

**CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF  
POPULATION**

**WORKING PAPER**

**INCREASINGLY "CANADIAN":  
ETHNIC ORIGIN SHIFTS IN  
CANADA'S METROPOLITAN AREAS**

by  
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WPS 99-143

ISSN 0740-9095

**FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY  
COLLEGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES**

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Abstract:

At the close of the twentieth century, "Canadian" has become the fastest growing "new" ethnic origin group, up from 0.5 percent in 1986 to nearly 4 percent in 1991. The highest levels of 1991 Canadian responses were observed in select metropolitan areas, primarily but not exclusively in Ontario. In this paper we ask and answer the question: from what groups did this new "indigenous" label draw in the five years between the 1986-1991? Unpublished tabulations from the 1986 and 1991 Canadian censuses reveal the temporal shifts for a cohort of the Canadian born age 25-44 in 1986 residing in census metropolitan areas. The share of change in the index of dissimilarity indicates the portion that can be attributable to changes in the sizes of various ethnic groups. 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.

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Monica Boyd and Doug Norris\*

**INTRODUCTION**

During the past two decades, survey and census questions on ancestry or ethnic origins have elicited increasing numbers of "indigenous" responses. In the United States, the "unhyphenated" American has become a noteworthy percentage of the white population, representing 10 percent of the 1980 white population (Lieberson, 1985; Lieberson and Waters, 1988). In the 1991 Canadian census, "Canadian" was the fastest growing "new" ethnic origin group, up from 0.5 percent in 1986 to nearly 4 percent in 1991. Slightly over one million persons, out of 26 million, gave this response to the census ethnic origin question. "Canadian" was the fourth largest selection for single responses (exceeded by French, British, which included English, Irish, Scottish and Welsh ethnic origin groups, and German ethnic selections) and it was the sixth largest response for persons giving two or more ethnic origins (surpassed by British, French, German, Italian, and Ukrainian selections).

These Canadian responses are noteworthy for at least four reasons. First, the increased "Canadian" ethnic response was all the more remarkable because it was unanticipated given the census question design. "Canadian" was not a pre-coded category on the 1991 census form, and it was not one of the examples used to instruct respondents with write-in responses. Second, for students of ethnicity, such responses reaffirm the dynamic nature of ethnicity in which new

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affiliations, identities and cultures either are re-created or emerge (Nagel, 1994). Third, from a demographic perspective, rising Canadian responses imply temporal changes in the ethnic origin composition of Canada's population. Fourth, these ethnic origin shifts have at least two implications in the policy arena. Numerical losses can mean reduced funding for groups targeted in multiculturalism programs at the federal, provincial and municipal levels. Numerical loss also has the potential to undermine the raison d'etre of select branches within the federal department of Heritage Canada, and to alter or even threaten the mandate of the Secretary of State, Multiculturalism.

All these issues prompt the question of who chose Canadian in 1991. More specifically, from what other ethnic groups did the "Canadian" replies draw? We address these questions with data from the 1991 Public Use Microdata file of individuals and from unpublished customized tabulations produced at Statistics Canada. We show that Canadian responses in 1991 were highest in Census Metropolitan Areas (CMAs), particularly in the cities of Toronto, Oshawa, Hamilton and Kitchener. We then frame the question of "who became Canadian" within the context of ethnic origin shifts, finding that shifts away from declaring British responses (English, Irish, Scottish and/or Welsh) underlie much of the increasing Canadian replies between 1986 and 1991.

### **WHO SELECTS "CANADIAN"?**

The 1991 census ethnic origin question asks: "To which ethnic or cultural group(s) did this person's ancestors belong?" Immediately following on the questionnaire itself is the instruction "Mark or specify as many as applicable." Fifteen pre-coded categories appeared along

with two write-in boxes. Additional instruction on the questionnaire directed respondents to answer in terms of ancestry rather than in terms of their own ethnic affiliation or identity<sup>1</sup>.

Analysis of the 1991 PUMF of individuals reveals considerable variation in Canadian responses. Boyd (1996) finds that only 0.8 percent of the foreign born population declared themselves to be of "Canadian" ethnic origin compared to 4.4 percent of the Canadian-born population. Selecting "Canadian" is more likely for those who are not members of visible minority groups and for those with a English mother tongue or English home language. Declaring Canadian is less likely for members of visible minority groups, many of whom are foreign born, and extremely unlikely for persons whose mother tongue is French or who speak French at home.

