

JEWISH DEMOGRAPHIC STUDIES IN THE CONTEXT OF THE CENSUS OF CANADA

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1. Introduction⁽¹⁾

Studies examining ethnic or religious differentials in demographic phenomena often have found the Jewish communities to differ from the general population. Lower mortality rates and higher measures of endogamy are typical examples recurring in many countries. As further examples, based on the 1961 Census of Canada, one may quote (1) differentials in urban-rural distribution (per cent urban: all ethnic groups - 69.6%, Jews - 98.8%; see Canada (1966)); and (2) fertility differentials (average number of live births per 1,000 ever-married urban women aged 45-49: all ethnic groups - 2,704; Jewish - 1,954; see Henripin (1972), Ch. 6, and Canada (1968)).

Bearing these examples in mind one may appreciate that studies related to the demographic characteristics of Jewish populations are important beyond the obvious field of Jewish demography: they may contribute to a better understanding of both national populations and general demographic theory. The objective of the present paper is to provide analysts who are interested in such studies with information on Canadian data and impending analyses of Canada's Jewish population. The details, though still tentative, are spelled out in Section 3. This exposition is preceded by pertinent background information on the Canadian Census (Section 2).

2. Contribution of Canadian Census Data to Jewish Demographic Studies

a. Noteworthy Aspects of Canadian Census Data on Jews

Census statistics constitute a central pillar of demographic studies. They provide data on the state (i.e., size and geographical

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distribution) and composition of populations, and, furthermore, enable one to derive estimates for several parameters related to population movements and growth. In Canada, the census also incorporates several unique features from the viewpoint of Jewish population studies. Some of these characteristics warrant special consideration:

(i) Identification of Jews

The Canadian census questionnaire enables Jews to be identified by both religion and ethnicity. From a methodological viewpoint, this system of identification offers two advantages. First, one may expect the groups of "Jews by ethnicity" and "Jews by religion" to be very close in size - any noticeable deviation may imply errors in the data. Thus the system features what amounts to a "built-in checking mechanism". Secondly, it enables people who consider themselves as Jews by either criterion (or by both) to be enumerated as such. Conceivably, this aspect may assume added significance in the future if either increasing numbers of people defined as Jews by religion consider themselves as "Canadian" by ethnicity, or if increasing numbers of people defined as Jews by ethnicity report themselves as having "no religion".

The inclusion of questions on ethnicity and religion is not a unique feature of Canadian censuses, of course, but the possibility of identifying Jews by either or both criteria is now unparalleled. For example, the censuses of Australia and New Zealand provide data on a multitude of racial groups, but Jews (except Asiatic Jews in Australia) are classified together with all other "Europeans".

(ii) Level of detail

The tabulations to be available in connection with the 1971 Census of Canada are reviewed in Section 2d. For previous censuses, let us note selected variables for which an analyst may obtain data even if he were restricted to the tables appearing in the census publications. For example, in 1961 these included: age-sex (Canada and provinces with classification as urban - rural farm - rural non-farm; also available for metropolitan areas and incorporated cities, towns and villages); sex, cross-classified by one of the following variables (usually for the national level with the above-mentioned distinction of urban-rural): birthplace; marital status - age; mother tongue; official language; period of immigration; ethnicity - religion; occupation of experienced labour force; industries of experienced labour force. Compared with the available unpublished tabulations, of course, these merely represent the tip of the iceberg.

(iii) Continuity

Questions on both religion and ethnicity of the enumerated population were included in all Canadian censuses, the first dating back to 1871. However, only the censuses after 1911 are of real significance

in this connection, because, prior to that date, the Canadian Jewish population was small in size (see Table 1).

It is encouraging to note that the items on ethnicity and religion are firmly entrenched in the Canadian census schedule, notwithstanding the criticisms voiced upon occasion (see, for example, Ryder (1955)). In the first place, these items are specifically mentioned in various versions of the Statistics Act; to quote the 1918 version (Section 19):

"Each census of population and agriculture shall be so taken as to ascertain ... for the various territorial divisions of Canada ...
(a) their population and the classification thereof, as regard name, age, sex, ... race, education, wage earnings, religion ..."

The high demand for data involving these items is also well appreciated. A Census Division review of the 1971 Census schedule (Canada (1970a), p. 2) comments on the question regarding ethnicity:

"This topic is one of the most frequently requested items The data are used extensively by government departments, marketing agencies, sociologists and representatives of ethnic associations, to mention but a few. ... If the data were not collected, many groups and agencies would resort to producing their own estimates with considerable danger of biased results."

