

From the Four Corners of the Globe:
Immigrant Family and Community in Winnipeg

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Introduction

This study focuses on the role of the family and community in the adaptation of immigrants to the urban Canadian milieu. We examine how immigrants from South Asia, the Philippines, the Middle East, and Eastern Europe have been integrated into the urban community of Winnipeg between 1968 and 2000. What adaptive strategies contribute to the integration of immigrants? What problems and conflicts do they experience? To what extent do the immigrant family and community facilitate the process of integration? What is the nature of parent-youth relationships in a new culture? Are the policies and services aimed at immigrant adjustment adequate and effective?

This research attempts to address these questions in light of the theories of assimilation and integration within the Canadian model of multiculturalism. Our study is concerned with the patterns of adjustment of the first generation of immigrants as well as the children's growth, adaptation and their contribution to Canadian Society.

Method and Sample

This exploratory research is based on empirical data gathered from face-to-face interviews with first-generation immigrants and their children residing in the Greater Winnipeg area. Our sample includes those immigrant groups which have been the fastest growing in Winnipeg during the last three decades. Census and Statistics Canada data show that during the last 30 years, Winnipeg has received a majority of immigrants from Asia, the Philippines, the Middle East, and Eastern Europe. We therefore concentrated our attention on immigrants from these regions of the world. This introductory overview will provide a broad sketch of respondents from the four categories of immigrants, as they are found within the social, cultural and geographical milieu of Winnipeg, Manitoba. We will provide a broad profile of our respondents, in terms of demographic, social, cultural, and economic characteristics, with special attention to what characteristics immigrants from these four regions share in common, and in what ways they differ.

Our first step, with regard to collection of the data, was to contact key individuals and organizations within these immigrant communities and inform them of the purpose of our study. At the same time, in November-December, 1998, the interview schedule was tested and revised. Once the interview schedule had been finalized “snowball sample” method was employed, beginning with key informants from each immigrant community. With this method, we were able to obtain more than 700 face-to-face interviews during the 1999-2000 period. The majority of these interviews were conducted in the immigrant family. In some cases, interviews were held at a mutually convenient location, such as the University campus. Each interview took at least 40 minutes, up to a maximum of 90 minutes. The interviewers were generally from the same geographic region as the respondents, with the exception of immigrants from South Asia. Although there was very little resistance from respondents, we did at times encounter difficulties in scheduling of interviews. While first generation respondents at times expressed some initial apprehension in responding to our interview, members of the second generation had no such reservations. In summary, responses to our interview, on the whole, were very good.

A total of 440 interviews were selected for the purpose of our analysis. We excluded all interview schedules that were incomplete. On the other hand, we included all interviews where more than one member of the household was included in the sample. As shown in Table 1, this sample population consisted of 31% from South Asian households, 28% Philippine, 23% from Eastern Europe, and 18% Middle Eastern.

TABLE 1 Regional/National Origin of Immigrants

	Number	Percent
South Asian	137	31
Philippine	121	28
Eastern Europe	101	23
Middle East	81	18
TOTAL	440	100

This sample provides a fair representation of the numerical strength of these immigrant ethnic communities in the Greater Winnipeg area.

A separate interview guide was prepared to gather data from more than thirty governmental and non-governmental organizations (NGO's) involved in the delivery of services to immigrants. This segment of our research, still in progress, deals with issues, problems and concerns associated with the delivery of services to new immigrants, and the adequacy and effectiveness of these policies and programs.

We also explored the factors that affect immigrants' decision to settle in Winnipeg or leave for good within the first few years after their arrival. A significant number of immigrants appear to leave Winnipeg for better job opportunities, or a warmer climate elsewhere in Canada or the United States. Our concern was to get some sense of how we could attract immigrants to Winnipeg, and entice them to stay, by providing greater opportunities and improved resources.

There is a tendency to view immigrants either as economic assets, in the roles of consumer, skilled labour, and as producers, or as economic liabilities in the short term, due to costs involved in immigrant settlement. We would prefer to view immigrants as a long-term investment, because of the contribution that they, and especially their children, make, to the Canadian economy, society and culture.

Present trends in Canadian society, such as the ageing population, declining birth rates, and the shortage of skilled labour, demonstrate the need for more young and productive immigrants who can make a major contribution to the vitality of the Canadian economy and culture.

The Urban Milieu

The City of Winnipeg, where the Red and Assiniboine Rivers meet, has served historically as the gateway to the Prairies. Winnipeg became the capital of Province of Manitoba, and was incorporated in 1873. The city was connected by the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1885 and benefitted from the expansion of the Prairie wheat economy. An influx of immigrants from Europe, and the city's proximity to the American border also contributed to the rapid growth of Winnipeg. By 1916, more than half of the city's population was foreign-born! Winnipeg, as the hub of transportation, and the centre of the grain trade, became the fourth largest city in Canada, and was often referred to as the "Chicago of the North."