The most dramatic differentials in who reports "Canadian" ethnic origins are geographical - by province and especially by CMA (Table 1). Among the Canadian born, only half a percent (0.5%) report a Canadian ethnic origin in Quebec compared to nearly 6 percent in Alberta and nearly 9 percent in Ontario. In general, the metropolitan response rates in Ontario form a "ring" centred around the Toronto area with the response rate declining to the east of Oshawa and after Kitchener to the west. The high percentages declaring "Canadian" in Toronto (14 %) and in Oshawa (21%) contrast with the low of 0.3 percent for residents of Quebec City.

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Table 1 here

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1. The 1986 ethnic origin question asked: To which ethnic or cultural group(s) do you or did your ancestors belong? There were 15 mark-boxes and 3 write-in spaces on the questionnaire, accompanied by instructions to "mark or specify as many as applicable."

Explanations for the CMA pattern of Canadian responses are difficult to prove in the absence of a pre-census research project that anticipated the results, and whose methodology relied on experimental design or diffusion models. The 1991 census occurred after a decade of well publicized separatist efforts in Quebec, and several failed attempts at renewed federalism under the original guidelines of the 1982 Constitution. The propensity to select Canadian could have reflected these events and the emergent desire by some to reaffirm national commonalities. As well, media intervention could have fanned such tendencies. Starting in August, 1990 and escalating during the winter of 1991, the Toronto Sun newspaper and its affiliates exhorted readers to list "Canadian" in the forthcoming census. This campaign was accomplished through columns, editorials, published letters-to-the-editor, clip-out statements to be sent to MPs, and - on the official date of the census - a front cover, full page display of the Toronto Sun "poster girl" with "Count Me Canadian" across her breasts. To clarify the double entendre message, a banner behind the poster girl noted that the day was the official census day but that being counted as "Canadian" in the Census was not easy (Boyd, 1996).

Approximately three-fourths of the "Canadian" responses in the 1991 census were single answer responses, with the remaining one-fourth representing hyphenated responses, such as Italian-Canadian. To a significant extent, then, respondents were not simply adding to their ethnic origin repertoires, but instead were changing them. These shifts raise the question of from what other ethnic groups did the 1991 responses draw. In terms of ethnic origin shifts over time, two hypothetical patterns exist. The "equal probability" pattern denotes a situation in which ethnic groups in 1986 lose comparable shares of their membership, presumably to the Canadian response categories. This pattern implies that the forces inducing Canadian responses in 1991 have the same proportionate impacts for all ethnic origin groups. A second pattern is one of

disproportionate shifts in which one or some ethnic origin groups in 1986 are more likely to lose numbers than others.

In this second model, the exact pattern of ethnic shift observed is not fixed, and it depends on the underlying factors producing the shift to Canadian ethnic origin responses in 1991. Ethnic origin groups with a high percentage of second-generation members may be vulnerable to shifts as these groups seek to affirm membership in their country of birth by giving a "Canadian" responses. Such tendencies should be even more likely for third, fourth, fifth-plus generation groups, whose immigration experiences lie in the distant past and whose ancestral origins have little emotional meaning or substantive impact. In their analyses of Canadian responses to the pre-1991 census tests, Pryor et. al. (1992) argue that groups distanced from immigration increasingly view themselves as indigenous to the society in which they live.

In Canada, the British and the French were the two main charter groups of the 1600s and 1700s. The absence of a media campaign and/or the existence of a strong separatist movement in Quebec makes unlikely a spontaneous shift to Canadian from French ethnic origin groups, particularly when Canadian (Canadien) was not an explicit option on the census form. However, British ethnic origin groups may be more likely to lose numbers as respondents switch to "Canadian" ethnic origins. This argument partly is based on the media campaign which was concentrated in regions of Ontario with high British origin counts. As well this British origin population is characterized by a lengthy residence history in Canada, making it susceptible to calls for an "indigenous" label (Liebersohn, 1985; Pryor et. al., 1992). The shift to Canadian also could reflect previous ethnic origin selection practices of survey respondents. In her analysis of parental and respondent ethnic origin self-assignments in the 1986 General Social Survey, Boyd (1998) shows that British ethnic origins are more likely than any other ethnic label to be acquired