The comment concerning the item on religion reads:

"Census data on this topic are used extensively by religious authorities ... , by social researches in studying the patterns of family size ... , by government agencies ... , by Members of Parliament ..."

(iv) Quality of data

The high quality of Canadian official statistics in general may be taken for granted. For this reason, analysts have been viewing the gap between "Jews by religion" and "Jews by ethnicity" with much concern (the two groups were virtually identical until the 1941 Census, but an increasing gap was discerned in 1951 and 1961). The issue is discussed further in Section 3(b); at this point the proposition is suggested that, the said gap notwithstanding, Canadian sources may still be regarded as reliable if evaluated and used critically (as all statistical data should be).

b. Significance for Jewish Demography Studies

In addition to the characteristics of the Canadian Census themselves, there are several other factors which add to the significance of these censuses as a data source for Jewish demographic studies. Three seem to be of prime importance.

(i) Population size

The absolute size of the Jewish population in Canada - about 250,000 in 1961 - enables one to derive meaningful results from many detailed cross-classifications, even if the data are compiled on a sample basis. The concentration of Jews, both geographically (e.g., in the provinces of Ontario and Quebec) and in selected characteristics (e.g., as a virtually urban population), is of much help in this respect.

The fact that Canada's Jewish population ranks seventh among the Jewish communities in the world (after the U.S.A., U.S.S.R., Israel, France, Argentina and the U.K. - see Shapiro (1970)) adds extra weight to the information obtained.

(ii) Substitute for other sources

It is regrettable that the second major pillar of demographic studies - registration data of population movements - is continuously losing ground in Canada, as far as Jewish demography is concerned. Compilation of immigration data by ethnicity has been discontinued since 1967; publication of vital statistics by ethnicity was abandoned in 1952 (Section 3(c)(ii)). Under these circumstances, estimates of vital rates and migration parameters will have to depend on the censuses more and more, and hence the increasing significance of this source.

(iii) Source of inference

In view of the scarcity of official data for the largest Jewish community in the world - i.e., the one in the U.S. - attempts are made to fill the gap by inferring from Canadian trends. Indeed, a priori one has good reason to believe that several characteristics of the Jewish population in both countries should be similar.

c. Special Features of the 1971 Census

The 1971 Census of Canada has introduced several new procedures. Five of these warrant discussion here because of the potential impact on data relevant to Jewish population studies.

(i) Self-enumeration

For the first time in a Canadian Census, the major onus for correct response has been placed in the hands of respondents, in order to eliminate enumerator bias. In its place, one must accept respondent error and bias which are generally believed to be less than enumerator bias. No serious negative side-effects are envisaged for data on the Jewish population unless a substantial proportion of the non-committed Jews choose to leave the questions on both ethnicity and religion blank. On the other hand, the self-enumeration procedure may contribute to the reconciliation of data by religion and by ethnicity, as explained in Section 3(b).

(ii) 1971 Census edit procedures

The concept of ethnicity is a hazy one which attempts to categorize cultural groups, as traced through the male ancestors, mainly along the lines of nationality (i.e., country of birth of male immigrant ancestor) and language (see the Appendix for the changing ethnicity concepts 1931-71). Jews do not fit neatly into this categorization since they came from a host of countries and spoke a number of different languages. Thus, for example, a Jew born in Russia of Polish parents, may legitimately state that his ethnicity is Russian (born in Russia, mother tongue Russian), Polish (male parent accompanying him to Canada is a Polish-Jew) or Jewish (parents' mother tongue is Yiddish), depending on his interpretation of the instructions. In previous censuses, this situation produced a gap between the number of "Jews by ethnicity" and "Jews by religion". To reduce this discrepancy, the 1971 Census introduced a computer edit procedure which compared responses for ethnicity and religion. Whenever a respondent stated that he was of Jewish religion, but not of Jewish ethnicity, the ethnicity was changed to Jewish. The converse edit was not included however, since it is deemed possible to be of Jewish paternal ancestry and claim a religion other than Jewish or "no religion". Only when there is no entry for religion and the ethnic origin is given as Jewish, is the imputation "Jewish" made for religion.

