

Who are the "Canadians"? Changing Census Responses, 1986-1996

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ABSTRACT (ABSTRACT)

From an in-flow perspective, inter-censal increases in Canadian responses arise in two different ways, each having implications for the sizes of ethnic groups enumerated in the census. Some individuals might simply add "Canadian" to British and/or French designations. Others might acquire Canadian without retaining previously designated ethnicities. Most of the inter-censal increase between 1991 and 1996 appears to involve giving single "Canadian" responses in the 1996 census without retaining single British and/or French ethnicities. This conclusion rests on data appearing in Table 4. Consider two facts: first, between 1991 and 1996, single "Canadian" responses increased by nearly 1.3 million and multiple responses that included "Canadian" increased by 780,510, for a total of over 2.8 million (Table 4, column 3, rows 2, 3, and 1 respectively). Second, the size of the reference population declaring British and/or French single or multiple ethnicities (excluding Canadian) was 4.1 million in 1991 and 2.2 million in 1996, or a decline of approximately 1.9 million (Table 4, panel 2). Of this 1.9 million decline, nearly 1.8 million connoted a decline in single British or French responses and approximately 359,000 represent declines in multiple British or French responses (excluding those which included Canadian responses). Now invoke the strong, and no doubt inaccurate, assumption that all shifts out of the single or multiple 1991 British and/or French responses either added or substituted "Canadian." Also assume that all of the declines in British/French multiple responses (Table 4, panel 2) consist of adding "Canadian" to multiple ethnic repertoires. Such hypothetical additions of 358,625 account for about 46 percent of the 780,500 intercensal gains in multiple responses that include Canadian. By implication, the remaining 54 percent of the gains, representing 421,885 responses, involve single 1991 British or French responses adding "Canadian" in 1996. However, 1.4 million single British or French responses in 1991 remain to be reallocated, and under the strong assumption they can only be assigned to the Canadian single response group in 1996. Clearly all these assumptions are tenuous at best and more accurate conclusions demand a longitudinal study that documents ethnic responses of the same individuals followed over time. However, inter-censal shifts based on the strong assumption suggest that the single Canadian responses in 1996 drew from single British and single French responses in 1991.

The rise in "Canadian" ethnic responses in the census is noteworthy not just because the resurgence of this label is yet another example of the dynamic properties of ethnic self-assignments. The increase also has policy implications that potentially fuel debate over the wording of ethnic origin questions (see Boyd, 2000 for discussion). Together, these two correlates of increasing Canadian responses direct attention to the patterns of ethnic origin self-assignments in future censuses and surveys. The National Census Test (NCT), which is the major pre-test for the 2001 census, is the most recent data collecting vehicle to date, conducted in October, 1998. Reflecting the results of the 1996 census in which the "Canadian" ethnic group was the largest ethnic sub-population in Canada, the ethnic origin question on the NCT listed "Canadian" as the first example. The pre-test results show a continuing increase in percentage of respondents declaring Canadian, up from 31 percent in 1996 to 39 percent in 1998. The increase of "Canadian" responses lead to a decrease in counts for other groups, particularly "British" and "French" ethnic origins. In the NCT universe, total responses for the British ethnic origin groups fell from 37 to 32 percent in 1996 and 1998 respectively. Total responses for the French ethnic origin group dropped from 22 to 16 percent between 1996 and 1998. As well, several European ethnic origin groups such as Italian, Polish, and German showed small decreases (Bender, 1999). These results suggest that "Canadian" will continue to be an ever increasing option for future census respondents. At the moment, the shifts appear to occur

out of groups characterized by an over 200 year history of residence in Canadian, and for whom the word "Canadian" or "Canadien" is an evocative term (see Boyd, 2000). However, if other ethnic origin groups also shift in the future to "Canadian," the challenge of how best to measure ancestry will remain a central one for census takers and data users.

FULL TEXT

Who are the "Canadians"? Changing Census Responses, 1986-1996

ABSTRACT/RÉSUMÉ

At the close of the twentieth century, "Canadian" has become the fastest growing ethnic origin group, up from 0.5 percent in 1986 to nearly 4 percent in 1991 and to 31 percent in the 1996 census of Canada. From what groups did this "indigenous" label draw in the five years between the 1986-1991 and the 1991-1996 censuses? Using unpublished tabulations from the 1986, 1991 and 1996 Canadian censuses, this paper traces temporal shifts for a cohort of the Canadian-born age 25-44 in 1986 (and age 34-54 by 1996). We find that most of the increases between 1986 and 1991 in "Canadian" ethnic origin responses are accompanied by intercensal losses in British origin responses. Between 1991 and 1996, increasing Canadian responses went hand in hand with dramatic losses in both the British and French ethnic origin counts. In some provinces, notably the Prairie provinces of Alberta, Manitoba, and Saskatchewan, shifts also occurred out of other ethnic groups.

... la fin du XX(e) siècle, les «Canadiens » sont devenus le «nouveau » groupe d'origine ethnique dont la croissance a été la plus forte, leur pourcentage passant de 0,5 % en 1986 à près de 4 % en 1991 pour atteindre 31% dans le recensement du Canada de 1996. Quels groupes ont commencé à afficher cette étiquette de «Canadien » entre les recensements de 1986-1991 et de 1991-1996? ... partit de tableaux inédits des recensements du Canada de 1986, 1991 et 1996, le présent document dégage les tendances dans le temps pour une cohorte de Canadiens de naissance âgés de 25 à 44 ans en 1986 (et de 34 à 54 ans en 1996). La plupart des augmentations entre 1986 et 1991 dans les réponses indiquant «Canadien » comme origine ethnique s'accompagnent de fortes réductions dans les réponses indiquant une origine britannique. Entre 1991 et 1996, la progression des réponses révélant une origine canadienne est allée de pair avec de fortes chutes dans le nombre de personnes se disant d'origine britannique ou d'origine française. Dans certaines provinces, notamment les provinces des Prairies (Alberta, Manitoba, et Saskatchewan), des réductions ont aussi été enregistrées par d'autres groupes ethniques.

INTRODUCTION

During the past two decades, North American survey and census questions on ancestry or ethnic origins increasingly obtain responses that invoke "indigenous" labels rather than labels external to the country (Lieberson, 1985; Lieberson and Waters, 1988; Pryor, et. al., 1992). This is especially evident in Canada. "Canadian" single and multiple responses to the census question on ethnic origins increased from 0.5 percent in 1986 to nearly 4 percent in 1991, and escalated to 31 percent in the 1996 census. Canadian became the largest ethnic group, exceeding even the two charter groups of British – English, Irish, Scottish and/or Welsh – and French (Renaud and Norris, 1999; Statistics Canada, 1998).

Why the change? Conducted between 1972 and 1991, a number of surveys have probed the ethnic affiliations of various groups living in Canada. The resulting analyses have produced three generalizations that are useful for understanding the increasing selection of "Canadian" ethnicity by census respondents. First, the selection of a "Canadian" label was never that unusual for survey respondents during the late twentieth century although response levels did vary with the concept studied (identity versus origins), question wording, and/or the existence

of an explicit reference to the term. Second, the percentages of survey respondents who declare "Canadian" varied by metropolitan, provincial, and regional locations. The 1974 and 1991 national surveys on ethnic and multicultural attitudes found that respondents outside Quebec were most likely to reply "Canadian" with those residing in Quebec answering "French-Canadian" in 1974 and "provincial" (Québécois) in 1991. Third, in these surveys, persons of British ethnic origin were among the ethnic origin groups most likely to affiliate with a "Canadian" label (Berry and Kalin, 1995; Driedger, Thacker, and Currie, 1982; Kalin and Berry, 1995).