Winnipeg is now a cosmopolitan city with a rich multiethnic heritage. There is not only a significant French-speaking population, but it is also home to German, Ukrainian, Polish, Scandinavian, eastern European, Asian, Middle Eastern, African, Latin American and many other immigrant groups. In 1991, the city's ethnic population by region included: 16.2% British; 5.3% French; 9.2% Western/Northern European; 10.6% Eastern European; 3.3% Southern European, 7.6% Asian and African, and 0.4% Central and South American. Since the late 1960's, the majority of immigrants to Winnipeg have been from South Asian, Middle Eastern, Eastern European, African, and Central and South American countries. This reflects a dramatic shift from European to non-European countries as sources of immigration. Consequently, the population size and ethnic composition of Winnipeg has undergone considerable change. The city's population of 25,228 in 1871 has increased to its present size of close to 700,000 people! The British dominance of the past has declined with the increase in ethnic diversity, especially in the 1960's.

The city's visual and performing arts are active and vibrant, with a thriving artistic community. The museum and art gallery are among the largest in Canada. The Winnipeg

Symphony Orchestra and the Manitoba Theater Centre attract many people from different parts of the Province and region. The Royal Winnipeg ballet is ranked among the world's best. Winnipeg's cultural diversity is reflected and reinforced by annual ethnic festivals. The summer festival is known as "Folklorama." It celebrates ethnic food, music and dance, and arts and crafts of different cultures, from Asian African, European, and Latin American countries.

Winnipeg is located at the heart of the continent, a geographic centre of North America, and it is recognized as one of the leading forces behind the mid-continent international trade corridor. Winnipeg has one of the most diverse manufacturing and industrial sectors, composed of agrifood and beverage industries, fashion/garment industry, film, health, and aerospace sectors. As well, it continues to be a major centre for wheat exports. Universities and colleges graduate over 8,000 students every year. In recent years, Winnipeg has also become a burgeoning centre for information technology.

Patterns of Immigration and Characteristics of Immigrants

Canada is one of the economically advanced Western countries that receives a major proportion of immigrants. There were 4.3 million immigrants, representing 16% of the total population of Canada. There has been a dramatic shift, during the last three decades in the number of immigrants coming from non-European as opposed to European countries. To illustrate, in the 1950's, over 80% of all immigrants arriving in Canada each year were from Europe.

Since the liberalization of the Immigration Act in 1967, there has been a substantial increase in the share of immigrants coming from Asia. In 1994, for example, close to 2/3 (64%) of all immigrants arriving in Canada were from Asia. The largest number of immigrants came from Hong Kong, China, the Philippines, India, Taiwan, Sri Lanka and Viet Nam.

Immigrants make up a large proportion of the total population of major metropolitan centres like Toronto, Vancouver and Montreal. In 1991, immigrants also represented 18% of the total population of metropolitan Winnipeg. According to the 1996 census, more than 9,000 people in Manitoba reported themselves as South Asian in origin, and more than 5,000 people in Winnipeg reported South Asia as their place of birth, an 4% of total immigrants in Winnipeg reported India as their birthplace, according to the 1996 sample census data.

While immigrants made up 24% of all residents of Ontario, and 22% of all residents of British Columbia in 1991, immigrants in Manitoba represented only 9% of the total population. However, in the city of Winnipeg, immigrants contributed 18% of the city's population. India ranked second (next to China) during the 1997-99 period, among the top ten source countries of immigration to Canada. Furthermore, India ranked first during the 1994-6 period, among "family class" immigrants.

Manitoba received only 2.02% of the total number of immigrants to Canada during the year 2,000. Over 76% of these immigrants to Manitoba chose Winnipeg as their city of

destination, and the top source country of new immigrants to Winnipeg was the Philippines. Since the late 1960's. The percentage of immigrants from Asia has steadily increased. This is true of immigrants to Winnipeg as well. Among the Prairie Provinces, Alberta (1986-96) received the largest number of immigrants, who went primarily to large urban centres such as Edmonton (31.2%) and Calgary (36.4%), with 26.8% arriving in Winnipeg. In Manitoba, 36.8% of immigrants in 1996 identified themselves as visible minorities. It is of interest to note that compared to national averages, immigrants from the Philippines are more significantly represented in the Prairies. Again, Winnipeg is no exception to this rule.

The immigrant population in Canada as a whole manifests some common characteristics. The 1991 census revealed that immigrants were older, on average, than the population born in Canada, with women making up a majority of elderly immigrants. Almost all immigrants spoke at least one official language. The majority spoke English most often in their homes. Immigrants were more likely than people born in Canada to be affiliated with religious groups other than Catholic or Protestant. Most immigrants came in nuclear families. Only 5% were single parents, and only 3% lived with a common law spouse. Immigrant women had more children than women born in Canada.