by respondents. Boyd's finding supports a commonly held supposition - namely that for many Anglophones in Canada, the desire to indicate an affiliation with Canada was expressed in terms of membership in one of the two charter groups, notably British. Boyd's research implies that in the 1986 census where Canadian was not an explicitly mentioned response category, some respondents would have selected British ethnic origin responses (English, Irish, Scottish, Welsh). By 1991, publicity over the crises facing Canada as a confederation and/or the media campaign could have increased the likelihood of Canadian responses for those who had listed British origins in earlier censuses.

### **ETHNIC SHIFTS AND RESEARCH DESIGNS**

How to measure changes in ethnic origin responses is easy in principle and difficult in actuality. 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. This research design would permit identifying a person who declared Ukrainian in 1986 but Canadian in 1991. With ethnic responses linked to the same individuals at different time points, outflow or inflow tables could be generated. Such tables would show where members of one group, such as the Ukrainians, had relocated themselves in their ethnic origin responses. Or, in the case of an inflow table, it could be demonstrated from what ethnic groups the Canadian ethnic origin group was drawing its members.

In actuality, Canadian censuses are fielded as independent surveys at each census date. Although linking censuses is potentially feasible, the scale of enumeration and the absence of identical identification codes for individuals across Canadian censuses make such linkages difficult, very expensive, and for all practical purposes, nearly impossible. In the absence of



linked data, one strategy is to compare the distributions of ethnic origin responses in 1986 and in 1991. By design, this procedure will include other sources of ethnic change besides temporal alterations in individual responses. Children born between 1986-1991 or persons who immigrate during that period will have ethnic origins in 1991 but not in 1986. Persons who die or emigrate between 1986 and 1991 will have ethnic origin responses in the 1986 census but not in the 1991 census. Further, some of the changes observed may reflect life course events associated with the young adult years. Research by Lieberman and Waters (1988; 1993) for the United States suggests that young adults, once departed from the parental home, may shift their ethnic affiliations, and that women who are married are prone to "acquire" the ethnic origins of their husbands.

These considerations generate a modified approach to comparing distributions of origin responses in the 1986 and 1991 censuses. In this paper, we compare the ethnic origin responses for the Canadian born population age 25-44 in 1986 and age 30-49 in 1991. Focusing 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 has undergone the home leaving and marital transitions associated with young adulthood. The chosen age group also omits fluctuations in ethnic responses that reflect mortality in older age groups.

Our methodology contains an additional feature, which reflects the fact that in 1991 the greatest variation in Canadian responses was between census metropolitan areas (CMAs) (Table 1; also see Boyd, 1996). For some CMAs, particularly the larger CMAs and those in the prairie provinces, intercensal geographical mobility is substantial. This mobility means that the CMA populations providing ethnic origin responses in 1991 are not necessarily the same populations enumerated in 1986. We handle this possibility by re-assigning respondents in the 1991 census

back to their original 1986 CMA location, using the census question on residential location 5 years ago. This relocation removes CMA specific changes in ethnic origin responses induced by geographical mobility over time. It also dictates how the CMA data are to be understood. For example, comparisons of the ethnic origin responses of the Toronto CMA population in 1991 with those in 1986 are not the straightforward comparisons they initially appear to be. In actuality, such comparisons rest on tabulating 1991 ethnic origin responses for those individuals who reported living in Toronto in 1986 even if they are living elsewhere in 1991. Ethnic origins for this reconstituted Toronto population are then contrasted with those reported in 1986 for the population then residing in Toronto.