These generalizations imply that increased "Canadian" responses in the 1991 and 1996 censuses reflected latent propensities to self-select this ethnic group. Boyd's (1996) analysis of the 1991 census results in fact supports the argument of a dormant response waiting to be invoked, particularly for selected segments of Canada's population which were characterized by centuries of residency. Another explanation for the increased Canadian responses in 1991 and in 1996 include a 1991 "count-me Canadian" media campaign originating with the Toronto Sun and its affiliates, and its subsequent impact on the format of the 1996 ethnic origin question (see Boyd, 1996; 2000). Both explanations are compatible with a third possibility. Kalbach and Kalbach (1999) suggest that respondents to the ethnic origin question conflate ethnic ancestry and ethnic identity (also see Boyd, 2000:3). They argue that the growth in Canadian ethnic responses thus is not a measure of one's ethnic roots but rather a measure of how an individual feels, or the group(s) with which a respondent identifies. However, to date little evidence exists as to what is actually captured by the Canadian census question on ethnic origins. Such evidence requires a carefully designed study that examines ethnic responses, utilizing focus group research and surveys which probe dimensions of ethnic affiliation and ancestry.

In the absence of such a study, temporal increases in "Canadian" responses generate a more empirically informed question: namely, what ethnic groups were the sources for Canadian responses in the 1991 and 1996 censuses? This question is an important one for at least two reasons. First, from a demographic perspective, rising Canadian responses imply rapid temporal changes in the ethnic composition of Canada's population. Second, such alterations potentially affect research, public policy discourse and ultimately the discussions over the census ethnic origin question. Boyd (2000) reviews in detail the implications of these shifts (also see Petersen, 1987; Starr, 1987).

In their analysis of the 1993 National Census Test, Pendakur and Mata (1998) conclude that "Canadian" drew from British and French ethnic origin groups. In this paper we extend their findings beyond a single time point, finding temporal change in the sources of Canadian responses. Our analysis of unpublished 1986, 1991, and 1996 census tabulations reveals that most of the increases between 1986 and 1991 in "Canadian" responses to the census ethnic origin question were accompanied by intercensal losses in British origin responses. However, between 1991 and 1996, increasing Canadian responses went hand in hand with dramatic losses in both British and French ethnic origin counts. Our findings suggest that so far the growth in the Canadian ethnic label primarily draws from the two charter British and French sub-populations. Both groups are characterized by a collective history that includes more than two centuries of residence. "Canadien" was also an indigenous label used by the Quebec population for more than two hundred years, with "Québécois" used more frequently in the past two decades (Bergeron, 1980; Vallee, 1973; Wade, 1968). However, provincial variations in our analytical results and recent analyses of the 2001 census pre-test indicate that other ethnic groups may also become contributors to "Canadian" ethnic responses in the future.

ETHNIC SHIFTS AND RESEARCH DESIGNS

How to measure changes in ethnic responses to the census origin question is easy in principle and difficult in practice. In the perfect world of data collection and retrieval, a longitudinal design would connect the responses of

the same individual at two points in time. For example, such a design would permit identifying a person who declared Ukrainian in 1986, Ukrainian-Canadian in 1991, and unhyphenated, single response Canadian in 1996.

Canadian censuses are fielded as independent surveys at each census date. Although linking individuals across censuses is potentially feasible, the scale of enumeration and the absence of identical identification codes for individuals who are enumerated in different Canadian censuses make such linkages difficult, very expensive, and nearly impossible in practice. In the absence of linked data, an alternative strategy is to compare the distributions of ethnic responses in 1986, in 1991, and in 1996. However, this comparative procedure can include other sources of ethnic change besides temporal alterations in individual responses. Children born between censuses or persons who immigrate during the inter-censal period will have their ethnicities enumerated at the most recent census but not at the earlier one. Persons who die or emigrate between censuses will have ethnic responses enumerated by the earlier census but not by the later census. Further, some of the changes observed may reflect altered data reporting procedures which occur when young adults depart their parental homes (Lieberson and Waters, 1988; 1993). In the census, parents are most likely to be the sources of information on the characteristics of children in households. However, once having established separate residences, young adults will answer census questionnaires themselves, possibly deviating from the ethnic origins which parents assigned to them in earlier censuses.

These considerations generate a modified approach to comparing response distributions to the 1986, 1991, and 1996 census ethnic origin question. To control for the demographic and enumeration-based sources of change, we compare ethnic responses for the Canadian-born population age 25-44 in 1986, age 30-49 in 1991, and age 35-54 in 1996. The focus on the Canadian-born population removes much of the intercensal change associated with immigration. The selected age group represents a population that for the most part is no longer co-residing with parents. The chosen age group also omits fluctuations in ethnic responses that reflect mortality in older age groups. Overall, the analysis represents ethnic responses made by nearly one-quarter of the population. Computations from the 1996 census indicate that the Canadian-born population age 35-54 is approximately 23 percent and 28 percent, respectively, of the total and non-immigrant population in 1996. Those in the target group who responded "Canadian" represent 28.3 percent of all 1996 "Canadian" responses, 28.2 percent of all single "Canadian" responses, and 27.9 percent of all multiple "Canadian and X" responses to the 1996 ethnic origin question (calculations based on data from Statistics Canada, 1998 and from unpublished tables).

Our research design contains another feature associated with our examination of provincial variations in both the percentages giving Canadian ethnic responses and in the magnitudes of the inter-censal shifts. This provincial focus rests on two rationales. First, reflecting different periods of settlement, provinces vary in the ethnic composition of their populations, and particularly in the size of the two charter British and French ethnic origin populations. Second, recent censuses show substantial provincial variations in the percentages responding "Canadian" (Boyd, 1996, 2000; Statistics Canada, 1993; 1998). In combination, these two provincial-specific characteristics suggest that the inter-censal shifts toward Canadian responses may have come from different ethnic origin groups in different provinces.

However, examining province-specific changes over time requires modification to the strategy of comparing responses nationally at various census dates. For some provinces, particularly those in the eastern and western areas of Canada, substantial geographical mobility occurs between censuses. This mobility means that the provincial populations answering the census ethnic origin question in 1996 (or 1991) are not necessarily the same populations enumerated in 1991 (or 1986). At the extreme, any observed inter-censal changes by province could be due to such interprovincial mobility rather than caused by temporal variations in ethnic self-assignments. We prevent the former possibility by reassigning respondents in the 1996 census back to their original 1991 provincial

location, using the census question on residential location five years ago, and we repeat this exercise for 1991-1986 comparisons. This relocation removes province-specific changes in ethnic origin responses induced by geographical mobility over time.

This re-assignment procedure also dictates how the provincial data are to be understood. For example, comparisons of the ethnic responses of the Alberta population in 1996 and 1991 (or 1991 and 1986) are not the straightforward comparisons they initially appear to be. Instead, such comparisons rest on tabulating 1996 responses to the ethnic origin question for those individuals who reported living in Alberta in 1991 even if they are living elsewhere in 1996. Ethnic responses for this reconstituted Alberta population are then contrasted with those reported in 1991 for the population then residing in Alberta. We do this reconstitution for the two time periods of 1991-1996 and 1986-1991 that occur in the ten years between 1986 and 1996. Because the census question on previous place of residence refers to five years earlier, adjustments cannot be made to permit a single 1986-1996 comparison.

