious beliefs but also

ethnic language is maintained. Individuals involved in these formal institutions would be less likely to adopt the language of the majority, while individuals who do not affiliate themselves with their ethnic religion will be exposed to other languages, presumably that of the host society, and will probably adopt this as their own. This variable was not used with the pooled sample as it is highly correlated with the variables identifying ethnic origin.

The following three dummy variables were created to indicate the educational status attained by the immigrant. The first variable POSTSEC included those who have more than highschool education but who have no university education. This includes those individuals who have been or are registered in specialized training programs as well as certificate or non-certificate college programs. The second variable created is UNIV and includes those individuals who have attended university. The reference category includes those who have some high school education and/or elementary school education. It is felt that education will positively affect language assimilation; that is, those with more education will be more likely to speak English or French than others, until one reaches university. Education increases self-confidence and the chances that one can effectively learn the new language, as it serves as an arena in which this skill can be introduced and learned. Those individuals who continue their education through attendance

in a university attain a sense of awareness of the importance of ethnic language maintenance and would therefore be less likely to adopt the new language at home than those with less than university education.

The next two dummy variables that were created are WORK and SECOCC. WORK includes those individuals who at one time or another have been involved in the labour force. The reference group is those who have never worked. It is expected that immigrants having participated in the labour force will be more likely to adopt English or French at home than those who have not ever worked. Increased contact with the new language through employment in the host society is expected to positively influence language assimilation. SECOCC includes those individuals who are employed in fields in which there is contact with the general public. The reference group includes those whose jobs are in fields in which contact with the public is not necessary such as construction, farming and factory work. It is expected that those immigrants who are employed in occupations which require contact with the public have a working knowledge of either English or French and are therefore more likely to adopt one of these languages in the home than are those who do not necessarily use these languages in the work place. It should be noted that these dummy variables were not included in the same regression statement. One regression included all female respondents and the variable WORK was included as it is expected that those individuals who are

involved in some type of external employment will be more likely to speak English or French in the home than those who are not. In the second regression analysis, only those females who work were selected. In this case, the variable SECOCC was included as it is expected that those individuals who have contact with the public through employment will be more likely to speak English or French in the home than those whose jobs do not involve contact with the public. This is supported through the literature which states that many immigrants congregate in jobs where other immigrants are found, thus enabling them to converse in their ethnic tongue. Since all men had been employed at one time or another, separate regressions for currently working and non-working men were not necessary.

The next dummy variable to be created was OTHERSP and was used to test the effects of intermarriage. For all three ethnic groups, this variable includes spouses who did not originate from the same ethnic groups as their partners. The reference group is those spouses who have the same ethnic origin as their partners. It is expected that those who marry outside their ethnic group will adopt the language of the majority as the language in which day to day communication is carried out. On the other hand, those who marry within their ethnic group will maintain their ethnic language as it is common to both parties.

A dummy variable was also created to represent those families who had individuals over the age of 60 living with them. OLDPERS represents those families who have one or more people over the age of 60 living in their homes, while the reference group is those who have no individuals over the age of 60 living with them. It is expected that the presence of old people will negatively affect language assimilation. Although the ethnic origin of these individuals is not available, it is assumed that they will share a similar ethnic origin to those individuals represented in the sample.

Finally, a dummy variable was created to represent the presence of children over the age of 6, or school aged children in the home. The variable CHILD represents those families in which children over the age of 6 are present. It is expected that changes in language assimilation will be explained by the presence of school aged children as they are transmitters of the language of the majority to their parents. It is expected that because children come in contact with the new language at school they would be more likely to use the language in the home.

Although the literature review suggested that both rural/urban place of residence and province might be important determinants of assimilation, problems arose when these were included in the regression analysis. As most Italians and Greeks live in Ontario and Quebec, high

correlations existed between these ethnic groups and province of residence in the pooled sample. Due to this, province of residence was not included in the analysis. Furthermore, it was not possible to include rural/urban place of residence as well due to the manner in which the data were gathered. Major cities such as Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver were included whereas smaller cities such as Sudbury and Sherbrooke were not. Consequently, these cities would have been labelled as rural areas producing a measurement error in the analysis. Thus rural/urban place of residence could not be entered as a variable.

Again, it is important to repeat that as the purpose of this study is to determine the amount of variance in the dependent variable explained by family related characteristics, that is, OTHERSP, OLDPERS and CHILD, these variables were entered individually and after all other variables had been included in the equation. Furthermore, as OTHEREL, EARLY, LATE and SCHIM are all related to migration, they were entered as a block. POSTSEC, UNIV, WORK or SEGCOC were entered next as a block. By doing this the confounding effects of these variables are eliminated and the true variance in the dependent variable explained by the family related variables can be determined.

The first hypothesis, that is, that ethnic origin is a determinant of language assimilation is tested by looking at

all males and females. Two dummy variables were then created. The variable GERMAN included all individuals who were born in Germany and who claimed a German ethnic origin. The variable GREEK included all individuals who were born in Greece and who claimed a Greek ethnic origin. The reference group was those individuals who were born in Italy. Again, separate analyses were conducted for males and females. As all other variables that are expected to explain language assimilation were included first, the effects of these variables were controlled for. It is expected that once the effects of these variables are controlled, the variables GERMAN and GREEK will have a significant effect on language assimilation.

In order to eliminate problems of multicollinearity, two procedures were used. First, the tolerance level was set at .6. Consequently, an independent variable is included in the regression equation only if 40% or less of its variance is explained by independent variables already in the equation. Next, regressions were run with each independent variable used as a dependent variable. This eliminates the possibility of independent variables being highly correlated and therefore colouring the findings. As a result, two variables were excluded in two of the equations. For the subsample of All German men, the variable POSTSEC was correlated at > than .4 with UNIV and consequently was eliminated. For the Pooled subsample of Ethnic working women, the variable GREEK was also excluded

from the equation. Tables I through Tables IV show the findings of the regressions testing for multicollinearity.