### **ETHNIC DECLINE AND GROWTH IN CANADA**

Between 1986 and 1991, there was an ninefold increase in the percentages of Canadian born declaring "Canadian" ethnic origins, up from 0.5 percent to 4.4 percent (Table 1). Among the Canadian-born CMA population, age 25-44 in 1986, there was a thirteen and a half fold increase, up from 0.4 percent to 5.4 percent (Table 2). Inspection of unpublished numbers for 45 major ethnic groups (31 single response and 14 multiple response) for 1986 and 1991 indicate that numerical declines for the single English ethnic origin group between 1986-1991 closely correspond to the numerical increases for single Canadian responses. If multiple origin groups are examined, the declines in British multiples (two or more ethnic origins of English, Irish, Scottish, and Welsh) and responses of "British and French" bear close correspondence to the numerical increases in the numbers declaring Canadian as part of their multiple ethnic origins.

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Table 2 here

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Of course, it is an oversimplification to suggest that over time the English ethnic origin group lost numbers only to the Canadian ethnic origin group in 1991, or that British (or even French) multiple origin responses in 1986 always changed to include Canadian responses in 1991. Nonetheless, the numerical shifts do suggest that the English single origin group and multiple origin groups whose responses included British were important sources for increased Canadian responses in 1991.

This argument is supported by calculating the contribution of these changes to the overall changes in the ethnic composition between 1986 and 1991. The magnitude of change across two distributions is represented by the index of dissimilarity, which is a well known summary measure that indicates how similar, or different, two percentage distributions are (Shyrock and Siegel, 1980). The index ranges from 0 to 100. 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.

Based on an ethnic origin classification of 45 groups<sup>2</sup> (1), the index of dissimilarity shows that five percent of the population age 30-49 in 1991 would have to change their ethnic origin responses for the 1991 distribution to be identical to that observed in 1986 (Table 2,

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2. The ethnic origin classification used in preparing Tables 2-4 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 & French; British & Canadian; British & Other; British, Other & Canadian; French Only; French & Canadian; French & Other; French, Other & Canadian; Other & Canadian; British, French & Canadian; British, French & Other; British, French, Other & Canadian; and Other multiples, where "British" includes English, Irish, Scottish and Welsh.

column 1). However, nearly 80 percent of this intercensal change is due to the losses and gains in responses in the various British and Canadian ethnic origin categories (Table 2, column 1, panel 2). Slightly over one quarter (27 percent) reflects the lower English single responses in 1991 compared to 1986, and 30 percent of the change can be attributed to the growth in single Canadian origin responses. Thus over half of the changes in the ethnic composition for these age 30-49 reflects the declining numbers in English single responses and the increases in Canadian responses. In total, shifts in the numbers giving one or more British origins explains over 40 percent of the intercensal changes in ethnic origin distributions.

The ethnic categories in Table 2 direct attention to those ethnic origin groups that include either British and/or Canadian responses. The classification omits shifts in four other groups: single French origin; multiple French origins (eg French and Acadian); French and other non-British responses; and French, other non-British and Canadian. This omission exists because for Canada as a whole, shifts in French responses have comparatively modest impacts on the intercensal differences in ethnic origins. Intercensal change in these four groups account for 7 percent of the 1986-1991 index of dissimilarity for Canada, with changes accounting for 7 and 6 percent for CMA and non-CMA populations. Declines in the French single responses are primarily responsible for even these magnitudes. At the most, shifts in French origin account for under 15 percent of the index of dissimilarity. (This figure is obtained by adding the impact of the multiples in Table 2 that include French and British, with or without Canadian to the impact of shifts in the four French ethnic origin groups omitted from Table 2).

## TRANSFORMING CENSUS METROPOLITAN POPULATIONS

In 1991, respondents living in CMA were more likely than those in non-CMA areas to give "Canadian" ethnic origins. Populations in Oshawa, Toronto, CMAs in the Niagara area, and to a lesser extent in Regina and Edmonton had the highest percentages giving Canadian responses (Table 1). Similar CMA variations in Canadian responses are shown in Table 3, column 1, for the Canadian born who were between 25-44 and who lived in the designated CMAs in 1986. These areas with high percentages reporting Canadian ethnic origins show considerable change in their ethnic origin distributions between 1986 and 1991. For example, of the population that lived in Toronto in 1986, the index of dissimilarity shows that over 15 percent would have to change their ethnic origin designations in 1991, for the 1986 and 1991 distributions to be alike. Over 20 percent in Oshawa would have to provide different ethnic origin responses for the ethnic origins observed in 1991 to remain unchanged from that reported by the 1986 population (Table 3, column 2).