The ethnic origin classification used to compare the 1986-1991 and the 1991-1996 changes includes the following groups: (Single Responses) American; Austrian; Belgian; Black; Canadian; Chinese; Danish; Dutch; East Indian; English; Finnish; French; German; Greek; Hungarian; Inuit; Irish; Italian; Jewish; Metis; North American Indian; Norwegian; Polish; Portuguese; Russian; Scottish; Swedish; Swiss; Ukrainian; Welsh; Other Single Responses; (Multiple Responses) British Only; British and French; British and Canadian; British and Other; British, Other and Canadian; French Only; French and Canadian; French and Other; French, Other and Canadian; Other and Canadian; British, French and Canadian; British, French and Other; British, French, Other and Canadian; and Other multiples, where "British" includes English, Irish, Scottish and Welsh. From these ethnic distributions for the relevant censuses, we calculate the index of dissimilarity to indicate the magnitude of change across the census dates 1986-1991 and 1991-1996. Ranging from zero to 100, the index is a well-known summary measure that indicates how similar, or different, two percentage distributions are (Shyrock and Siegel, 1980). A score of zero means that two distributions are identical while a score of 100 means complete dissimilarity. The index is interpreted as indicating the percentage of the population in one distribution that would have to change categories for the distribution to be identical to the distribution of a second population.

Having calculated the indices of dissimilarity for ethnic change in Canada and in provinces over the two five-year inter-censal periods, we assess how much of the temporal shifts were produced by movements into the Canadian category and out of selected British, French, and other ethnic origin designations. The method rests on calculating 1986-1991 or 1991-1996 differences in the ethnic specific percentages, and then summing up those differences for the groups in question. The sum, which represents only part of the overall array of differences, can then be compared with the summary index of dissimilarity. Appendix A illustrates this methodology using 1991 and 1996 census data.

ETHNIC CHANGE IN CANADA

The entire population enumerated by a census includes the foreign born population and the elderly, both groups being less likely in the 1991 and 1996 censuses to self-select "Canadian" ethnic origins (Boyd, 1996). For the population examined in this paper (Canadian-born, age 25-44 in 1986), "Canadian" responses are slightly higher than those observed for the entire population, including all age and birthplace groups. Of the Canadian-born, age 25-44 in 1986 (and thus 30-49 in 1991 and 35-54 in 1996), 0.5, 4.6, and 37.5 percent responded "Canadian" to the ethnic origin questions in the respective 1986, 1991, and 1996 censuses (Table 1, row 7, columns 4-6). These percentages include both single and multiple "Canadian" responses.

Prior to the mid-1990s, at least four out of five of the ethnic origin responses given by our reference population were solely British (English, Irish, Scottish, and Welsh) and/or French, excluding "Canadian" (Table 1, row 3, columns 4 and 5). By 1996, percentages declined to less than half, with close to two out of five (37.5 percent) giving "Canadian" ethnic responses either as a single affiliation or as part of multiple ethnic designations. The upswing in Canadian responses between 1986 and 1991 appears to reflect primarily two factors; 1) the reduced propensity of census respondents to select "British" and to choose "Canadian" instead; or 2) to add Canadian to their pre-existing British repertoire. This is evident from data in Table 1. Responses that were neither British, French and/or Canadian changed very little between 1986 and 1991, from 15.1 to 15.7 percent. Similarly, changes were small in the overall percentages declaring "French," both as single and as multiple responses excluding Canadian. Here percentages declined slightly from 39.6 in 1986 to 38.5 percent in 1991. However, between 1986 and 1991 the percentage of the Canadian-born population age 25-44 in 1986 that indicated British ethnic origins (again, single or multiple but excluding a Canadian multiple response) declined 4.3 percentage points while percentages declaring a single or multiple "Canadian" response rose 4.1 points.

Data in Table 2 also support the argument that 1986-1991 intercensal shifts toward "Canadian" responses primarily drew from previously "British" responses. Between 1986 and 1991, numerical declines were largest for the population that declared British ethnicity, but where Canadian was not given as a multiple response (Table 2, column 1). These inter-censal declines and the resultant reduction in the percentage of "British, excluding Canadian" responses accounted for two-fifths (43 percent) of the index of dissimilarity in the ethnic composition of Canada's population in 1986 and in 1991. Shifts in the percentages declaring "Canadian" accounted for 38 percent of the index of dissimilarity. Changes in percentages indicating either French (excluding Canadian) or indicating other non-British, French, or Canadian origins accounted for only 15 and 10 percent of the index (Table 2, column 3). Together the changes in the percentages of responses giving British and/or French (but excluding Canadian) account for 51 percent of the index of dissimilarity in the ethnic origin distributions between 1986 and 1991. When added to the contribution of the shifts in non-British, non-French, and non-Canadian (10 percent) and the changes in the percentages giving Canadian responses (38 percent), the sum is 100 percent.

Our analysis of later censuses indicates that movement away from "British, excluding Canadian" responses continued into the mid-1990s. However, a new development occurred. Unlike the period 1986-1991, the period 1991-1996 witnessed sharp declines in the percentages declaring "French, excluding Canadian" ethnicities, down from approximately 39 percent of the reference population in the 1991 census to 20 percent in the 1996 census. Concomitantly, the percentages of adult Canadians age 25-44 in 1986 who gave "Canadian" either as a single or multiple response rose from under 5 percent in 1991 to nearly 38 percent in 1996 (Table 1, columns 5 and 6). The numerical decline in the French (excluding Canadian) population was equally precipitous. Standing at 1.2 million for the reference population, it exceeded the numerical loss of close to one million for those who in 1991 had indicated British (excluding Canadian) ethnic origins. The combined loss of responses that were British and/or French (but excluding Canadian) in 1991 stood at 2,136,000 in 1996, differing by only 36,000 from the 2,170,000 increase in the numbers who gave "Canadian" as part of their ethnic repertoires in 1996 (Table 2, column 2).

Between 1991-1996, then, a different story emerges. The rise in single and multiple "Canadian" responses appears to have rested largely on shifts away from British and French responses, not merely on shifts away from British ethnic origin responses. The decomposition of the index of dissimilarity in the 1991-1996 ethnic origin distributions supports this argument. The declining numbers and percentages of single and multiple responses giving "British, excluding Canadian" ethnic origins account for approximately 22 percent of the index. Declines in single and multiple responses indicating "French, excluding Canadian" origins account for 27 percent of the 1991-1996 index, and the combined contribution of the British and French ethnic shifts accounts for 46 percent of the index. The growing percentages of "Canadian" responses accounts for nearly 49 percent, revealing considerable

correspondence with changes in the index due to shifts away from British and French ethnic origins (Table 2, column 4).

SINGLE AND MULTIPLE RESPONSES

Multiple responses to the census ethnic origin question were permitted in the 1986, 1991, and 1996 Canadian censuses. The existence of multiple responses raises two supplemental questions to the original one that asks what ethnic origin groups contributed to the upswing in Canadian responses. The first additional question addresses the context within which outflows to Canadian responses occur by asking if the upswing in "Canadian" responses drew from single British or French ethnic origin responses or from responses that were multiple responses (containing British, French, and/or other non-Canadian ethnic designations). The second question addresses the characteristics of acquiring the "Canadian" designation by asking if such acquisition involved adding "Canadian" as a multiple option or if it involved discarding altogether other ethnic origins.