The Pin level (F to enter) was set at 1.00, so that all variables would be entered, regardless of their level of significance. Thus, the amount of variance (R.Square) added to the dependent variable by an independent variable can be determined.

ANALYSIS

As stated in the previous section, this study is concerned with the effect of certain family related characteristics on language assimilation. Regression was used so that the relative effect of these independent variables on language assimilation could be measured while controlling for other independent variables in the equation. It has also been used to measure the amount of variance in language assimilation explained by the combination of all variables used in the equation.

The analyses were conducted separately on twelve subsamples selected on the basis of sex and ethnicity. The first subsample included all men, with the variable ethnicity entered, while the second included all women. Next subsamples of male Italians, female Italians, male Greeks, female Greeks, male Germans, and female Germans were selected. Within each subsample of women, separate regressions were run for employed and unemployed women. Only those variables that are significant at least at .05 will be discussed.

Pooled Samples

The results of the regression analyses for the pooled samples of men and women are presented in Tables V, VI and VII. For the subsample of working women, the variable GREEK

was excluded as the tolerance was greater than .6.

These analyses were conducted to determine whether ethnic origin has an impact on language assimilation. The tables indicate that ethnic origin as measured through the variable German has a significant impact on language assimilation for all subsamples. German men are 14% more likely than Italian men to adopt the language of the majority in the home. As previously discussed, Germans have a more favourable attitude towards the new language and culture due to the circumstances surrounding their immigration to Canada. The lack of unification in Germany coupled with the many different religions hampered the formation of a common German identity. This as well as a readiness to learn the new language allowed the Germans to quickly integrate into the new culture. Furthermore, a change in the manner in which they were perceived by the host society, brought about by W.W.I. and W.W.II. saw this group become even more eager to assimilate.

The variable GERMAN also had a significant impact on language assimilation for both subsamples of women. When considering all women, one finds that German women are 26% more likely to speak English or French at home than are Greek women, while when considering German women who work, one finds that they are 19% more likely to adopt one of the two languages than are Greek women. Ethnic origin has a

stronger impact on language assimilation for the subsample of all women than for that of working women.

As ethnic origin does have an impact on language assimilation, it is important that separate analysis be conducted for each ethnic group. In this way, the impact of different factors on language assimilation can be presented for each ethnic group such that similarities and differences can be determined. Although Table VIII indicates which other variables had significant impact on language assimilation, these results will not be discussed for the pooled sample, as interest lies with the differing effects of these factors for each ethnic group.

Sample of Males by Ethnicity

Italian Men

All independent variables were included in the regression for the subsample of Italian men. The results are found in Table VIII. Given that this study is concerned with the effects of the variables describing family factors, these will be discussed in detail.

When examining the table, one finds that the variable OTHERSP has the strongest impact on language spoken at home. Italian men who are married to women of a different ethnic origin are 41% more likely to adopt English or French at

home than are those who marry Italian women. For Italian men, marriage outside one's ethnic group increases the likelihood that language assimilation will occur. This supports the hypothesis that identifies intermarriage as a family factor which has an impact on language assimilation.

The variable OLDPERS has a significant negative impact on language spoken at home. Italian men who live with people over the age of 65 are 7% less likely than those who do not to adopt English or French in the home. Living with elderly members of the extended family necessitates the continued use of the ethnic language as these individuals would possess more skills in this language.

The last of the family variables, CHILD, also has a significant impact on language spoken at home. The presence of children negatively affects whether English or French will be adopted in the home in that Italian men who have children are 4% less likely to speak English or French at home than those who do not. This does not support the hypothesis which claims that having children will increase the likelihood of one of the national languages being spoken in the home. It had been argued that having children would increase exposure to the new language as children would bring the language into the home. Instead, it appears that for Italian men, having children may increase the desire to teach this language to their children and consequently use

it in the home. This may be tied to a desire to make their children aware of the culture from which they come.

As was expected, the variable age at immigration (SCHIM), one of the background factors, had significant impact on language spoken at home. Italian men who immigrated when sixteen or younger are 24% more likely to speak English or French at home than are those who immigrated later. Formal learning through involvement in the Canadian educational system, which is law until at least the age of 16, facilitates the learning of the language of the host society and its use in the home.

Of the socio-economic factors, both education and occupation have significant impact on language assimilation. Italian men who have a postsecondary education are 13% more likely to speak English or French at home than are those with an elementary or high school education. Having attended college or training programs increases the likelihood of adopting English or French in the home as extended educational experience eases the transition from the ethnic language to the new language.

Occupation also had a significant impact on language spoken at home as Italian men who are employed in occupations in which there is contact with the public are 4.5% more likely to adopt English or French than those who do not work in occupations in which there is no such

contact. Those whose use of English or French is job related have a greater opportunity to improve their language skills. Furthermore, with this comes a greater comfort with the new language which facilitates the ease with which it can be adopted in the home.

Examination of the R Square indicates that for Italian men the variables OTHEREL, SCHIM, EARLY, LATE, UNIV, POSTSEC, SECOCC, OTHERSP, OLDPERS and CHILD explain 40.1% of the variance in the dependent variable. Of this, the majority, or 20.4% is explained by the variables which represent background factors. The variable intermarriage explains 14.6% of the variance in language assimilation. Consequently, the remaining variables together explain only 4.9% of the variance when all the others are held constant. Therefore, intermarriage is the most important of the family factors. Variables not in the equation such as those related to personality, intelligence and attitudes explain 59.9% of the variance in the dependent variable.