Immigrants were more likely than people born in Canada to have a university degree, and more likely to be graduates of professional programs in engineering, mathematics, and applied sciences. Compared to people born in Canada, immigrants were more likely to have full-time, full-year jobs. Immigrant workers were more likely to be self-employed than workers born in Canada. Immigrant women were about as likely as Canadian-born women to be part of the work force. Immigrant men were more likely than their counterparts born in Canada to work in professional or management occupations. On the other hand, the majority (53%) of employed immigrant women worked at clerical, sales or services jobs, compared to 58% of women born in Canada. Immigrants had almost the same unemployment rate as people born in Canada. The average income of immigrants was higher the average of those born in Canada; and immigrant men had higher average incomes than their female counterparts.

In Manitoba, based on the 1996 census, 43.7% of immigrants had completed post-secondary education compared with 36.6% of the Canadian-born. In Winnipeg, 45.7% of immigrants had completed some post-secondary education. On average, immigrants tend to have a higher proportion of individuals who have obtained a university education, both in the Prairie Provinces and nationally.

Compared with the Canadian-born population, immigrants have higher full-time employment rates, both nationally and in the Prairie region (78.5%). The unemployment rate for immigrants in Manitoba was 4%. Some immigrant groups have disproportionately higher unemployment rates, however. For example, immigrants from the Middle East had an unemployment rate of 15% in Manitoba.

The leading occupations for immigrant women were in sales and service (37.9%) in Manitoba. The leading occupations for immigrant men in Manitoba were in trades, transport and equipment operation (25%). Regardless of immigrant status, women were more likely than men to perform unpaid labour.

In Manitoba, the average total income of immigrant men was similar to the average for Canadian-born men. More than 70% of immigrant and Canadian-born men and women have yearly total incomes above the low income cutoff (LICO). The incidence of incomes below the cutoff was slightly higher for immigrant men and women than for the Canadian-born population. Immigrants in Canada still earn less than their Canadian-born counterparts.

Socioeconomic Profiles of Respondents

The following provides a demographic/socioeconomic profile of the sample of respondents obtained for this study. As shown in Table 2, of the total of 333, or 76% belonged to the first generation of immigrants, and 26.3% belonged to the second generation. Among the second generation, 12.5% constituted what we have called the “1.5 generation.” They are respondents who arrived in Canada before the age of 12. Finally, 12% of respondents were born in Canada. Counting both of these together, we find that 28% of South Asian immigrants belonged to the larger second generation, with 30% from the Middle east, 17% from Eastern Europe, and 25% from the Philippino community.

TABLE 2 Ethnic Affiliation by Generation

	1 st Generation		2 nd Generation		
	Number	%	Number	%	Total
South Asian	99	72	38	28	137
Philippine	91	75	30	25	121
East European	86	83	15	17	101
Middle Eastern	57	70	24	30	81
Total	333	76%	107	24%	440

The age of respondents varies to some extent by their ethnic and regional backgrounds. However, generally speaking, the vast majority of immigrants in our sample (more than 75%) were born since 1945, and were thus 55 or younger in the year 2000. In terms of major regional variations, it may be noted that almost 60% of South Asian immigrants were born during the 1935-1964 period (ages 36-65 in 2000), and over 25% were born between 1965 and 1988 (12-35). Of immigrants from the Middle east, 56% were born between 1945 and 1974,

with 42% born in the 1945 to 1974 period. A total of 75% of immigrants from Eastern Europe were born between 1945 and 1974, while 23% were born in the 1975-1988 period. Among the Philippino immigrants, 52% were born during the 1935-1974 period, and 44% were a significant segment (more than 40%) belonged to the younger age groups. The pattern of age distribution of Eastern European respondents in our sample fell somewhere in between.

The South Asian geographic region includes India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Nepal. In our sample of South Asian immigrants (see Table), 51% were born in India, 16% in Sri Lanka, and 5% in other South Asian Countries. In addition, a substantial 22% were born in Canada, while another 6% were born elsewhere.

TABLE 3 South Asian Respondents by Place of Birth

Place of Birth	Number	%
India	70	51
Sri Lanka	22	16
Other South Asian	7	5
Born in Canada	30	22
Other	8	6
Total	137	100%

The Middle Eastern region includes Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Onager, Yemen, Oman, Syria, United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Egypt, Israel, Lebanon, Cyprus, and the Sudan. In terms of country of birth, our sample included 26% born in Iraq, 21% born in Syria, 12% in Lebanon, with another 35% born in other Middle Eastern countries; 5% were born in Canada, with a remaining 1% born elsewhere.

TABLE 4 Middle Eastern Respondents by Place of Birth

Place of Birth	Number	%
Iraq	24	26
Syria	17	21
Lebanon	10	12
Other Middle Eastern	28	35
Born in Canada	4	5
<u>Other</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
Total	81	100%

Countries included in the Eastern European category were the following: Russia, Belarus, Ukraine, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia, Romania, Moldavia, Bulgaria, Hungary, Armenia, Macedonia, Azerbaijan, and Greece. The most widely represented, in terms of place of birth, were the former Yugoslavia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, with 31% and 27% of the sample, respectively. Another 40% were born in one of the other Eastern European countries, and 1% born elsewhere. In all, 87% of Filipinos in our sample were born in the Philippines. Another 13% were born in Canada, and 2% were born elsewhere.