Again, our answers to these questions are necessarily imperfect given the absence of a true longitudinal survey that traces the various ethnic origin responses of the same individuals over time. However, an in-depth look at the shifts from British and/or French ethnic origins (excluding Canadian) to single or multiple "Canadian" provides several insights. In answering the first question, we conclude that the majority of the decline in British and/or French ethnic origins between 1986-1991 and between 1991-1996 is from the reference population giving single responses. This conclusion is supported by absolute numerical declines and by the contribution of the compositional shifts to the index of dissimilarity (Table 3). For example, between 1986-1991, the decline in the single ethnic origin British population account for 29 percent of the overall dissimilarity in the ethnic origin distributions of the two censuses. The decline in the multiple British (excluding French and Canadian) accounts for only 7.3 percent of the index of dissimilarity. Similar empirical evidence exists for the French ethnic origin population and generally for the period 1991-1996. Nonetheless, it should be noted that the shift away from French ethnic origins becomes more pronounced for the single responses in the period 1991-1996. Whereas between 1986-1991 the contribution of changes in multiple French ethnic origin responses stands at 2.5 percent of the index of dissimilarity (and represents approximately one-quarter of the overall contribution of 8.6 for French ethnic origin shifts), changes in multiple French ethnic origins (excluding British and Canadian multiples) contribute only 0.2 percent to the index of dissimilarity relative to the nearly 25 percent contribution of shifts in single French origin responses (Table 3, columns 3 and 4).

From an in-flow perspective, inter-censal increases in Canadian responses arise in two different ways, each having implications for the sizes of ethnic groups enumerated in the census. Some individuals might simply add "Canadian" to British and/or French designations. Others might acquire Canadian without retaining previously designated ethnicities. Most of the inter-censal increase between 1991 and 1996 appears to involve giving single "Canadian" responses in the 1996 census without retaining single British and/or French ethnicities. This conclusion rests on data appearing in Table 4. Consider two facts: first, between 1991 and 1996, single "Canadian" responses increased by nearly 1.3 million and multiple responses that included "Canadian" increased by 780,510, for a total of over 2.8 million (Table 4, column 3, rows 2, 3, and 1 respectively). Second, the size of the reference population declaring British and/or French single or multiple ethnicities (excluding Canadian) was 4.1 million in 1991 and 2.2 million in 1996, or a decline of approximately 1.9 million (Table 4, panel 2). Of this 1.9 million decline, nearly 1.8 million connoted a decline in single British or French responses and approximately 359,000 represent declines in multiple British or French responses (excluding those which included Canadian responses). Now invoke the strong, and no doubt inaccurate, assumption that all shifts out of the single or multiple 1991 British and/or French responses either added or substituted "Canadian." Also assume that all of the declines in British/French multiple responses (Table 4, panel 2) consist of adding "Canadian" to multiple ethnic repertoires. Such hypothetical

additions of 358,625 account for about 46 percent of the 780,500 intercensal gains in multiple responses that include Canadian. By implication, the remaining 54 percent of the gains, representing 421,885 responses, involve single 1991 British or French responses adding "Canadian" in 1996. However, 1.4 million single British or French responses in 1991 remain to be reallocated, and under the strong assumption they can only be assigned to the Canadian single response group in 1996. Clearly all these assumptions are tenuous at best and more accurate conclusions demand a longitudinal study that documents ethnic responses of the same individuals followed over time. However, inter-censal shifts based on the strong assumption suggest that the single Canadian responses in 1996 drew from single British and single French responses in 1991.

PROVINCIAL VARIATIONS

Although the increasing percentages responding "Canadian" go hand in hand with declines in British and French ethnic origins, the size of the British and French ethnic origin population is not uniform across Canada. Historically the French ethnic origin population has concentrated in the province of Quebec. Small but significant pockets of concentration also exist in Ontario, New Brunswick (Acadia) and Manitoba. Although the British ethnic origin population is found in all provinces, the western provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia also contain substantial numbers of non-British and non-French ethnic origin groups as a result of past and present immigration patterns and indigenous Aboriginal populations. The territories also are ethnically diverse as a result of substantial immigration and their original inhabitation by Aboriginal peoples.

Regional variations in the percentages of British and/or French ethnic origin groups and in recency of immigration trends suggest geographical variations should exist in the magnitude of shifts over time toward "Canadian" ethnic responses. Unpublished tabulations confirm such variations. For the reference population analysed in this paper (Canadian-born, age 25-44 in 1986), percentages declaring Canadian in 1991 are highest in Ontario, lowest in Quebec and Newfoundland, and tend to increase from east to west. In a corresponding pattern, the index of dissimilarity for provincial-territory specific shifts in the 1986 and 1991 ethnic composition shows inter-censal change was highest for Ontario and the Yukon between 1986 and 1991 and lowest for Quebec and Newfoundland (Table 5). As noted earlier, these indices are calculated after corrections are made for inter-censal migration.

We also apply the earlier methodology of decomposing the index of dissimilarity into components that reflect inter-censal shifts in the major groupings of British, French, Canadian, and those of non-British, non-French, non-Canadian ethnicities. The results indicate that shifts toward "Canadian" vary considerably by province (Table 5). At the same time, however, three patterns exist for the 1986-1991 period. First, Ontario is unique in that ethnic shifts are overwhelmingly due to the upswing in Canadian ethnic responses and to concomitant changes in the British ethnic origin groups. Together, the shifts in the "Canadian" and in the "British, excluding Canadian" responses account for close to ninety percent of the inter-censal index of (ethnic) dissimilarity. If the small contribution of those declaring French ethnic origins are factored in, the changes in Canadian, British, and/or French responses account for 93 percent (Table 4, column 5). Such responses also account for similar high shares of the index of dissimilarity in several of the Atlantic provinces. However, in these provinces (and elsewhere) the contributions of "Canadian" responses to the ethnic dissimilarity index are not as strong as in Ontario. Shifts in the French ethnic origin responses (excluding Canadian) make stronger contributions.

Second, in Quebec, which has one of the lowest values for inter-censal shifts in ethnic origin composition and the lowest percentages (0.6 percent in 1991) declaring "Canadian," changes in French ethnic origin responses explain over half of the index (Table 5, column 8) unlike other provinces and territories. Third, for the Western provinces, all three components affect the index of dissimilarity: changes in responses that are non-British, non-French and non-Canadian (Table 5, column 4); changes in British ethnic origin self-assignments; and changes (increases) in

Canadian responses.

Provincial and territorial variations in Canadian responses and in ethnic origin compositional changes continue between the 1991 and 1996 censuses. But the trends during the first half of the 1990s do not replicate all those found five years earlier between 1986 and 1991. "Canadian" responses increase substantially, but little correspondence exists between the highest (or lowest) levels in 1996 and those in 1991. Whereas the percentages of the reference population giving "Canadian" responses are highest in 1991 for Ontario, by 1996 response levels are highest in Quebec, where over half indicate "Canadian." Elsewhere, it is in the Atlantic provinces and in Ontario where relatively high percentages respond "Canadian" rather than in the western provinces (also see Boyd, 2000:Table 2). The 1991-1996 index of dissimilarity follows this new pattern, indicating that ethnic compositional shifts have been most dramatic in Quebec and in the Atlantic provinces rather than in Ontario and in Alberta.