Greek Men

The findings for this subsample are presented in Table IX. For the subsample of Greek men, the family factor OTHERSP has a significant impact on language spoken at home. Greek men are 41.8% more likely to adopt English or French in the home if their spouses differ in ethnic origin. The

variable OLDPERS although only significant at .06 is found to have a negative impact on language assimilation. As with Italian men, Greek men who have elderly people living with them are less likely to adopt English or French at home than those who do not. The variable CHILD does not have a significant effect on assimilation. None of the background or socioeconomic factors have a significant impact on language assimilation. This may be a result of the small number of cases in the subsample.

The R Square which indicates the amount of variance in the dependent variable explained by the independent variables OTHEREL, SCHIM, EARLY, LATE, SECOCC, UNIV, POSTSEC, OTHERSP, OLDPERS and CHILD is .223. In other words, 22.3% of the variance in language assimilation is explained by the combination of these variables. The most important variable in explaining variance in the dependent variable is OTHERSP. 13.6% of the variance in language assimilation is explained by marriage by a Greek man to a woman who is not Greek. Greek men differ from the pooled subsample and the Italian subsample as length of time in Canada and age at immigration explain less variance in language assimilation than does intermarriage.

German Men

Table X demonstrates the findings for the subsample of German men. The variable POSTSEC was excluded as it was

highly correlated with other independent variables in the equation. As with Greek and Italian men, family factors are important determinants of language assimilation and both intermarriage and the presence of old people have a significant impact on language assimilation for German men. Men from this ethnic group who marry outside their ethnic group are 38% more likely to adopt English or French at home than are those who do not. The presence of elderly people in the home decreases the likelihood that one of these languages will be adopted as German men who live with individuals aged 65 or over are 9% less likely to adopt one of the two languages than those who do not.

Of the background factors, religion and year of immigration have a significant impact on language spoken at home. German men who are affiliated with religions other than Lutheran and Mennonite are 8.7% more likely to adopt English or French in the home than are those who are affiliated with these religions. As both the Lutheran and Mennonite religions are tied to German culture, they reinforce the maintenance of this culture through the use of the ethnic language.

Year of immigration has a negative impact on language spoken at home for German men in that those who immigrated after 1967 are 17% less likely to adopt English or French at home than are those who immigrated between 1955 and 1967.

Even though those who immigrated after 1967 may have possessed some skills in the new language, their lack of exposure to the new culture and to the practical application of the new languages reduces the likelihood that they would adopt one of these languages in the home.

The R Square for the following combination of variables OTHEREL, EARLY, LATE, SCHIM, SECOCC, POSTSEC, UNIV, OTHERSP, OLDPERS and CHILD is 23.2. In other words, these variables explain 23.2% of the variance in the dependent variable, language assimilation. The variable which explains most of this variance (R Square=.12) is intermarriage (OTHERSP), as it explains 12% of the total variance. The combination of OTHEREL, EARLY, SCHIM and LATE explain 10.3% of the total variance. The variable intermarriage explains more variance than these four variables combined, thus supporting the hypothesis that states that marrying outside of one's ethnicity is an important factor in becoming linguistically assimilated.

Summary of Findings for Male Subsamples

For males from all three ethnic groups, the variable intermarriage has the strongest impact on language assimilation. The ethnic origin of the spouse affects the language spoken at home in that marriage outside of one's ethnic group increases the likelihood that one of the national languages will be adopted. If one's marriage

partner does not speak the ethnic language, then it is probable that the language of the host society will be spoken by the two. Therefore, not surprisingly, hypothesising that intermarriage as a family factor has an impact on language assimilation is supported by the findings for men in all three ethnic groups.

The second family factor to have a significant impact on all men is the presence of old people in the home. As previously mentioned, the lower level of significance for Greek males may be explained by the small sample size. Support is found for the existence of a negative impact on language assimilation by the presence of old people in the home.

The final hypothesis which claimed that the presence of children would positively affect the adoption of one of the official languages in the home is not supported. Instead, it is interesting to note that although this variable was significant for Italian males, the presence of children has a negative effect on language assimilation, decreasing the likelihood that English or French will be adopted in the home.

Finally, different background and socioeconomic factors have significant effects on language assimilation on Germans and Italians. While age at immigration is significant for

Italians, religion and year of immigration are significant for Germans. No socioeconomic factors have a significant impact on language assimilation for Greeks, while postsecondary education and occupation do for Italians.

Subsample of Females by Ethnicity

Italian Women

The findings for the two subsamples of employed and all Italian women are presented in Tables XI and XII. As shown in this table, controlling for employment produces few differences. For both subsamples, two of the family factors have a significant impact on language spoken at home. For the subsample of all women, those who married outside their ethnic group are 25% more likely to speak English or French in the home than those who married within their ethnic group. This decreased by 1% when considering only working women. Therefore, one finds support for the hypothesis claiming that Italian women who marry outside of their ethnic group will be more likely to adopt English or French than those who marry within it.

The presence of old people in the home decreases the likelihood that one of the national languages will be spoken in the home, as communication with the elderly will probably continue in the ethnic language. This proved to be significant for the subsample of all women, in that those

who have elderly people living with them are 6.8% less likely to adopt English or French in the home than those who do not.

The background factors that have a significant impact on language assimilation are the same for both subsamples of women. Age at immigration has the strongest impact of any variable on language spoken at home. Italian women who have immigrated by age 16, regardless of whether they work or not, will have been exposed to the new language through the educational system in most cases and will be more likely to adopt one of the two languages in the home than those whose exposure came at an older age. For the subsample of all women, one finds that those who immigrated by age 16 are 28% more likely to adopt English or French in the home than are those who immigrated at an older age. For the subsample of working women, this percentage increases by 1%.

Year of immigration also has a significant impact for both subsamples of women. For the subsample of all women, those who immigrated before 1955 are 8% more likely to speak English or French at home than those who immigrated between 1955 and 1967. For working women this likelihood increases by 1%. Again, as with the other samples in which this variable is significant, the argument for exposure to the new language can be used to explain this.