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Table 3 here

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What accounts for the high 1986-1991 ethnic origin change in select Ontario cities? In answering this question, we look at the overall contributions of shifts in English single responses, in all British shifts (including multiple responses) and in Canadian responses. This exercise generates two conclusions. First, changes in the percentages giving English single responses or giving some combination of "British" responses are important sources of ethnic origin shifts over time. About 20 percent of the index of dissimilarity reflects the declining percentages giving single "English" responses in those Ontario cities with relatively high percentage giving Canadian responses and experiencing transformed ethnic origins over time. Between 42-47

percent of the index of similarity is due to changes in both single and multiple British responses. Second, these shifts are almost the same magnitude as the temporal upswings in Canadian responses. In the Ontario cities around Toronto and in the Niagara region, between 41-47 percent of the index of dissimilarity reflects the increased propensity of respondents to provide single or multiple Canadian origins.

The pattern found in Table 3 conforms to the argument that the increases between 1986 and 1991 in Canadian responses for select CMAs went hand in hand with shifts away from British ethnic origins for the populations in those regions. This conclusion does not deny that changing British responses also exists in other areas. For example, similar levels of change attributable to the changing proportions of persons giving "British" ethnic origin responses also occurred for other parts of Anglo-Canada in many Western CMAs. And in the Atlantic provinces, although the overall magnitudes of "Canadian" responses and ethnic change are comparatively small, changes in British responses account for about two-thirds of the intercensal shift in ethnic origin, represented by the index of dissimilarity. However, in both the Atlantic CMAs, in the Western provinces (excluding Calgary and Edmonton), and in other Ontario CMAs, the numerical changes of the British ethnic origin groups and their contributions to the 1986-1991 index of dissimilarity did not correspond as strongly to the upswing in the percentages in 1991 declaring themselves of Canadian ethnic origin.

One striking regional difference is the comparatively low percentages of Quebec CMA populations declaring Canadian ethnic origins. Of the mid-adult Canadian-born populations in Quebec CMAs, one half of a percent or less gave Canadian ethnic origin responses in 1991. Very high percentages of French ethnic origin responses exist (87 percent for the Montreal population in 1991 and between 92 and 95 percent for other Quebec CMAs) with relative stability in the

percentages of CMA populations indicating French origins (down very slightly from 1986 levels). For these CMAs, changes in the British ethnic origins over time, including the decline in single English responses, account for less than one-third of the very modest changes overall, represented by the index of dissimilarity (Table 3).

To be sure, for the five CMAs of Montreal, Trois Rivieres, Sherbrooke, Quebec City and Chicoutimi-Jonquiere, the British population is a minority population, representing 14 percent of the 1986 Montreal CMA population of the Canadian born age 25-44, 9 percent in Sherbrooke, and less than 5 percent for other CMAS. Changes in French origin responses have a greater impact on changing ethnic origin distributions over time. As shown in Table 4, changes in the percentages declaring at least one origin that is French (but not Canadian) accounts for over-half to three-quarters of the intercensal changes in ethnic distributions in Quebec CMAs. However, the acquisition of a "Canadian" ethnic origin accounts for only a small share of the overall intercensal changes.

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Table 4 here

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### 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), 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 re-emerge. New and renewed ethnic labels and self assignments reflect a variety of forces, including the disassociation of immigrant groups from their former locales and histories (eg the creation of

"Italian" to depict the ethnic origins of immigrants from Sicily, Calabria, Rome and Sienna) to geo-political events that create or dissolve nation-states (eg Israel and former Yugoslavia). One factor that cannot be ignored in North America is the re-emergence or strengthening of specific ethnic labels, particularly by groups who are distanced from immigration and who increasingly view themselves as indigenous to the society in which they live (Pryor et. al. 1992).

"Canadian" represents such an "indigenous" ethnic origin. At nearly 4 percent of the population in 1991, the Canadian group was the fastest growing ethnic origin group during that period. Geographical variations in this indigenous response are large, with substantial differentials among the CMA population. Our analysis supports the argument that among the Canadian-born, most of the inter-censal shift in becoming Canadian drew from the population that declared British ethnic origins in 1986. Noteworthy shifts between French origin groups and Canadian occurred only in Quebec CMAs, but this finding must be tempered by the realization that the percentage of the population responding Canadian was extremely small in Quebec.