TABLE 5 Eastern European Respondents by Place of Birth

Place of Birth	Number	%
former Yugoslavia	31	31
Bosnia-Herzegovina	27	27
Other Eastern European	40	40
Born in Canada	2	2
<u>Other</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
Total	101	100%

A substantial majority of our respondents (61%) entered Canada during the 1985-1998 period, while another 19.5 % entered Canada during the 1970-79 period. There are some striking differences among the four regionally defined immigrant groups with regard to the rate and time of entry into Canada. For example, 42% of South Asians, and 17.5% of Filipinos entered Canada during the 1970-79 period, whereas only 4% of Eastern Europeans and 4% of Middle Eastern immigrants entered Canada during this time period. The percentage of immigrants entering Canada during the 1980-98 period has risen dramatically. Within the past two decades, 45% from South Asia, 93 % from the Middle east, 89.5% from eastern Europe, and 67.5 % from the Philippines, entered Canada as immigrants.*

With reference to immigration category, a majority of our sample came to Canada as 'family class' immigrants; ie., based on the principle of family reunion. A further 12.5% entered Canada as skilled workers, with 13% coming as refugees and 3% as 'business/entrepreneur. Finally, 3% were sponsored either by church organizations or the Provincial Government, and 3% were uncertain of which immigrant class they belonged to.

Our sample was quite evenly divided in terms of gender, with 49.5% males and 50.5% females. In terms of marital status, the large majority (60.5%) were married, while 34% were never married. Four percent were separated and divorced, and a remaining 2% were cohabiting. Overall religious affiliation was divided primarily among Catholic, (32%) Muslim, (20%) Hindu (15%) and Orthodox Christian (11%) churches. A further 3% described themselves as 'Other Christian, 7% were Sikhs, and 11% were Buddhist or other religions.

The sample included a significant proportion (33%) of South Asians who have been in Canada for 21-30 years, with another 17% having lived in Canada for 16-20 years. However, a large majority (68%) of the Middle eastern, Eastern European (79%) and Filipino respondents (62%) have arrived in Canada during the past 10 years. It should be noted, however, that Winnipeg is not new to immigrants from eastern Europe. Successive waves of immigrants, including Mainly Jewish, Mennonite and Ukrainian peoples have been arriving in Winnipeg since very early in the last Century. In contrast, representatives of the other three regions really only began to arrive here in the late sixties.

TABLE 6 Number of Years Lived in Canada by Ethnocultural Affiliation

	South Asian	%	Philippine	%	East European	%	Middle Eastern	%	Total	%
Over 30	7	5	2	2	2	2	1	1	12	3
21-30	45	33	16	13	6	6	2	2	69	16
16-20	24	17	20	17	2	2	13	16	59	13
11-15	22	16	8	7	12	12	10	12	52	12
6-10	23	17	37	31	18	18	35	43	113	26
0-5	16	12	38	31	61	61	20	25	135	31
Total	137	100%	121	100%	101	100%	81	100%	440	100%

A large majority of respondents had achieved a relatively high level of education. In all, 64% of our respondents had 'professional/technical' or at least some post-secondary education. Included were 17% who were college or university graduates, and a further 20% with some college or university education.

TABLE 7 Level of Education by Ethnocultural Affiliation

	South Asian	%	Philippine	%	East European	%	Middle Eastern	%	Total	%
Grade School	3	2	1	1	1	1			5	1
Some HS	22	16	29	24	14	14	19	23	84	19
HS Grad	16	12	29	24	18	18	5	6	68	15
Some College/U	25	18	29	24	14	14	21	26	89	20
College/U Grad	28	20	14	12	8	8	23	28	73	17
Prof/Tech	23	17	16	13	34	34	11	14	84	19
Postgrad	20	15	2	2	12	12	2	3	36	8
Total	137	100%	120	100%	101	100%	81	100%	439	100%

Not surprisingly, given these levels of education, when we look at occupational background, we find a substantial proportion (25%) of respondents in the professional, business, managerial, technical and administrative category. Others were distributed by job category as follows: sales and service-related jobs, 11%; ‘processing, manufacturing, utilities, trades and transport,’ 18%, with 8% (mostly women) in ‘household management.’

TABLE 8 Occupation by Ethnic Affiliation

	South Asian %		Philippine %		East European %		Middle Eastern %		Total	%
Prof'l/Tech'l	45	33	14	12	35	35	17	21	111	25
Sales/Service	12	9	21	18	8	8	9	11	50	11
Mf'ing/Trades	14	10	43	36	13	13	11	14	81	18
Houshld Mgmnt	13	9	5	4	5	5	12	15	35	8
Other/Not Empl'd	3	2	3	3	11	11			17	4
Did Not Apply	49	36	31	26	26	26	30	37	136	31
NA	1	1	3	3	3	3	2	2	9	2
Total	137	100%	120	100%	101	100%	81	100%	439	100%

The occupational background of our respondents did, however, vary from one ethnic/regional category to another. For instance, a large proportion of South Asian immigrants, 33%, are employed in the in occupations fitting under then heading of ‘professional, business, managerial, technical and administrative’ category. In comparison, 35% of Eastern European, 21% of the Middle eastern sample, and 14% of Filipino immigrants fall into this category of occupations. In the ‘sales and service category, and ‘processing, manufacturing, utilities, trades and transport combined, we found 19% of South Asians, 21% of East Europeans, 64% of the Filipino sample, and 25% of Middle eastern respondents.