Decomposing the index of dissimilarity into components that reflect 1991-1996 shifts in the major ethnic origin categories also reveals a different finding than that observed in the 1986-1991 period. Unlike the preceding five year period, the upswing in Canadian responses in 1996 exerts a near uniform impact across all provinces and territories, accounting for nearly half of the specific indices of dissimilarities. However, two similarities also exist across both time periods. First, in Quebec, change in French ethnic responses is a major factor underlying the index of dissimilarity in both time periods, whereas in other areas, shifts in the British ethnic responses are more influential than shifts in French ethnic responses. The one exception to this geographical pattern is in New Brunswick, home to the Acadian population. Here, shifts in French origin responses contribute approximately the same magnitude each period to the provincial index of dissimilarity. For 1991-1996, the contribution of shifts in British ethnic origin responses declines in New Brunswick to the second lowest level of all provinces (Table 5, columns 7 and 8).

The second major similarity between 1986-1991 and 1991-1996 is that among the provinces (excluding the Yukon and the Northwest Territories) the contribution of shifts in the non-British, non-French and non-Canadian responses is generally the highest in the three prairie provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta. Inspection of shifts in the groups comprising this category reveal three main sources of change: declines in the German single ethnic origin population, followed by a lower magnitude of decline in the single Ukrainian population, and substantial increases in the population giving multiple ethnic origin responses that are neither British, French, nor Canadian.

CONCLUSIONS

North American research offers compelling evidence of the dynamic nature of ethnic self-categorizations. Reflecting the social construction of ethnicity, fluctuation in ethnic self-assignment is enormous, varying among the same individuals over time (Lieberson, 1985; Lieberson and Waters, 1988), between parental and offspring generations (Boyd, 1998; Lieberson and Waters, 1993), and over census and survey dates (Ryder, 1955; Farley, 1991). As well, ethnic categories are created or reemerge, in part through official state ethnic designations or actions (Nagel, 1995). One factor that cannot be ignored in North American surveys and censuses is the strengthening of an indigenous ethnic label, particularly by groups who are distanced from immigration (Lieberson, 1985; Pryor, et. al., 1992), and who have "Canadian" or "Canadien" as part of their historical repertoires.

"Canadian"/"Canadien" represents such an "indigenous" ethnic label. At nearly 4 percent of the entire Canadian population in 1991 and 31 percent in 1996, the Canadian group is the fastest growing ethnic group in the twentieth century. In their examination of the 1993 National Census Test, Pendakur and Mata (1998) find that persons reporting Canadian ethnicity are more similar to those reporting either British or French origins, and they suggest

that most of the 1993 selection of "Canadian" came from British and French ethnic origin groups. Our analysis is consistent with their conclusion but offers a more temporally nuanced account of ethnic shifts. We find that among the Canadian-born, most of the 1986-1991 inter-censal shift in becoming Canadian drew from the population that declared British ethnic origins in 1986. Noticeable shifts between French origin groups and Canadian occur only in Quebec, but this finding must be tempered by the realization that the percentage of the 1991 population responding Canadian is extremely small in Quebec. However, the 1991-1996 inter-censal increase in Canadian/Canadien responses also appears to have drawn substantially from the French population, particularly in Quebec and in New Brunswick.

The rise in "Canadian" ethnic responses in the census is noteworthy not just because the resurgence of this label is yet another example of the dynamic properties of ethnic self-assignments. The increase also has policy implications that potentially fuel debate over the wording of ethnic origin questions (see Boyd, 2000 for discussion). Together, these two correlates of increasing Canadian responses direct attention to the patterns of ethnic origin self-assignments in future censuses and surveys. The National Census Test (NCT), which is the major pre-test for the 2001 census, is the most recent data collecting vehicle to date, conducted in October, 1998. Reflecting the results of the 1996 census in which the "Canadian" ethnic group was the largest ethnic sub-population in Canada, the ethnic origin question on the NCT listed "Canadian" as the first example. The pre-test results show a continuing increase in percentage of respondents declaring Canadian, up from 31 percent in 1996 to 39 percent in 1998. The increase of "Canadian" responses lead to a decrease in counts for other groups, particularly "British" and "French" ethnic origins. In the NCT universe, total responses for the British ethnic origin groups fell from 37 to 32 percent in 1996 and 1998 respectively. Total responses for the French ethnic origin group dropped from 22 to 16 percent between 1996 and 1998. As well, several European ethnic origin groups such as Italian, Polish, and German showed small decreases (Bender, 1999). These results suggest that "Canadian" will continue to be an ever increasing option for future census respondents. At the moment, the shifts appear to occur out of groups characterized by an over 200 year history of residence in Canadian, and for whom the word "Canadian" or "Canadien" is an evocative term (see Boyd, 2000). However, if other ethnic origin groups also shift in the future to "Canadian," the challenge of how best to measure ancestry will remain a central one for census takers and data users.

Table 1

Numbers and Percent Distributions of Major Ethnic Origin Categories, including Canadian, for the Canadian-born Population Age 25-44 in 1986, for Canada 1986, 1991, and 1996.

Numbers, to nearest 100s

1986 1991

(1) (2) Total

6,691,300 6,681,500 Non-British, Non-French, Non-Canadian(b) 1,013,400 1,047,200 British, French and/or Canadian(c)

5,677,800 5,634,200 British and French, excluding Canadian 5,646,200 5,326,100

British, excluding Canadian(d) 3,487,200 3,195,140

French, excluding Canadian(d) 2,650,200 2,573,400 Canadian, single and multiple 31,700 308,100

1996

(3) Total

6,608,200 Non-British, Non-French, Non-Canadian(b) 939,200 British, French and/or Canadian(c) 5,669,000 British and French, excluding Canadian 3,189,900

British, excluding Canadian(d) 2,197,100

French, excluding Canadian(d) 1,334,400 Canadian, single and multiple 2,479,000

Percent Distributions(a)

1986 1991 1996

(4) (5) (6) Total

100.0 100.0 100.0 Non-British, Non-French, Non-Canadian(b) 15.1 15.7 14.2 British, French and/or Canadian(c) 84.9 84.3 85.8 British and French, excluding Canadian 84.4 79.7 48.3

British, excluding Canadian(d) 52.1 47.8 33.2

French, excluding Canadian(d) 39.6 38.5 20.2 Canadian, single and multiple 0.5 4.6 37.5

(a) Distributions calculated from unrounded numbers ending in 5 or 10.

(b) Includes all ethnic origin groups other than British, French and/or Canadian. If British, French and/or Canadian are given, responses excluded. See footnote c.

(c) Includes both single and multiple responses that are British, French and/or Canadian.

(d) Includes British and French multiple ethnic origins and "British, French and Other (non-Canadian)" multiple ethnic origins. Because the same groups appear in both the British and French groups, summing the two groups will produce double counts, and totals greater than observed for the preceding group "British and French, excluding Canadian."

Source: Statistics Canada. Family, Housing and Social Statistics Division. Unpublished tabulations from the 1986, 1991, and 1996 censuses of population.