The rise in "Canadian" ethnic origin responses is noteworthy not just because the emergence of a new ethnic label is yet another example of the social construction of ethnicity. The increase also has policy implications that potentially could increase conflict over the wording of ethnic origin questions. Canada's ethnic origin question is used in the multiculturalism policy arenas, and it is a common perception by ethno-cultural groups that numbers are important in the claims and funding from Heritage Canada. If groups traditionally funded by this department believe they are losing numbers to "Canadians," they are likely to respond and to be heard. As well, such actions are reinforced when groups at the municipal level perceive loss in numbers and reduced access to local programmes premised on numbers. In such circumstances, the likelihood of conflict or at least lobbying by ethnic groups is not simply



conjectural. In recent years, Canadian federal government agencies have adopted a consultative style with the public which facilitates ethnic group mobilization to achieve specific ends. Such mobilization occurred prior to the 1991 census and was a factor in the decision to omit an ethnic "identity" question on the 1991 census (see Boyd, 1993).

However, our analysis of the 1991 census indicates that such potential conflicts and interventions are not likely to emerge from the increasingly Canadian responses. In the Census Metropolitan Areas which experience the highest percentages declaring Canadian in 1991, most of the ethnic shift between 1986 and 1991 was a movement away from declaring British ethnic origins. As one of Canada's two charter populations, this group is not the target of Heritage Canada programmes and actions.

Nonetheless, the potential implications of increasing Canadian responses are real. The National Census Test (NCT) questionnaire for the 1996 census, fielded on November 8, 1993 contained the same ethnic origin question that the Canadian population answered in the 1996 census questionnaire<sup>3</sup> (2). Thirty percent of the responses to this ethnic origin question on the NCT were "Canadian," with 19 percent being single responses and 11 percent being multiple responses (Statistics Canada, 1994). This response rate was almost perfectly replicated in the 1996 census. Thirty-one percent of the Canadian population enumerated in the 1996 census indicated a Canadian ethnic origin, with 19 percent being single responses and 12 percent being multiple responses (calculated from: Statistics Canada, The Daily, February 17, 1998). Analyses of the 1993 National Census Test and of ethnic shifts between the 1991 and 1996 censuses

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3. The 1996 question is identical to the one in the NCT except that the 1996 census question added four additional groups to the listing (Vietnamese, Lebanese, Chilean, Somali), and allowed for up to four responses instead of the three on the NCT.

indicate that these increased "Canadian" responses drew primarily from the British and French ethnic origin groups (Boyd and Norris, 1999; Pendakur and Mata , 1998).

The upsurge in "Canadian" responses to the 1996 census question on ethnic origins at least partly reflects the listing of "Canadian" (or "Canadien" in the French version), a listing which was not done in the 1991 origins question because of the low response in 1986. Under Statistics Canada guidelines, groups that in past censuses have less than 3 percent of Canada's population are excluded from explicit mention. However, the increase between 1986 and 1991 in Canadian responses assured its mention in the ethnic origin questions of the 1993 pre-test and the 1996 census. Our research on ethnic origin shifts between 1986 and 1991 suggests that if "Canadian" responses continue to draw from groups with long settlement histories, this will not affect counts for those groups which have more recent immigration histories and which are the primary targets of multicultural and race relations programmes. However, the possibility always exists that future upswings in Canadian responses will mean ethnic loss for more recent immigrant based groups. This potential suggests that the ethnic origin question will be part of the contested terrain surrounding the development of the census 2001 questionnaire.

## ENDNOTES

[1] The ethnic origin classification used in preparing Tables 2-4 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 & French; British & Canadian; British & Other; British, Other & Canadian; French Only; French & Canadian; French & Other; French, Other & Canadian; Other & Canadian; British, French & Canadian; British, French & Other; British, French, Other & Canadian; and Other multiples, where "British" includes English, Irish, Scottish and Welsh.

(2) The 1996 question is identical to the one in the NCT except that the 1996 question added four additional groups to the listing (Vietnamese, Lebanese, Chilean, Somali), and allowed for up to four responses instead of the three on the NCT.