In the category of occupations identified as ‘household management, we found 9% of South Asian respondents, 15% of Middle Eastern, 5% of Eastern Europeans, and 4% of Filipino respondents. Most of the respondents in this category, for all regions, were women.

Of the total sample of immigrants, 47% were employed (including self-employed) full time. A further 21% were students, 12% were employed part time, and 6% were either unemployed or retired. If we compare with ethnic background, we find that 47% of South Asians were employed full time, compared to 40% for Middle eastern respondents, 55% of Filipinos, and 44% of Eastern Europeans. In all, 23% of South Asians were students,

compared to 28% of the Middle Eastern Group, 22% of East Europeans, and 12% of Filipinos. Comparison with regard to part-time employment shows that 10% of South Asians, compared to 14% of Middle Eastern, 11% of Eastern Europeans, and 16% of Filipinos.

TABLE 9 Present Employment Status by Ethnic Affiliation

	South Asian %		Philippine %		East European %		Middle Eastern %		Total	%
Full Time	65	47	66	55	44	44	32	40	207	47
Part Time	13	10	19	16	11	11	11	14	54	12
Student	32	23	15	12	22	22	23	28	92	21
Not Empld	4	3	2	2	11	11			17	4
Retired	7	5	2	2	1	1			10	2
Other	13	10	6	6	6	6	12	15	37	8
NA	3	2	11	11	6	6	3	4	23	5
Total	137	100%	121	100%	101	100%	81	100%	440	100%

A review of findings with regard to income indicate that 27% of the total sample had a family income of less than \$30,000 per year. Another 37% had family incomes between \$30,000 and \$60,000. Twenty percent had family incomes between \$60,000 and \$90,000, with 10% having family incomes over \$90,000. Within the total sample, we find that Middle Eastern and Eastern European respondents were both substantially more likely to have family incomes under \$30,000. An important factor here may have to do with the fact, as noted earlier that respondents in these two categories were more likely to be more recent arrivals. This would lend some support to the hypothesis that the productivity of immigrant families and their contribution to Canadian society increases with time, and the emergence of the second generation. In support of this hypothesis, we may observe that the South Asian and

Filipino immigrants were much better represented in the \$30,000-\$60,000 range, with 56%, compared to 18% and 28% for the Middle eastern and Eastern European immigrants. At the upper end, we find that South Asians, with 13% and Middle Eastern immigrants, with 18%, were more likely to have incomes over \$90,000.

TABLE 10 Family Income by Ethnic Affiliation

	South Asian %		Philippine %		East European %		Middle Eastern %		Total	%
Under \$30,000	25	18	19	16	46	46	31	38	120	27
30-59,999	53	42	68	56	28	28	15	18	164	37
60-89,999	36	26	19	16	17	17	16	20	88	20
\$90,000 +	18	13	2	2	4	4	18	22	42	10
Uncertain	3	2	8	7	5	5	1	1	17	4
NA	2	2	6	5	1	1			9	2
Total	137	100%	121	100%	101	100%	81	100%	440	100%

A majority (55%) of immigrant families own homes in which they reside, while 41% live in rented apartments or houses. In terms of residential area, South Asians were found to be spread around a variety of suburban areas, with 51% located in suburban communities of Fort Gary Fort Richmond to the South, Charleswood, Tuxedo and Linden Woods (Southwest), St. Boniface and St. Vital (East). Another 27% are concentrated in the “north end” areas of West Kildonan and Old Kildonan, with the rest scattered in other parts of the city. It may be noted that most of these areas, especially Charleswood, Tuxedo and Linden Woods, are middle to upper middle class suburbs. Of the other categories, Filipinos are the most heavily concentrated in the inner city, with 78% in the “core” or the adjacent “West End.” A substantial proportion (31% and 23% respectively) of Middle Eastern and Eastern European respondents also were living in the inner city. These would be recent immigrants taking advantage of cheaper rents in this area. Other trends included a tendency for Middle eastern immigrant families to favor the St. Vital, St. Boniface area, and for Eastern Europeans to locate in the “North End” neighborhoods of east Kildonan, West Kildonan and Old Kildonan. Informal reports from respondents indicated that various sub-groups from the former Yugoslavia: Serbs, Croats, Muslims, etc. were in fact settling in different parts of the city. However, we were unable to confirm this observation from our findings.