For working women, an additional background factor proved to be significant in its impact on language assimilation. Those working women who are affiliated with religions other than Catholicism are 7.2% more likely to adopt English or French at home than are those who are affiliated with this religion. Practicing other than Catholicism in Canada allows for contact with individuals from other ethnic groups. This increased exposure to the new language helps to familiarize the immigrant with it.

For both subsamples of women, the socioeconomic factor education has a significant impact on language spoken at home. The table demonstrates that both the variables POSTSEC and UNIV are significant. One finds that Italian women, in the subsample of all women, who have postsecondary education are 8.2% more likely to adopt English or French at home than those who have less than postsecondary education. At the same time, these women are 1.5% more likely to adopt one of these languages than are those with a university education. This is also the case for the subsample of working women as those with postsecondary education are 12% more likely to adopt English or French than those with less than postsecondary schooling. Again with university education, the likelihood that English or French will be adopted in the home decreases. For the subsample of all women, those with university are 6.8% more likely to adopt one of these languages than women with highschool or less, while for the subsample of working women this decreases to

6.3%. Again in both cases those with a university education are less likely to adopt one of the national languages than are those with postsecondary education. For Italian women an increase in years of education has a positive impact on language assimilation only until university. This may be a result of an increased awareness of the importance of one's ethnic origin and more conscious efforts to maintain ethnic language.

For the subsample of all women, the variable WORK was third in terms of its significant impact on language spoken. Italian women who are or have been employed are 8.3% more likely to adopt English or French at home than those who have never worked. This can be explained by looking at the increase in the amount of exposure to the new language that results from involvement in the labour force. For the subsample of working women, occupation has a significant effect on language spoken at home in that women whose occupations involve the use of English or French through contact with the public are 10.8% more likely to adopt English or French in the home than those whose jobs do not require contact with the public.

When examining the two subsamples of Italian women, one finds that when looking at all women, the R Square is .293, whereas when looking at working women, the R Square is .358. The combination of the variables used for working women

explains 35.8% of the variance in the dependent variable, while the combination of variables used for all women explains 29.3% of this variance. Consequently, it can be stated that the variables used in the model are more helpful in explaining the variance in language assimilation for working women than for all women. More specifically, they suggest that type of employment might be a more important determinant of language assimilation than employment status.

For the subsample of all Italian women, 20% of the variance was explained by the combination of the following variables, SCHIM, EARLY, LATE and OTHEREL. OTHERSP explains 5.3% of the variance, while education and occupation together explain 3.5% of the variance.

For the subsample of Italian working women, the block of variables including religion, length of time in Canada and age at immigration explain 26.1% of the variance in the dependent variable language assimilation. Education and occupation together explain 5% of the variance, while intermarriage explains 4.4% of the variance in the dependent variable. It is interesting to note that for working women, ethnicity of husband does not explain as much of the variance in language spoken at home as it does for all women. One explanation is that because these women all have occupations in which they have contact with the public, this variable is more responsible in socializing them in the language of the new country than is a non-Italian mate.

Greek Women

For the subsample of Greek women, Tables XIII and XIV indicate again that intermarriage has the strongest impact on language assimilation for both subsamples. When considering the subsample of all Greek women, one finds that those who are married to non-Greeks are 23.3% more likely to adopt one of the official languages than those who are married to Greeks. This impact decreases by less than 3% for the subsample of working Greek women. The variables identifying other family factors (OLDPERS, CHILD) were not significant, although the presence of oldpeople, as with Italians had a negative effect. The presence of children, does not have a significant effect on language assimilation.

For the subsample of all Greek women, one of the background factors proved to be significant; that is age at immigration. Greek women who immigrated by age 16 are 15% more likely to adopt one of the official languages at home than are those who immigrated at a later age. No background factors were found to be significant for the subsample of working women which may have been a result of the small number of cases.

For both subsamples of Greek women, university education increased the likelihood that English or French would be adopted in the home. When considering all women,

one finds that women with a university education are 10.7% more likely to speak English or French in the home than are those with highschool or less. For working women, those with university education are 15% more likely to adopt one of these languages.

The final variable to have a significant impact on language spoken is occupation for the subsample of working women. Those women who have contact with the public through their jobs are 14.4% more likely to adopt English or French in the home than those whose jobs do not involve this type of contact.

The R Squares for both subsamples of Greek women are very similar. While the combination of OTHEREL, EARLY, LATE, SCHIM, POSTSEC, WORK, UNIV, OTHERSP, OLDPERS and CHILD explain 11.3% of the variance in language assimilation for all Greek women, these same variables with SECOCC replacing WORK explain 10.7% of this variance for working women. For the subsample of all Greek women, intermarriage explains 5.9% of the variance in language assimilation. The variables identifying religion, year of immigration and age at immigration explain 4% of the variance while those identifying labour force involvement and education explain 1.7% of the variance. For the subsample of working women, the combination of the variables identifying education and involvement in the labour force explain 4.4% of the variance while intermarriage explains 3.3% of the variance in the

dependent variable. The combination of the variables identifying religion, age at immigration and year of immigration explain 2.6% of the variance in language assimilation.

German Women

As Tables XV and XVI indicate, intermarriage has the strongest impact on language assimilation for both subsamples of German women. When considering all German women, one finds that those who are married to non German men are 37% more likely to adopt English or French at home than are those who are married to German men. This drops by less than 1% when considering the subsample of working women.

The variable OLDPERS has a significant impact on language spoken at home for the subsample of all women but not for the subsample of working women. Those women who have people over the age of 65 living with them are 9.4% less likely to adopt English or French at home than are those who do not. Extended contact through caring for the elderly in the home increases the likelihood that the ethnic language will be maintained.