Table 2

Inter-censal Numerical Changes of Major Ethnic Origin Categories, including Canadian, and the Percentage Contribution of Such Changes for the Index of Dissimilarity, Calculated for the Canadian-born Population Age 25-44 in 1986

Numerical Change(a)

1991-1986

(1)

Total(c) -9,800

Non-British, Non-French, Non-Canadian 3,800

British, French and/or Canadian -43,600

British and/or French,excluding Canadian -320,100

British, excluding Canadian -292,100

French, excluding Canadian -76,800

Canadian, single and multiple 276,500

Total(c) -73,300

Non-British, Non-French, Non-Canadian -108,000

British, French and/or Canadian 34,700

British and/or French,excluding Canadian -2,136,200

British, excluding Canadian -998,100

French, excluding Canadian -1,239,000

Canadian, single and multiple 2,170,900

Percentage

Contribution

to the Index of

Dissimilarity(b)

1991-1986

(3)

Total(c) 100.0

Non-British, Non-French, Non-Canadian 10.3

British, French and/or Canadian 89.7

British and/or French,excluding Canadian 51.4

British, excluding Canadian 42.9

French, excluding Canadian 15.2

Canadian, single and multiple 38.3

1996-1991

(4)

Total(c) 100.0

Non-British, Non-French, Non-Canadian 4.5

British, French and/or Canadian 95.5

British and/or French,excluding Canadian 46.7

British, excluding Canadian 21.6

French, excluding Canadian 27.2

Canadian, single and multiple 48.8

(a) Based on actual counts for each year, then rounding the inter-censal differences to the nearest 100.

(b) The index of dissimilarity for a 48 category ethnic origin classification was 5.40 for the period 1986-1991 and 33.68 for 1991-1996. See text and Appendix A for further discussion of the methodology.

(c) See footnotes b through d in Table 1 for groups included in each major category.

Source: Statistics Canada. Family, Housing and Social Statistics Division. Unpublished tabulations from the 1986, 1991, and 1996 censuses of population.

Table 3

Inter-censal Numerical Changes of British and/or French Ethnic Origin Categories, Excluding Canadian, and the Percentage Contribution of Such Changes for the Index of Dissimilarity, Calculated for the Canadian-born Population Age 25-44 in 1986

Numerical Change(a)

1991-1986

(1)

Both British and French, excluding

Canadian -320,100

British, excluding French and Canadian -243,200

Single British -190,900

Multiple British -52,400

French, excluding British and Canadian -28,000

Single French -46,100

Multiple French 18,200

British and French multiples -48,900

Numerical Change(a)

1996-1991

(2)

Both British and French, excluding

Canadian -2,136,200

British, excluding French and Canadian -897,100

Single British -650,100

Multiple British -247,100

French, excluding British and Canadian -1,138,100

Single French -1,127,500

Multiple French -10,600

British and French multiples -100,900

Percentage

Contribution to

the Index of

Dissimilarity(b)

1991-1986

(3)

Both British and French, excluding Canadian 51.4

British, excluding French and Canadian 36.2

Single British 28.9

Multiple British 7.3

French, excluding British and Canadian 8.6

Single French 6.1

Multiple French 2.5

British and French multiples 6.7

1991-1986

(4)

Both British and French, excluding Canadian 46.7

British, excluding French and Canadian 19.5

Single British 14.2

Multiple British 5.2

French, excluding British and Canadian 25.1

Single French 24.8

Multiple French 0.2

British and French multiples 2.2

(a) Based on actual counts for each year, then rounding the inter-censal differences to the nearest 100.

(b) The index of dissimilarity for a 48 category ethnic origin classification was 5.40 for the period 1986-1991 and 33.68 for 1991-1996. See text and Appendix A for further discussion of the methodology.

Source: Statistics Canada. Family, Housing and Social Statistics Division. Unpublished tabulations from the 1986, 1991, and 1996 censuses of population.

Table 4

1991 and 1996 Canadian and British and/or French Ethnic Categories, Single and Multiple Responses, for the Canadian-born Population Age 40-54 in 1996

1991

(1)

PANEL ONE: Canadian responses

Total Canadian, singles and multiples 360,200

Canadian, single responses 232,690

Total, British, French and Canadian multiples 63,755

British and Canadian 37,610

British, Other and Canadian 10,195

French and Canadian 7,120

French, Other and Canadian 1,320

British, French and Canadian 4,395

British, French, Other and Canadian 3,115

PANEL TWO: British, French, excluding Canadian

Total British and/or French, single and multiples 4,143,920

Total, single French or British 3,485,110

French 2,012,090

British 1,473,020

Multiple responses 1,841,000

British Only 658,810

British and French 321,510

British and Other 620,870

French Only 4,225

French and Other 114,655

British, French and Other 120,930

1996

(2)

PANEL ONE: Canadian responses

Total Canadian, singles and multiples 3,198,075

Canadian, single responses 1,509,545

Total, British, French and Canadian multiples 844,265

British and Canadian 394,115

British, Other and Canadian 136,495

French and Canadian 189,855

French, Other and Canadian 28,690

British, French and Canadian 74,465

British, French, Other and Canadian 20,645

PANEL TWO: British, French, excluding Canadian

Total British and/or French, single and multiples 2,230,565

Total, single French or British 1,707,570

French 884,625

British 822,945

Multiple responses 1,482,375

British Only 522,995

British and French 253,150

British and Other 509,610

French Only 4,365

French and Other 103,890

British, French and Other 88,365

Difference

1996-1991(a)

(3)

PANEL ONE: Canadian responses

Total Canadian, singles and multiples 2,837,875

Canadian, single responses 1,276,855

Total, British, French and Canadian multiples 780,510

British and Canadian 356,505

British, Other and Canadian 126,300

French and Canadian 182,735

French, Other and Canadian 27,370

British, French and Canadian 70,070

British, French, Other and Canadian 17,530

PANEL TWO: British, French, excluding Canadian

Total British and/or French, single and multiples -1,913,355

Total, single French or British -1,777,540

French -1,127,465

British -650,075

Multiple responses -358,625

British Only -135,815

British and French -68,360

British and Other -111,260

French Only 140

French and Other -10,765

British, French and Other -32,565

(a) Totals in column 3 based on figures in column 3.

Source: Table A1.

Table 5

Indices of Dissimilarity for Ethnic Origin Distributions between 1986-1991 and 1991-1996, and the Percentage Contribution of Changes in Specific Ethnic Origin Groups for the Index of Dissimilarity, Calculated for the Canadian-born Population Age 25-44 in 1986, Canada, Provinces and Territories

Percent Index of

Canadian Dissimilarity

Time 1 Time 2 Time 1 vs Time 2

(1) (2) (3)

1986-1991 1986 1991 1986-1991

Canada 0.5 4.6 5.40

Newfoundland (d) 0.6 1.74

Prince Edward Is. 0.1 1.3 5.15

Nova Scotia 0.2 1.9 5.86

New Brunswick 0.2 1.9 5.32

Quebec 0.1 0.6 2.26

Ontario 0.4 9.7 8.58

Manitoba 1.4 2.5 4.64

Saskatchewan 0.8 4.2 5.44

Alberta 1.0 5.7 6.33

British Columbia 0.9 3.5 5.05

North West Terr. 2.3 3.3 5.94

Yukon 3.2 4.0 9.00

1991 1996 1991-1996

Canada 4.6 37.5 33.68

Newfoundland 0.3 30.3 31.48

Prince Edward Is. 0.9 31.1 31.12

Nova Scotia 1.5 35.9 35.17

New Brunswick 1.7 41.2 40.28

Quebec 0.5 52.2 52.70

Ontario 9.9 34.2 25.19

Manitoba 2.3 21.9 21.53

Saskatchewan 4.3 22.1 18.83

Alberta 5.8 28.6 23.52

British Columbia 3.3 28.3 25.38

North West Terr. 3.5 17.5 15.27

Yukon 4.0 30.0 26.36

Percent of Index Due to Shifts in

Responses that are:

Not Br. Br.,Fr. Br.

Fr. or and/or and

Can.(a) Can.(b) Fr.