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Table 1: Percent of the 1996 Canadian Population<sup>(a)</sup> with a Canadian Ethnic Origin by Place of Residence Characteristics

	Total	Canadian Born Only
Total	3.8	4.4
Province:		
Atlantic <sup>(b)</sup>	1.3	1.3
Quebec	0.5	0.5
Ontario	7.0	8.8
Manitoba	2.1	2.4
Saskatchewan	3.8	4.0
Alberta	5.1	5.9
BC	2.6	3.2
Census Metropolitan Areas <sup>(c)</sup> of 100,000 population or more:		
Halifax	1.4	1.4
Quebec City	0.3	0.3
Montreal	0.5	0.6
Sherbrooke&Trois Riveres	0.6	0.6
Ottawa-Hull	3.0	3.4
Oshawa	17.8	21.1
Toronto	9.1	14.1
Hamilton	8.2	10.3
St. Catherines&Niagara	6.7	8.1
Kitchener	8.6	10.7
London	1.5	1.7
Windsor	1.1	1.4
Sudbury&Thunder Bay	1.8	2.0
Winnipeg	1.9	2.2
Regina&Saskatoon	4.8	5.2
Calgary	4.8	6.0
Edmonton	5.4	6.4
Vancouver	2.2	3.1
Victoria	3.6	4.4

(a) Persons living in private households and permanent residents of Canada.

(b) Includes the Yukon and NWT.

(c) See Statistics Canada, 1991 Census Dictionary, Catalogue 92-301E for the definition of Census Metropolitan Area (CMA).

Source: Boyd, 1996: Table 1.

Table 2: Percent of Canadian Responses and the Index of Dissimilarity for 1986 and 1991 Ethnic Origins Composition, and Contributions of British and Canadian Ethnic Origin Shifts, Canadian Born Population, Age 30-49 in 1991, by CMA and non-CMA place of Residence

	Place of Residence		
	Total (1)	CMAs (2)	Non CMAs (3)
Percentage of Population Declaring "Canadian" Ethnic Origin	4.3	5.4	2.9
Index of Dissimilarity	5.4	6.4	4.3
Percent of Index Explained by			
Total British and Canadian	79	79	78
Total British	43	41	49
English	27	25	31
Irish	(a)	(a)	(a)
Scottish	1	(a)	2
Welsh	(a)	(a)	(a)
British Only Multiple	7	8	5
British and French	6	6	7
British and Other	(a)	1	3
British, French and Other	(a)	(a)	(a)
Total Canadian and British	36	38	29
Canadian	30	32	23
British and Canadian	5	5	4
British, Other and Canadian	1	1	1
British, French and Canadian	(a)	(a)	(a)
British, French, Other and Canadian	(a)	(a)	(a)
NUMERICAL CHANGE, 1991-1986			
Total British and Canadian	-31010	-10730	-20260
Total British	-292096	-200675	-91395
English	-200090	-123670	-76415
Irish	980	160	825
Scottish	7145	1220	5925
Welsh	1115	570	545
British Only Multiple	-52610	-40180	-12425
British and French	-47275	-29775	-17495
British and Other	230	-6830	7060
British, French and Other	-1590	-2170	585
Total Canadian and British	261085	189945	71135
Canadian	214060	157065	56990
British and Canadian	32535	22720	9810
British, Other and Canadian	8165	5740	2430
British, French and Canadian	3770	2680	1090
British, French, Other and Canadian	2555	1740	815

(a) Less than .51 percent.

Source: Statistics Canada, unpublished tabulations, 1991 Census of Population.

Table 3: Percentage Reporting Canadian Ethnic Origins in 1991, Index of Dissimilarity for 1986 and 1991 Ethnic Origins Composition, and Contributions of British and Canadian Ethnic Origin Shifts, Canadian Born Population, Age 30-49 in 1991, by CMA Residence in 1986.