For both subsamples, immigration after 1967 had a negative significant impact on language assimilation.

German women who immigrated after 1967 are 13.2% less likely to speak English or French at home than are those who immigrated between 1955 and 1967 when considering all women and 15.8% less likely when considering working women.

For the subsample of all women, age at immigration also has a significant impact on language assimilation. German women who immigrated by the age of 16 are 10% more likely to speak English or French at home. The impact of this variable is slightly higher for working women as those who immigrated by age 16 are 11% more likely to adopt one of these languages than those who immigrated at an older age.

Finally, for the subsample of working women, occupation had a significant impact on language assimilation. Those German women who work in occupations which involve contact with the public are 13% more likely to speak English or French at home than are those who do not.

The R Squares for the subsamples of all German women and working German women are similar, .252 and .241 respectively. The variables in the equation explained 25.2% of the variance in language assimilation for all German women and 24.1% for German women who have worked.

For both subsamples, the combination of religion, age at immigration and year of immigration explained 12% of the variance in language assimilation. For both subsamples,

OTHERSP is important in explaining variance in the dependent variable. For the subsample of all women, this variable explains 11.8% of the variance, while for the subsample of working women, it explains 8% of the variance in the dependent variable.

Summary of Findings for Female Subsamples

Once again, the findings support the hypothesis that claims that marriage outside one's ethnic group will increase the likelihood that English or French will be spoken in the home. The effects of intermarriage are significant for all subsamples of all ethnic women. Similar arguments can be used to explain this effect for women as was used for men. In subsamples for all ethnic women, except Greek women, the presence of elderly people in the home proved to have a significant impact on language assimilation. This was not the case for any of the subsamples of working ethnic women.

Of the background factors, age at immigration is significant for both subsamples of Italian and German women and for the subsample of all Greek women. Immigrating at a young age increases the likelihood that language assimilation will occur for all but Greek working women. Again, one explanation is the opportunity for individuals who immigrate by the age of 16 to involve themselves in

formal education in Canada, thus improving their language skills.

Year of immigration is significant for both subsamples of Italian women and for both subsamples of German women. Increased exposure to the new language through time spent in Canada increases the likelihood that English or French will be adopted.

The final background factor to have significant impact on language spoken is religion for the subsample of all Italian women. In this case, Roman Catholic women are less likely to speak English or French at home than are those who are affiliated with other religions. Continued affiliation with the language linked with the ethnic culture leads to maintenance of the ethnic language for Italian women.

Of the socio-economic factors used in these analyses, education is significant for both subsamples of Italian women and both subsamples of Greek women. For Italian women, those with college or training programs are more likely to speak English or French at home than those with highschool or less. Furthermore, these women are also more likely to adopt one of these languages in the home than are those with university education. This is not the case for Greek women as those with a university education are more likely to speak English or French than are those with a highschool education, whereas postsecondary education had no

significant effect.

When involved in the work force, contact with the public increases the likelihood that English or French will be spoken at home for all ethnic women in this sample. For the subsamples of all women, participation in the labour force is significant only for Italian women as in this case it improves the likelihood that English or French will be adopted in the home.

CONCLUSIONS

Language assimilation for different ethnic groups is dependent on a number of factors. Both differences and similarities in the effects of these factors were found to exist between the groups.

The hypothesis postulating that ethnic origin is a determinant of language assimilation is supported by the findings. The likelihood that one of the national languages will be adopted in the home is increased if the individual is of German ethnicity. German men and women who may have immigrated to Canada have done so with a readiness to assimilate into the new culture. This was brought about in part, by the favourable manner in which they were perceived, due to the positive relationship they maintained with Britain. Furthermore, a strong German identity was not present among the group as a whole. This may be a result of the historically amorphous nature of the German state coupled with the fact that German is spoken among people other than those born in Germany. Therefore, as well as being accepted by the existing Canadian population, the German immigrant saw the new society as one in which they belonged. With W.W.I and W.W.II. came a change in the way the German people were perceived. Those Germans already in Canada were spurred towards assimilation so as not to be seen as villains.

The Italians are not as linguistically assimilated as are the Germans. This may be related to the differences in the circumstances surrounding immigration. Italian culture seems to be more homogeneous than German culture, in that even though there are different regions there remains a common Italian identity. Their involvement in the World Wars did not affect them in the same manner as did the Germans, and consequently there was not as much pressure exerted to downplay their ethnic origin.

For all groups, ethnic origin of spouse has a consistent significant impact on language assimilation. For all groups except Italian and German women, intermarriage is the most important factor influencing language assimilation. For these two groups, age at immigration has a slightly stronger impact than does intermarriage. Reinforcement of the ethnic culture through marriage within the ethnic group will help to maintain the use of the ethnic language. Once marriage outside the ethnic group occurs, the introduction of a new language is inevitable.

Many immigrants attempt to maintain their ethnic culture by marrying individuals who share this ethnic culture. Consequently, marriage to someone outside of one's ethnic group is in many ways a statement that the values and practices of the culture are no longer important. Consequently, language as an important part of culture is

also no longer important. The focus becomes one of integration and assimilation into the new culture rather than one of maintenance of the old.

The presence of old people in the household is also a significant factor with respect to language assimilation for some ethnic groups. For all ethnic males (except Greeks) and for all ethnic women (except those in the working subsample) the presence of old people in the household helped to maintain the use of the ethnic language. In many cultures, older people are the transmitters of culture and consequently of the native language. This allows first generation immigrants to have consistent contact with these elements. Many older people who have come to Canada and reside with their families feel that they are too old to learn a new way of life and also continue to value tradition. These individuals do not feel capable of learning a new language and at the same time continue to feel a sense of loyalty to their culture. Therefore, contact with these people by other family members forces the use of the ethnic language. Contact with these individuals usually occurs in the ethnic language, thus maintaining its existence.