(4) (5) (6)

Canada 10.3 89.7 51.4

Newfoundland 13.5 86.5 69.2

Prince Edward Is. 7.4 92.6 81.8

Nova Scotia 12.0 88.0 73.7

New Brunswick 12.1 87.9 71.7

Quebec 18.6 81.4 71.3

Ontario 6.6 93.4 39.3

Manitoba 44.9 55.1 42.6

Saskatchewan 23.8 76.2 45.5

Alberta 18.4 81.6 43.8

British Columbia 17.0 83.0 56.9

North West Terr. 40.1 59.9 50.8

Yukon 34.4 65.6 56.9

Canada 4.5 95.5 46.7

Newfoundland 1.4 98.6 51.1

Prince Edward Is. 1.8 98.2 49.7

Nova Scotia 4.6 95.4 46.4

New Brunswick 1.8 98.2 49.3

Quebec 1.8 98.2 49.1

Ontario 5.5 94.5 46.4

Manitoba 17.6 82.4 36.8

Saskatchewan 19.0 81.0 34.0

Alberta 11.6 88.4 40.0

British Columbia 7.5 92.5 43.2

North West Terr. 16.5 83.5 37.4

Yukon 12.0 88.0 38.6

British(c) French(c) Canadian(c)

(7) (8) (9)

Canada 42.9 15.2 38.3

Newfoundland 58.5 22.6 17.2

Prince Edward Is. 74.8 19.4 10.8

Nova Scotia 69.3 12.5 14.2

New Brunswick 57.2 24.6 16.2

Quebec 20.4 53.9 10.0

Ontario 37.4 8.5 54.1

Manitoba 40.0 7.7 12.4

Saskatchewan 42.1 7.9 30.8

Alberta 41.5 8.2 37.8

British Columbia 53.3 9.6 26.2

North West Terr. 45.2 8.4 9.2

Yukon 51.8 16.0 8.6

Canada 21.6 27.2 48.8

Newfoundland 50.3 1.3 47.5

Prince Edward Is. 42.4 10.2 48.5

Nova Scotia 42.6 7.2 48.9

New Brunswick 26.9 24.8 48.9

Quebec 2.1 47.2 49.1

Ontario 39.3 11.5 48.2

Manitoba 31.3 9.2 45.6

Saskatchewan 30.4 6.0 47.1

Alberta 36.4 7.6 48.4

British Columbia 40.4 7.1 49.3

North West Terr. 31.2 8.9 46.1

Yukon 34.6 7.1 49.4

(a) Includes all ethnic origin selections that are not British (English, Irish, Scottish or Welsh), French, and/or Canadian. A person declaring Ukrainian or Ukrainian-Dutch would be included in this group; a person declaring English or English-Canadian would be excluded from this group.

(b) Includes all ethnic origin selection that are either single or multiple responses that include British (English, Irish, Scottish or Welsh), French, and/or Canadian. A person declaring English or English-Canadian would be included in this sub-population. A person declaring Ukrainian or Ukrainian-Dutch would be excluded from this group.

(c) Columns 7, 8 and 9 include single and multiple responses. A person who gave only one ethnic origin of "Scottish" would be part of the population of column 7. But a person whose indicated ethnic origins of "English-French" would appear in both column 7 and in column 8. This "double-counting" does not appear in columns 5 or 6. In each of these latter two columns, an "English-French" response would be captured only once.

(d) Less than 0.05 percentage points.

Table A1

Numbers, Percentages, and the Index of Dissimilarity for Ethnic Origin Responses to the 1991 and 1996 Census, Population Age 30-49 in 1991, Canada

Numbers Difference

1991 1996 1996-1991

(1) (2) (3) Single Responses American 990 2,315 1,325 Austrian

3,690 4,350 660 Belgian 7,170 6,770 -400 Black 9,155 1,770 -7385 Canadian 232,695 1,509,545 1,276,850 Chinese 13,855 13,195 -660 Danish 6,875 5,925 -950 Dutch 68,300 56,570 -11,730 East Indian NIE 1,965 3,005 1,040 English 1,017,640 505,025 -512,615 Finnish 6,935 6,005 -930 French 2,012,090 884,625 -1,127,465 German 213,505 155,050 -58,455 Greek 6,620 5,745 -875 Hungarian 15,240 13,620 -1,620 Inuit 6,200 5,700 -500 Irish 211,745 145,585 -66,160 Italian 82,220 76,070 -6,150 Jewish 46,385 32,935 -13,450 Metis 18,800 12,075 -6,725 North Am. Ind. 89,400 81,620 -7,780 Norwegian 16,400 12,235 -4,165 Polish 38,680 31,010 -7,670 Portuguese 2,845 2,995 150 Russian 9,790 8,955 -835 Scottish 237,585 166,245 -71,340 Swedish 10,220 6,990 -3,230 Swiss 3,355 2,570 -785 Ukrainian 119,020 96,770 -22,250 Welsh 6,050 6,090 40 Other Single 61,700 93,465 31,765 Multiple Responses British Only 658,810 522,995 -135,815 British &Fr. 321,510 253,150 -68,360 British &Can. 37,610 394,115 356,505 British &Oth. 620,865 509,610 -111,255 Br. Oth. &Can. 10,195 136,495 126,300 French Only 4,225 4,365 140 French &Can. 7,115 189,855 182,740 French &Other 114,655 103,890 -10,765 Fr, Other &Can. 1,320 28,690 27,370 Other &Can. 11,690 125,205 113,515 Br. Fr. &Can. 4,400

74,465 70,065 Br. Fr. &Other 120,930 88,365 -32,565 Br. Fr. Oth. &Can. 3,120 20,645 17,525 Other Only 187,885 201,530 13,645 TOTAL Index of Dissimilarity

Percent Distributions

Absolute(a)

Difference

1991 1996 1996-1991

(4) (5) (6) Single Responses American 0.015 0.035 0.020 Austrian 0.055 0.066 0.011 Belgian 0.107 0.102 0.005 Black 0.137 0.027 0.110 Canadian 3.483 22.844 19.361 Chinese 0.207 0.200 0.008 Danish 0.103 0.090 0.013 Dutch 1.022 0.856 0.166 East Indian NIE 0.029 0.045 0.016 English 15.231 7.642 7.588 Finnish 0.104 0.091 0.013 French 30.115 13.387 16.728 German 3.195 2.346 0.849 Greek 0.099 0.087 0.012 Hungarian 0.228 0.206 0.022 Inuit 0.093 0.086 0.007 Irish 3.169 2.203 0.966 Italian 1.231 1.151 0.079 Jewish 0.694 0.498 0.196 Metis 0.281 0.183 0.099 North Am. Ind. 1.338 1.235 0.103 Norwegian 0.245 0.185 0.060 Polish 0.579 0.469 0.110 Portuguese 0.043 0.045 0.003 Russian 0.147 0.136 0.011 Scottish 3.556 2.516 1.040 Swedish 0.153 0.106 0.047 Swiss 0.050 0.039 0.011 Ukrainian 1.781 1.464 0.317 Welsh 0.091 0.092 0.002 Other Single 0.923 1.414 0.491 Multiple Responses British Only 9.860 7.914 1.946 British &Fr. 4.812 3.831 0.981 British &Can. 0.563 5.964 5.401 British &Oth. 9.292 7.712 1.581 Br. Oth. &Can. 0.153 2.066 1.913 French Only 0.063 0.066 0.003 French &Can. 0.106 2.873 2.767 French &Other 1.716 1.572 0.144 Fr, Other &Can. 0.020 0.434 0.414 Other &Can. 0.175 1.895 1.720 Br. Fr. &Can. 0.066 1.127 1.061 Br. Fr. &Other 1.810 1.337 0.473 Br. Fr. Oth. &Can. 0.047 0.312 0.266 Other Only 2.812 3.050 0.238 TOTAL 67.370 Index of Dissimilarity 33.685

(a) Because of rounding in columns 4 and 5, values in column 6 may differ.