	Per Cent Contribution of Changes in						
	Per Cent Canadian Response 1991 (1)	Index of Dissimilarity (1)					Total Canadian & British <sup>(c)</sup> (6)
			Total <sup>(a)</sup> (2)	Single English (3)	Total British <sup>(b)</sup> (4)	Single Canadian (5)	
All CMA's	5.4	6.4	79	25	41	32	38
Atlantic							
St. John's	0.8	2.7	81	31	66	11	14
Halifax	1.9	5.9	78	34	64	11	14
St. John	2.1	5.9	82	27	66	14	16
Quebec							
Chicotimi-Jonquiere	.3	1.8	27	6	19	8	8
Quebec City	0.3	1.4	28	4	20	7	8
Sherbrooke	0.2	1.8	24	11	21	4	4
Trois Rivieres	0.2	2.4	28	6	25	3	3
Montreal	0.5	2.8	30	12	23	6	7
Ontario							
Ottawa-Hull	3.0	6.1	62	14	40	17	22
Oshawa	21.1	21.8	91	22	44	39	47
Toronto	15.5	16.2	91	21	45	38	46
Hamilton	11.6	12.7	92	25	47	37	44
Kitchener	9.8	10.9	88	26	45	35	43
St. Catharines	8.3	9.7	83	23	42	34	41
London	2.3	4.8	76	32	56	16	20
Windsor	1.8	6.5	69	30	59	9	11
Sudbury	2.1	5.1	60	8	41	15	18
Thunder Bay	2.4	6.2	64	28	49	14	15
Manitoba							
Winnipeg	2.2	4.4	61	28	50	10	11
Saskatchewan							
Saskatoon	4.5	6.6	66	22	36	26	30
Regina	4.4	6.8	61	23	36	20	26
Alberta							
Edmonton	5.6	6.5	75	26	39	31	36
Calgary	5.8	6.9	80	27	44	29	36
British Columbia							
Vancouver	2.9	4.7	74	33	53	17	22
Victoria	4.7	6.9	79	30	50	23	29

(a) Total is the sum of column 4 and column 6.

(b) See groups listed under "Total British" in Table 2.

(c) See groups listed under "Total Canadian and British" in Table 2.

Source: Statistics Canada, unpublished tabulations, 1991 Census of Population.



Table 4: Percentage Reporting Canadian Ethnic Origins in 1991, Index of Dissimilarity for 1986 and 1991 Ethnic Origins Composition, and Contributions of French and Canadian Ethnic Origin Shifts, Canadian Born Population, Age 30-49 in 1991, by CMA Residence in Quebec

	Per Cent Contribution of Changes in						
	Per Cent Canadian Response	Index of Dissimilarity	Total <sup>(a)</sup>	Single French	Total French <sup>(b)</sup>	Single Canadian & French <sup>(c)</sup>	Total Canadian & French <sup>(c)</sup>
	(1)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Quebec							
Chicotimi-Jonquiere	.3	1.8	66	38	52	8	14
Quebec City	0.3	1.4	74	41	62	7	12
Sherbrooke	0.2	1.8	76	35	59	4	7
Trois Rivieres	0.2	2.4	71	40	66	3	5
Montreal	0.5	2.8	59	34	51	6	8

(a) Total is the sum of column 4 and column 6.

(b) "Total French" groups include: single French ethnic origin responses and the following multiple response groups: British and French; British, French, and other; Multiple French only; French and other ethnic origins.

(c) "Total Canadian and French" includes single Canadian responses and the following multiple responses: British, French and Canadian; British, French, other and Canadian; French and Canadian; French, other and Canadian.

Source: Statistics Canada, unpublished tabulations, 1991 Census of Population.

**Increasingly Canadian:  
Ethnic Origin Shifts in Canada's Metropolitan Areas**

by  
Monica Boyd and Doug Norris

Abstract:

At the close of the twentieth century, "Canadian" has become the fastest growing "new" ethnic origin group, up from 0.5 percent in 1986 to nearly 4 percent in 1991. The highest levels of 1991 Canadian responses were observed in select metropolitan areas, primarily but not exclusively in Ontario. In this paper we ask and answer the question: from what groups did this new "indigenous" label draw in the five years between the 1986-1991? Unpublished tabulations from the 1986 and 1991 Canadian censuses reveal the temporal shifts for a cohort of the Canadian born age 25-44 in 1986 residing in census metropolitan areas. The share of change in the index of dissimilarity indicates the portion that can be attributable to changes in the sizes of various ethnic groups. 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.

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