It is interesting to note that the presence of old people is not a significant determinant of language assimilation for any of the subsamples of working women.

These women spend time outside the home involved in the labour force instead of at home caring for the older family members. This time away from home when not in contact with and caring for the older individuals in the family minimizes the effects that the presence of these older individuals would have on the maintenance of the ethnic language.

The presence of children is significant only when considering Italian men. For these individuals, the presence of children facilitates the maintenance of the ethnic language. A sense of pride towards the ethnic culture exists for Italian men which results in the reinforcement of specific aspects of the culture, namely, the ethnic language. This negative relationship between the presence of children and language assimilation disproves the hypothesis that children socialize their parents in respect to language. Although children attend school and learn the new language, they do not transmit this language to their Italian fathers. Socially, these children may communicate in English or French but at home, the ethnic language continues to be used. It would seem highly probable that these children use a combination of Italian and English or French at home but that the fathers continue to communicate with them in the ethnic language.

The year in which one immigrates is a significant background factor in respect to language assimilation for

all German men and women and for Italian women. Exposure to the new language increases with time spent in Canada, and consequently affects the language which is spoken at home.

Another background factor, age at immigration, is significant for both subsamples of Italian and German women, for the subsample of all Greek women and for Italian men. In these cases, immigration by age 16 indicates involvement in the Canadian educational system. This opportunity to receive formal instruction in the new language increases the individual's knowledge of it and facilitates its adoption in the home.

The final background factor to have a significant impact on language assimilation is religion. This is the case for the subsamples of Italian women who work and for German men. Practicing a religion which is not part of the ethnic culture induces further separation from the ethnic culture and its language. Affiliation with a religion with roots in an ethnic culture reinforces attempts at maintaining particular aspects of culture such as language.

Of the socioeconomic factors, education has a significant impact on language assimilation for all Italian and Greek women and for Italian men. An interesting difference is found between the Italian and Greek women. Both Italian women and men who have some postsecondary

education are more likely to become linguistically assimilated than those who have highschool or less. Education beyond highschool facilitates the learning of language skills and the ease with which these skills are used. What is interesting is that Italian women who continue on to university are less likely to be assimilated than those who have some form of postsecondary education. As education increases, so too does the awareness that the maintenance of ethnic culture and ethnic language is important. Consequently, these women, although possessing university degrees or diplomas continue to speak the ethnic language in the home. On the other hand, those women who continue to college or training programs will adopt the language of the host society. Attending university for Greek women does not result in the same effect. For these women, a university education will increase the likelihood that language assimilation will occur. This may be related to a difference in how education is viewed by the two groups. While Italian women may use a university education to gain insight into the importance of culture, Greek women may see it as an opportunity to become more fully assimilated into the new culture.

The socioeconomic factor, employment status, for women is significant for the subsample of Italian women only. For this group, involvement in the labour force increases the likelihood that language assimilation will occur. This can

be explained by the increased exposure to individuals from other ethnic groups through employment. It is also possible that women in these different ethnic groups are not similarly distributed within occupational categories.

Finally, one finds that for the subsamples of working women, occupation has a significant impact on language assimilation. Jobs that require contact with the public increase the likelihood that the language of the majority will be adopted in the home as proficiency in this new language is increased.

When examining the R Squares, or the amount of variance added to language assimilation by the three blocks of variables used, one finds that in all cases the background characteristics are important determinants of language assimilation. This group of variables is most important in explaining differences in language assimilation for the Italian subsamples.

The variables included as family characteristics also prove to have an impact on language assimilation. For all groups, the most important of these variables is intermarriage. This variable has the greatest impact for the German subsample in which it is as important as the background variables.

The final block of variables used indicating socio-economic characteristics, have the least impact on language assimilation. It is interesting to note that for the subsample of Greek working women, these factors add as much variance to language assimilation as do the other two blocks.

Limitations of Study

Although these findings are interesting, there are problems with the manner in which this study was conducted. First, although speaking one of the two national languages in the home, may be one indicator of language assimilation it does not fully measure this concept. Language assimilation could be measured more accurately if the language used in contacts with others could be determined as well as the language read and written.

When examining the effect of the presence of old people in the home, it would have been interesting to ascertain who these old people were, and what language they spoke. These factors would be especially important for those individuals from intermarriage households. One wonders if the presence of those elderly people related to the head of household would have more impact on the language spoken in the home than those related to the spouse.

The effect of children on language assimilation was not significant for any group but Italian males. Rather than simply testing this, it may have proven interesting to determine whether or not the type of school attended had any effect on language spoken. Children who attend parochial schools where the ethnic culture and language are reinforced through the curriculum and contact with others would remain comfortable in the use of the language of their parents. In this case, presence of children would seem likely to facilitate the maintenance of ethnic language. On the other hand, children who attend school where English or French is the language of instruction might be more likely to introduce this language to their parents.

Other weaknesses in this study include the lack of indicators for place of residence. Again, urban/rural place of residence, according to the literature has a strong impact on language assimilation due to the differing amounts of exposure to the new language. This is also related to the extent to which different ethnic groups have attained institutional completeness through the establishment of services within the ethnic community. Again, the data used provided no adequate indicators for this.

This study did prove effective in identifying the major impact on language assimilation of the variables used. Separate analyses for each ethnic group were conducted to

control for the different circumstances under which these groups arrived in Canada and other macro-level variables which may have had an impact on the probability of assimilation by the group. Attitudes of the host society determine to a large extent whether they will be influenced by the host society and will adopt the new language. These analyses have indicated that similar patterns exist for all ethnic groups in terms of the impact of the variables used, with some discrepancies which have previously been discussed.

Finally, this study has supported the literature in that the same variables found to affect language assimilation in other studies were also found significant in this one. What is interesting is that this study was able to look at the strength of influence of these variables by controlling for the influence of other variables. This was done through regression analysis.