Table A2

Percentages of the Index of Dissimilarity in Ethnic Origin Distributions Between 1991-1996 Due to Changes in Canadian, British, French and Other Ethnic Origin Responses, Population Age 30-49 in 1991, Canada

Numbers Difference

1991 1996 1996-1991

(1) (2) (3) CANADIAN Single Response Canadian 232,695 1,509,545 1,276,850 Multiple Responses British &Can. 37,610 394,115 356,505 Br. Oth. &Can. 10,195 136,495 126,300 French &Can. 7,115 189,855 182,740 Fr. Oth. &Can. 1,320 28,690 27,370 Other &Can. 11,690 125,205 113,515 Br., Fr. &Can. 4,400 74,465 70,065 Br. Fr. Oth. &Can. 3,120 20,645 17,525 SUBTOTAL 308,145 2,479,015 2,170,870 SUBTOTAL/2 %, (SUBTOTAL/2) divided by 33.685 BRITISH, EXCLUDING CANADIAN MULTIPLES Single Responses English 1,017,640 505,025 -512,615 Irish 211,745 145,585 -66,160 Scottish 237,585 166,245 -71,340 Welsh 6,050 6,090 40 Multiple Responses British Only 658,810 522,995 -135,815 Br. &French 321,510 253,150 -68,360 Br. &Other 620,865 509,610 -111,255 Br. Fr. &Other 120,930 88,365 -32,565 SUBTOTAL 3,195,135 2,197,065 -998,070 SUBTOTAL/2 %, (SUBTOTAL/2) divided by 33.685 FRENCH, EXCLUDING CANADIAN MULTIPLES Single Response French 2,012,090 884,625 -1,127,465 Multiple Responses Br. &Fr. 321,510 253,150 -68,360 French Only 4,225 4,365 140 French &Oth. 114,655 103,890 -10,765 Br. Fr. &Oth. 120,930 88,365 -32,565 SUBTOTAL 2,573,410 1,334,395 -1,239,015 SUBTOTAL/2 %, (SUBTOTAL/2) divided by 33.685 NON-BRITISH, NON-FRENCH, EXCLUDING CANADIAN MULTIPLES Single Responses American 990 2,315 1,325 Austrian 3,690 4,350 660 Belgian 7,170 6,770 -400 Black 9,155 1,770 -7,385 Chinese 13,855 13,195 -660 Danish 6,875 5,925 -950 Dutch 68,300 56,570 -11,730 East Indian NIE 1,965 3,005 1,040 Finnish 6,935 6,005 -930 German 213,505 155,050 -58,455 Greek 6,620 5,745 -875 Hungarian 15,240 13,620 -1,620 Inuit 6,200 5,700 -500 Italian 82,220 76,070 -6,150 Jewish 46,385 32,935 -13,450 Metis 18,800 12,075 -6,725 North Am. Ind. 89,400 81,620 -7,780 Norwegian 16,400 12,235 -4,165 Polish 38,680 31,010 -7,670 Portuguese 2,845 2,995 150 Russian 9,790 8,955 -835 Swedish 10,220 6,990 -3,230 Swiss 3,355 2,570 -785 Ukrainian 119,020 96,770 -22,250 Other Singles 61,700 93,465 31,765 Multiple Responses Other Only 187,885 201,530 13,645 SUBTOTAL 1,047,200 939,240 -107,960 SUBTOTAL/2 % (SUBTOTAL/2) divided by 33.685

Percent Distributions

Absolute(a)

Difference

1991 1996 1996-1991

(4) (5) (6) CANADIAN Single Response Canadian 3.483 22.844 19.361 Multiple Responses British &Can. 0.563 5.964 5.401 Br. Oth. &Can. 0.153 2.066 1.913 French &Can. 0.106 2.873 2.767 Fr. Oth. &Can. 0.020 0.434 0.414 Other &Can. 0.175 1.895 1.720 Br., Fr. &Can. 0.066 1.127 1.061 Br. Fr. Oth. &Can. 0.047 0.312 0.266 SUBTOTAL 4.612 37.514 32.902 SUBTOTAL/2

16.451 %, (SUBTOTAL/2) divided by 33.685
 48.838 BRITISH, EXCLUDING CANADIAN MULTIPLES Single Responses English 15.231 7.642 7.588 Irish
 3.169 2.203 0.966 Scottish 3.556 2.516 1.040 Welsh 0.091 0.092 0.002 Multiple Responses British Only 9.860
 7.914 1.946 Br. &French 4.812 3.831 0.981 Br. &Other 9.292 7.712 1.581 Br. Fr. &Other 1.810 1.337 0.473
 SUBTOTAL 47.821 33.248 14.577 SUBTOTAL/2
 7.288 %, (SUBTOTAL/2) divided by 33.685 21.637 FRENCH, EXCLUDING CANADIAN MULTIPLES Single Response
 French
 30.115 13.387 16.728 Multiple Responses Br. &Fr.
 4.812 3.831 0.981 French Only 0.063 0.066 0.003 French &Oth. 1.716 1.572 0.144 Br. Fr. &Oth. 1.810 1.337 0.473
 SUBTOTAL 38.516 20.193 18.328 SUBTOTAL/2 9.164 %, (SUBTOTAL/2) divided by 33.685 27.206 NON-BRITISH,
 NON-FRENCH, EXCLUDING CANADIAN MULTIPLES Single Responses American 0.015 0.035 0.020 Austrian 0.055
 0.066 0.011 Belgian 0.107 0.102 0.005 Black 0.137 0.027 0.110 Chinese
 0.207 0.200 0.008 Danish 0.103 0.090 0.013 Dutch 1.022 0.856 0.166 East Indian NIE 0.029 0.045 0.016 Finnish
 0.104 0.091 0.013 German
 3.195 2.346 0.849 Greek 0.099 0.087 0.012 Hungarian 0.228 0.206 0.022 Inuit 0.093 0.086 0.007 Italian 1.231
 1.151 0.079 Jewish
 0.694 0.498 0.196 Metis 0.281 0.183 0.099 North Am. Ind. 1.338 1.235 0.103 Norwegian 0.245 0.185 0.060 Polish
 0.579 0.469 0.110 Portuguese 0.043 0.045 0.003 Russian
 0.147 0.136 0.011 Swedish 0.153 0.106 0.047 Swiss 0.050 0.039 0.011 Ukrainian 1.781 1.464 0.317 Other Singles
 0.923 1.414 0.491 Multiple Responses Other Only 2.812 3.050 0.238 SUBTOTAL 5.673 14.213 3.016 SUBTOTAL/2
 1.508 % (SUBTOTAL/2) divided by 33.685 4.477

Source: Table A1.

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NOTES

(1). The overall loss of approximately 73,000 reference persons between 1991-1996 is larger than the loss of nearly 10,000 persons between the 1986 and 1991 censuses. Although a minor share could be due to increasing mortality as the reference population ages, out-migration from Canada appears to underlie this larger numerical decrease between 1991 and 1996.

Table (Numbers and Percent Distributions of Major Ethnic Origin Categories, including Canadian, for 1986, 1991, and 1996)

DETAILS

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