The data on length of residence of immigrants in Winnipeg show that 45% of South Asians and 29% of Filipinos have lived in Winnipeg for between 16 and 30 years. A large majority of the Eastern Europeans (67%), as well as 50% of the Middle Eastern immigrants and 33% of Filipinos have only lived in Winnipeg for the last 5 years. Those who have lived in Winnipeg since the last 6 to 10 years include 30% of Filipinos, and 31% of middle Eastern immigrants. An interesting finding was to the effect that 19% of South Asians in our sample were residents at their current address for a period of between 16 and 30 years! Only 5% of the Eastern European, 6% of Filipinos, and none of the Middle Eastern immigrants could say the same. The vast majority of the overall sample, with 79% of Eastern Europeans, 73% of the Middle Eastern immigrants, 61% of the of the Filipinos and 31% of South Asians had, however, been at their current address during the previous 5 years.

When we examined family and household arrangements, we found that the nuclear family, composed of parents and their children, very much predominated. In all, 73% of households consisted of nuclear families. We found that 12% were extended family households, with 9% couples without children, 5% single parents, and 1% single person households. Among the nuclear families, 31% had only one child in the 12-18 age group, 19% had 2 children, and 4% had 3 or 4 children in the same age group. Of these families, 77% of the Eastern European and South Asian households had 2 to 4 members. It may be of interest that a total of 49% of the Middle Eastern, and 40% of the Filipino nuclear family households had 5 to 7 members.

TABLE 11 Type of Household

	Number	Percent
Couples with Children	322	73
Couples w/o Children	38	9
Single Parent	23	5
Single Person	3	1
Extended Family	54	12
Total	440	100%

Comparison of ethnocultural affiliation with type of household, as shown in Table 12, reveals that the nuclear family unit predominates for each, with a range of from 70% (South Asian) to 82%(Eastern European). Among the remaining types, the Filipino sample is distinguished by having by far the fewest number of couples without children, at 1%, and the largest proportion of extended family households, at 19%, compared a low of 1% for Eastern Europeans. Informal evidence from an Immigrants' Forum hosted by the principal researchers indicated that Eastern Europeans were having particular difficulty bringing family members over in the 'Family' category. This could help to account at least in part for this very low percentage.

Table 12 Type of Household by Ethnocultural Affiliation

	South Asian %		Philippine %		East European %		Middle Eastern %		Total %	
Couple w Ch'n	96	70	91	76	82	82	53	65	322	73
Couple w/o Ch'n	17	12	1	1	13	13	7	9	38	9
Single Parent	4	3	5	4	5	5	9	11	23	5
Single Person	2	1	1	1	1	1			3	1
Ext'd family	18	13	23	19	1	1	12	15	54	12
Total	137	100%	121	100%	101	100%	81	100%	440	100%

We also found evidence for the importance of family loyalty, across ethnocultural affiliations. We found that 72% of the South Asians, 69% of Filipinos, and 58% of Eastern Europeans. agreed or strongly agreed that: “One can never let oneself down without letting ones family down.” This, however, appeared to be less so for the Middle Eastern respondents, only 16% of whom agreed or strongly agreed with the above statement.

Table 13 Ethnic Identity* by Generation in Canada

	1 st Generation %		1.5 Generation %		2 nd Generation %		Total	
Strongly Agree	159	53	22	43	14	35	195	44
Agree	90	30	16	31	16	37	122	28
Neutral	34	11	7	14	4	9	45	10
Disagree	11	4	6	12	6	14	23	5
Strongly Disagree	3	1			1	2	4	1
Not Sure /NA	2	1			2	5	1	
Total	299	100%	51	100%	43	100%	440	100%

* ‘always thought of themselves as members of their ethnic group first.’

Table 14 Canadian Identity* by Generation in Canada

	1 st Generation %		1.5 Generation %		2 nd Generation %		Total %
Strongly Agree	35	11	8	15	11	21	54
Agree	87	26	18	33	20	38	125
Neutral	83	25	11	20	11	21	105
Disagree	88	26	10	18	9	17	107
Strongly Disagree	39	12	8	15	1	2	48
Not Sure/NA	1						1
Total	333	100%	55	100%	52	100%	440

* ‘always thought of themselves as Canadian first.’

Immigrant groups varied considerably in the extent to which they said they identified with their own ethnic group. The largest percentage, 48% of respondents from the Philippines, said they identified most strongly as Filipinos. The extent of ethnic identity was less for the others; 25% for Middle Eastern respondents, 18% for respondents from Eastern Europe, and only 6% for those from South Asia. In fact, the majority of immigrants tended to identify themselves as “hyphenated” Canadians. For instance, 72% of South Asians consider themselves to be “Indo-Canadian,” “Pakistani-Canadian,” or “Sri Lankan-Canadian.” Likewise, 69% of Middle Eastern and Eastern European, and 47.5% of Filipino immigrants, identified themselves as “hyphenated” Canadians, suggesting a real blend of ethnic identity with identification as Canadian.