Ethnic groups who wish to maintain their language must look clearly at family related factors. Once an individual marries outside his group, the chances of language maintenance are greatly reduced. On the other hand, the existence of extended family relationships improves the chances that the ethnic language will continue to be spoken at home.

APPENDIX*

Table I
Test for Multicollinearity for
Pooled Sample

Variables	Ethnic Women		R Squares	Ethnic Men
	All	Working		All
SCHIM	.20	.24		.24
EARLY	.19	.19		.17
LATE	.18	.15		.20
WORK	.06	-		-
SECOCC	-	.19		-
UNIV	.09	.14		.20
POSTSEC	.21	.28		.23
OTHERSP	.27	.28		.22
OLDPERS	.20	.09		.08
CHILD	.14	.12		.15
GERMAN	.39	.43		.29
GREEK	.39	.43		.13

Table II
Test for Multicollinearity for Italians.

Variables	Italian Women		R Squares	Italian Men
	All	Working		All
OTHEREL	.05	.11		.02
SCHIM	.21	.26		.26
EARLY	.12	.13		.13
LATE	.12	.11		.18
WORK	.05	-		-
SECOCC	-	.15		.11
UNIV	.09	.14		.21
POSTSEC	.07	.10		.08
OTHERSP	.17	.24		.19
OLDPERS	.19	.09		.07
CHILD	.11	.11		.12

* For all tables SCHIM=Immigration by age 16; EARLY=Immigration before 1955; LATE=Recent Immigrants; WORK=Employed; SECOCC=Jobs with public contact; UNIV=University Education; POSTSEC=Postsecondary Education; OTHERSP=Intermarriage; OLDPERS=Elderly in home; CHILD=School aged children; OTHEREL=Other religions.

Table III
Test for Multicollinearity for Greeks

Variables	Greek Women		R Squares	Greek Men
	All	Working		All
OTHEREL	.09	.17		.06
SCHIM	.08	.11		.11
EARLY	.16	.19		.17
LATE	.28	.29		.29
UNIV	.02	.29		.16
POSTSEC	.05	.11		.08
WORK	.06	-		-
SECOCC	-	.10		.06
OTHERSP	.08	.15		.22
OLDPERS	.13	.03		.11
CHILD	.25	.25		.26

Table IV
Test for Multicollinearity for Germans

Variables	German Women		R Squares	German Men
	All	Working		All
OTHEREL	.08	.07		.05
SCHIM	.29	.29		.34
EARLY	.22	.24		.17
LATE	.17	.19		.16
UNIV	.20	.13		.44
POSTSEC	.19	.14		.45
WORK	-	.06		-
SECOCC	.07	-		.11
OTHERSP	.21	.21		.18
OLDPERS	.13	.26		.12
CHILD	.08	.12		.08

Table V
 Hierarchical Regression of Language Assimilation
 for Working Ethnic Women (Pooled Sample)
 (N=1303)

VARIABLE	B	BETA	SIG T	R SQUARE
LATE	-.070	-.059 ***	.01	.166
SCHIM	.230	.214 *	.000	
EARLY	.055	.051 ****	.04	
POSTSEC	.099	.080 **	.02	.270
UNIV	.106	.057 ****	.02	
SECOCC	.125	.125 *	.000	
OTHERSP	.353	.280 *	.000	.371
GERMAN	.210	.191 *	.000	.394
OLDPERS	-.050	-.037	.098	.396
CHILD	.001	.004	.878	.396
(CONSTANT)	.104		.000	

Table VI
 Hierarchical Regression of Language Assimilation
 for All Ethnic Men (Pooled Sample)
 (N=2302)

VARIABLE	B	BETA	SIG T	R SQUARE
LATE	-.070	-.055 **	.03	.143
SCHIM	.225	.185 *	.000	
EARLY	.033	.032	.075	
POSTSEC	.144	.135 *	.000	.229
SECOCC	.041	.040 ****	.021	
UNIV	.048	.028	.134	
OTHERSP	.458	.386 *	.000	.373
GERMAN	.170	.143 *	.000	.391
OLDPERS	-.109	-.077 *	.000	.395
CHILD	-.012	-.029	.096	.396
GREEK	-.030	-.021	.221	.397
(CONSTANT)	.209		.000	

 * Level of significance - .001
 ** Level of significance - .005
 *** Level of significance - .01
 **** Level of significance - .05

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Table VII
Hierarchical Regression of Language Assimilation
for All Ethnic Women (Pooled Sample)
(N=2260)

VARIABLE	B	BETA	SIG T	R SQUARE
LATE	-.062	-.053 **	.004	.137
SCHIM	.230	.209 *	.000	
EARLY	.053	.051 ***	.006	
POSTSEC	.060	.047 ***	.012	.205
WORK	.112	.063 *	.001	
UNIV	.112	.054 **	.002	
OTHERSP	.387	.298 *	.000	.336
GERMAN	.245	.226 *	.000	.370
OLDPERS	-.070	-.069 *	.000	.374
CHILD	-.005	-.013	.462	.374
GREEK	-.008	-.006	.740	.374
(CONSTANT)	.087		.002	

Table VIII
Hierarchical Regression of Language Assimilation
for All Italian Men (N=1453)

VARIABLE	B	BETA	SIG T	R SQUARE
OTHEREL	.022	.007	.728	.205
EARLY	.030	.030	.176	
SCHIM	.063	.240 *	.000	
LATE	-.030	-.024	.277	
POSTSEC	.145	.129 *	.000	.250
SECOCC	.047	.045 ****	.036	
UNIV	.042	.021	.351	
OTHERSP	.524	.412 *	.000	.395
OLDPERS	-.097	-.074 *	.001	.399
CHILD	-.016	-.043 ****	.049	.401
(CONSTANT)	.183		.000	