A substantial proportion (19%) of South Asians in particular identify themselves as Canadian. These appear to be the children of South Asians who came to Winnipeg in relatively large numbers in the late sixties and early seventies. The relationship between length of stay in Canada and identification as Canadian is reinforced by the findings that 8% of Eastern Europeans, 5% of Middle Eastern respondents, and only 2% of Filipino immigrants, all of whom had entered Canada relatively recently, described themselves as Canadian.

In response to the statement: “I always think of myself as being a member of my ethnic group first, 81.5% of South Asians, 87% of Middle Easterners, 62% of eastern Europeans, and 96% of Filipinos either agreed or strongly agreed. It seems clear that their ethnic identity is generally important to members of all of these groups. This conclusion is reinforced by the findings in response to the statement: “My ethnicity is a big part of who I am.” Eighty-four percent of South Asians ‘agreed’ or ‘strongly agreed’ with this statement, together with 85% of those from the Middle east, 68% of eastern Europeans, and 95% of Filipinos. On the other hand, respondents generally did not feel restricted by their ethnic identity. In all, 69% of South Asians, 70% of Filipinos and 61% of eastern Europeans disagreed or strongly disagreed

with the statement: “I feel restricted by my ethnic identity. Only in the Middle Eastern group did respondents show a degree of agreement with this statement. A total of 42% agreed or strongly agreed with the statement.

More than 90% of South Asian, Middle Eastern, and Filipino immigrants expressed the belief that their ethnic heritage was very important, and more than 50% of Eastern European immigrants expressed a similar belief. These immigrants were strongly in support of the Federal policy of multiculturalism. More than 85% of the South Asians, Eastern Europeans and Filipinos, and more than 95% of Middle eastern immigrants agreed or strongly agreed with the statement: “Multiculturalism should be promoted.” Only a small minority (about 8%) felt that it was a waste to promote multiculturalism.

In response to the statement: “It is more comfortable to live in a neighborhood which has a few members of my ethnic background,” For example, 37% of South Asians agreed or strongly agreed with the statement, but 48% disagreed or strongly disagreed. Among each of the other three immigrant groups, there was also a significant proportion (between 20% and 50%) who both agreed and disagreed. However, a significant proportion of respondents also reported that they have experienced discrimination. This was most frequently reported by Filipino respondents, 42.5% of whom agreed or strongly agreed with the statement: “I have experienced discrimination in Canada as a member of my ethnic group. “ They were followed by South Asians, with 40%, followed by 27% of Eastern Europeans, and 15% of Middle Eastern respondents.

Language

Respondents were asked what language they used most often with various family members, and in different contexts, such as language spoken at church services, in the workplace and at meetings of ethnic associations.

A key question had to do with language spoken with parents. We found here that the vast majority of respondents did speak to parents in their ethnic languages. In all, 76% reported that they spoke in their own ethnic language with parents. This was true of each of our four regional groupings. Among these four there was a range, from 60% of South Asian respondents reporting that they spoke their ethnic language with their parents, to a high of 90% for Eastern European respondents. Those from the Middle East and from the Phillippines fell in between, with 83% and 79% respectively reporting that they spoke with parents in their ethnic language. On the other hand, respondents indicated overwhelmingly that they spoke with grandparents in their ethnic language. Overall, 47.5% of respondents reported that they spoke with grandparents in their ethnic values. However, if we take out the “not applicable” responses, which we may presume reflect the unavailability of grandparents, we arrive at a figure of 87%!

Table 15 Language Spoken with Parents by Ethnocultural Affiliation

	South Asian %		Philippine %		East Europe %		Middle East %		Total	%
Ethnic Lang	82	60	96	79	91	91	67	83	336	76
English	24	18	11	9	1	1	8	10	44	10
Other Lang	1	1						3	4	4
Eng+ Ethnic Lang	13	9	5	4	1	1			19	4
Did Not Apply	17	12	9	7	8	8	3	4	37	8
Total	137	100%	121	100%	101	100%	81	100%	440	100%

A further question referred to language spoken with siblings. Here we found a more mixed picture. In all, 65% of respondents spoke to siblings in their ethnic language. On the other hand, 22% reported that they spoke to sibling in English, and another 7.5% spoke to siblings in a mixture of English and their ethnic language. There was some variation according to our regional groupings. South Asians were the least likely to speak to siblings in their ethnic language, with 53% reporting that they did so. They were followed by Middle eastern respondents, 57.5% of whom reported that they used their ethnic language with siblings, 73% of Filipinos, and 79% of Eastern Europeans. With regard to English spoken with siblings, 31% of Middle Eastern respondents reported that they did so, followed by 27% of South Asians. Percentages of Eastern Europeans and Filipinos speaking English with siblings were somewhat lower, with 16% for the latter and only 14% for the former

Table 16 Language Spoken With Siblings by Ethnocultural Affiliation

Language Spoken With Siblings	Ethnocultural Affiliation				Total
	South Asian	Middle Eastern	Eastern European	Filipino	
Ethnic Language	73 (53.3%)	46 (57.5%)	79 (79%)	88 (72.7%)	286 (65.3%)
English	37 (27.0%)	25 (31.3%)	14 (14%)	19 (15.7%)	95 (21.7%)
Other Language	1 (0.7%)	1 (1.3%)			2 (0.5%)
Mixed (English + Ethnic Language)	22 (16.1%)	1 (1.3%)		10 (8.3%)	33 (7.5%)
<u>Not Applicable</u>	<u>4 (2.8%)</u>	<u>7 (8.8)</u>	<u>7 (7%)</u>	<u>4 (3.3%)</u>	<u>22 (5.0%)</u>
Total	137	80	100	121	438

Our final question, with regard to family relations and language spoken, produced a much more mixed picture than any of the others. This was the question re language spoken with children. As with grandparents we find, understandably, that a substantial proportion (36.7% overall in this case) indicated that the question was not applicable. We felt that it was safe to assume that these would be respondents without children. Accordingly, Table ? Shows the findings from this question, but without the “not applicable” responses. We now find a much more diverse picture of ethnic language use in the home. Overall, a substantial 49% of respondents reported that they spoke their ethnic language with their children. However, there is considerable variation among regional groupings. We find on the one hand that a mere 32% of South Asians speak their ethnic language with their children; and only 39% of Filipino respondents said they did, even though 65% had reported that they spoke their ethnic language with siblings, and 79% with parents. Both Middle Eastern and Eastern European respondents were more likely to speak their ethnic language with their children, with 74% and 69% respectively reporting that they did so. The complementary question has to do with the frequency with which parents reported speaking English with their children, or some combination of English and their ethnic language. We find here that almost half (46%) of South Asians speak English with their children, while another 22% speak a combination of English and their ethnic language, for a total of 68%. The percentages of those speaking only English was considerably less for the other three, with 15% of Middle Eastern respondents, and only 9% and 10% of Eastern Europeans and Filipinos respectively reporting that they spoke just English with their children. However, it should also be noted that a considerable proportion of Filipino respondents in particular, (50%) as well as 21% of Eastern Europeans, but only 10% of Middle eastern respondents, indicated that they spoke a mixture of English

and their ethnic language with children

Table 17 Language Spoken With Children by Ethnocultural Affiliation

Language Spoken With Children	Ethnocultural Affiliation				
	South Asian	Middle Eastern	Eastern European	Filipino	Total
Ethnic Language	31 (32.0%)	29 (74.4%)	48 (68.6%)	28 (38.9%)	136 (48.7%)
English	45 (46.4%)	6 (15.4%)	6 (8.6%)	7 (9.7%)	64 (23%)
Other Language			1 (1.4%)	1 (1.4%)	2 (0.7%)
<u>Mixed (English + Ethnic Language)</u>	<u>21</u> <u>(21.6%)</u>	<u>4</u> <u>(10.3%)</u>	<u>15</u> <u>(21.4%)</u>	<u>36</u> <u>(50.0%)</u>	<u>76 (27.3%)</u>
	97	39	70	72	278

A related issue had to do with communication with relatives and friends in the country of origin. With regard to frequency of communication with relatives and friends we found that, in total, just under 90% communicated with friends or relatives at least once a month, with 27% having contact twice a month, and 20% having contact once a week or more. Our different immigrant groups were fairly consistent overall in terms of extent of contact. However, one relatively anomalous finding had 30% of Middle Eastern respondents saying they never communicated with friends or relatives in their country of origin.

**Table 16 Communication with Relatives and Friend in Home Country
by Ethnocultural Affiliation**

	South Asian %		Philippine %		East Europe %		Middle East %		Total	%
Never	8	6	13	11	4	4	24	30	49	11
1/Month	61	45	45	37	30	30	46	57	182	42
2/Month	30	22	39	32	37	37	11	14	117	27
1/Week	37	27	23	19	26	26			86	20
Daily			1	1	3	3			4	1
DNA	1	1								1
Total	137	100%	121	100%	100	100%	81	100%	439	100%

Summary and Conclusion

This overview of findings from our study of immigrant families to Winnipeg, Manitoba has attempted to describe the study in general terms, and provide a broad profile of immigrant families included in our sample. This overview has included the distribution of families among the four basic categories of immigrants from south Asia, the Middle East, eastern Europe and the Philippines. A more detailed analysis of each category by place of birth of respondents was provided, as well as length of residence in Canada. A broad socioeconomic profile of respondents has been provided, with special attention to similarities and differences among the four broad types of ethnic affiliation. Finally, preliminary finding with regard to such issues as identity, language use, and communication with friends and relatives in country of origin have been presented. Further analysis will include analysis of findings in terms of “social capital” of immigrant families, and effect of related variables on immigrant adjustment and integration. Another focus will be on family relationships; the occurrence of conflict within immigrant families, and its relationship to various other factors, including identity issues, and attitudes toward a variety of family-related issues. Finally, further analysis must be done on the basic issue of immigrant policies and services, and what can be done to further the adjustment of immigrants to Canadian society.

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