* Level of significance - .001
 ** Level of significance - .005
 *** Level of significance - .01
 **** Level of significance - .05

Table IX
Hierarchical Regression of Language Assimilation
for All Greek Men (N=349)

VARIABLE	B	BETA	SIG T	R SQUARE
OTHEREL	-.121	-.049	.341	.029
SCHIM	.140	.096	.071	
EARLY	.049	.040	.468	
LATE	-.052	-.055	.349	
SECOCC	-.025	-.028	.585	.075
UNIV	.139	.078	.152	
POSTSEC.	.072	.063	.223	
OTHERSP	.523	.418 *	.000	.211
OLDPERS	-.140	-.097	.067	.220
CHILD	.029	.067	.248	.224
(CONSTANT)	.167		.011	

Table X
Hierarchical Regression of Language Assimilation
for All German Men (N=500)

VARIABLE	B	BETA	SIG T	R SQUARE
OTHEREL	.078	.087 ****	.032	.103
EARLY	.022	.025	.565	
SCHIM	.063	.059	.230	
LATE	-.245	-.167 *	.000	
SECOCC	.035	.039	.347	.104
UNIV	-.075	-.067	.114	
OTHERSP	.342	.381 *	.000	.224
OLDPERS	-.130	-.093 ****	.027	.232
CHILD	.001	.001	.972	.232
(CONSTANT)	.552		.000	

* Level of significance - .001
** Level of significance - .005
*** Level of significance - .01
**** Level of significance - .05

Table XI
Hierarchical Regression of Language Assimilation
for All Italian Women (N=1373)

VARIABLE	B	BETA	SIG T	R SQUARE
OTHEREL	.120	.038	.102	.201
LATE	-.046	-.042	.083	
SCHIM	.268	.282 *	.000	
EARLY	.079	.082 *	.001	
WORK	.095	.083 *	.000	.235
UNIV	.153	.068 **	.005	
POSTSEC	.131	.083 *	.001	
OTHERSP	.423	.248 *	.000	.289
OLDPERS	-.006	-.068 ***	.007	.292
CHILD	-.011	-.032	.185	.293
(CONSTANT)	.054		.090	***

Table XII
Hierarchical Regression of Language Assimilation
for Working Italian Women (N=761)

VARIABLE	B	BETA	SIG T	R SQUARE
OTHEREL	.233	.072 ****	.02	.261
LATE	-.056	.048	.125	
SCHIM	.278	.287 *	.000	
EARLY	.094	.089 **	.005	
POSTSEC	.198	.120 *	.000	.311
UNIV	.130	.063 ****	.046	
SECOCC	.098	.108 *	.001	
OTHERSP	.377	.239 *	.000	.355
OLDPERS	-.063	-.054	.078	.358
CHILD	-.004	-.011	.731	.358
(CONSTANT)	.090		.006	

* Level of significance - .001
** Level of significance - .005
*** Level of significance - .01
**** Level of significance - .05

Table XIII
Hierarchical Regression of Language Assimilation
for All Greek Women (N=314)

VARIABLE	B	BETA	SIG T	R SQUARE
LATE	.002	.002	.972	.026
SCHIM	.173	.154 **	.007	
OTHEREL	.043	-.021	.705	
EARLY	.000	.000	.992	
UNIV	.186	.108 ****	.05	.070
WORK	.023	.022	.697	
POSTSEC	.076	.055	.322	
OTHERSP	.382	.233 *	.000	.103
CHILD	.019	.051	.413	.106
OLDPERS	-.064	-.064	.274	.107
(CONSTANT)	.081		.271	

Table XIV
Hierarchical Regression of Language Assimilation
for Working Greek Women (N=193)

VARIABLE	B	BETA	SIG T	R SQUARE
LATE	.028	.034	.681	.026
SCHIM	.137	.119	.110	
OTHERREL	-.113	-.052	.498	
EARLY	-.024	-.019	.809	
UNIV	.256	.146 ****	.05	.070
POSTSEC	.054	.042	.576	
SECOCC	.119	.144 ****	.053	
OTHERSP	.345	.206 ***	.007	.103
CHILD	.026	.062	.447	.106
OLDPERS	-.043	-.035	.626	.107
(CONSTANT)	.035		.686	

* Level of significance - .001
** Level of significance - .005
*** Level of significance - .01
**** Level of significance - .05

Table XV
Hierarchical Regression of Language Assimilation
for All German Women (N=573)

VARIABLE	B	BETA	SIG T	R SQUARE
OTHEREL	.056	.059	.121	.120
SCHIM	.106	.099 ****	.022	
LATE	-.171	-.132 *	.001	
EARLY	.005	.005	.902	
WORK	.111	.057	.133	.132
UNIV	.022	.014	.715	
POSTSEC	-.038	-.039	.323	
OTHERSP	.352	.370 *	.000	.241
OLDPERS	-.111	-.094 ****	.027	.250
CHILD	.019	.044	.258	.252
(CONSTANT)	.398		.000	

Table XVI
Hierarchical Regression of Language Assimilation
for Working German Women (N=349)

VARIABLE	B	BETA	SIG T	R SQUARE
OTHEREL	.014	.016	.750	.121
SCHIM	.105	.111 ****	.05	
LATE	-.196	-.158 **	.003	
EARLY	-.003	-.004	.944	
UNIV	.001	.000	.987	.136
SECOCC	.158	.126 ***	.01	
POSTSEC	-.024	-.027	.612	
OTHERSP	.324	.362 *	.000	.236
OLDPERS	-.005	-.004	.944	.241
CHILD	.028	.069	.160	.241
(CONSTANT)	.418		.000	

 * Level of significance - .001
 ** Level of significance - .005
 *** Level of significance - .01
 **** Level of significance - .05

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