The combined effect of self-enumeration and the edit procedure should bring the figures for Jews by both definitions very close; the remaining gap should be accounted for the "Jews by ethnicity" who claim "no religion".

(iii) Sampling and weighting

Only one third of Canadian households have received the long census form which includes the questions on ethnicity, religion and language of the home (the mother tongue question, however, was asked of everyone). This procedure will not seriously affect data on Jews in areas in which they are clustered. It may undermine considerably the information on the few Jews who are widely distributed in the small

cities and towns throughout the country (see Rosenberg (1957) for 1951 data on this issue). Sampling variability (Dodds (1971)) may result in the frequent loss of the Jewish pin in the haystack of the general population.

A ratio-raking, iterative weighting system has been introduced to produce more accurate estimates of the total population than would a simple tripling of the sampling figures (Brackstone (1971)). Essentially, the system consists of a computer programme which performs a proportional comparison and adjustment of those items common to both the hundred per cent and the sample questionnaires: age, sex, marital status and mother tongue. The effect of this weighting system on statistics on Jews is not yet known, but no serious detrimental effect is expected.

(iv) Random rounding

The protection of the respondent's privacy is a major concern for every statistical agency dependent on the co-operation of respondents. With the ever-increasing sophistication of computers and users and the ever-growing demand for more and more detailed data, the time-honoured technique of "eye-balling" of tabulations to prevent a breach of confidentiality would collapse under the burden. An automated technique was essential. The one finally adopted by the Census, after a careful examination of various alternatives, was "random rounding" (Murphy (1972)). In this procedure, the last or unit digit is rounded up or down to a '5' or a '0'. A '1' or '6' would have an 80% chance of being rounded down and a 20% chance of being rounded up. Similarly, a '2' or '7', a '3' or '8' and a '4' or '9' would have a 60-40, 40-60, 20-80 per cent chance of being rounded down or up, respectively. The totals of distributions are rounded independently, thus providing a measure of the rounding error in the distribution. Random rounding should not affect data on Jews in large Jewish communities. However, the combination of sampling and random rounding has rendered impractical the analysis of that small segment of the Jewish population in small centres.

(v) Inclusion of item on "language of the home"

The main criteria which enable Jews to be identified in a Canadian Census have always been religion and ethnicity. Yiddish, as a mother tongue, has offered a possibility of identifying a subgroup within the Jewish population (see Table 1). The 1971 Census schedule included yet another pertinent question, viz., the language that the respondent "most often speaks at home". So few Canadian Jews have stated that they speak another of the Jewish languages (viz., Hebrew or Ladino) that no unique codes are provided for them and they are grouped with those who speak "Yiddish".

d. Availability of 1971 Data

Tabulations planned as part of the standard publication programme of the 1971 Census will be very similar to those available for 1961. (Canada (1970b)). Included are demographic phenomena such as age, sex, marital status, fertility, migration, and family structure as well as the whole gamut of socio-economic variables, such as language, birth-place, birthplace of parents, citizenship, education, labour force status, occupation, industry and income. In addition, there will be a much greater variety of unpublished material than ever before.

Several hundred of the approximately 3,000 tabulations include the category 'Jewish' or 'Yiddish'. A complete list of these tabulations is included in the *Directory of 1971 Census Tabulations* (Canada (forthcoming)), a rather bulky document which cross-references every tabulation by each variable in that tabulation.

In addition, a user summary tape series (Canada (1972a)) at several levels of complexity, has been introduced to provide data for users in machine-readable form. At the simplest level of complexity, single variable distributions are available for Enumeration Areas (the smallest standard geographic area with a population of 300-500) and for all urban and rural municipalities. More extensive tabulations, classifying the variables in greater detail, as well as simple cross-classifications, are available for (1) Census Tracts and Area Aggregates (complementary geographic areas, national in scope, with a population of 3,000 - 6,000); and (2) municipalities and urban agglomerations of 5,000 or more population. More detailed cross-classifications are available for counties as well as for municipalities and urban agglomerations of 30,000 or more persons.

Analysts who are not satisfied with any of the preplanned packages, or those who feel constrained by the standard geographic areas defined by the Census, may now benefit from a new, sophisticated yet relatively inexpensive, storage and retrieval system, which has been introduced to allow a user to specify his own tabulation requirements with regard to variable and geographical detail (Canada (1972b)). The system is also tied to a mapping and graphic routine so that output may be obtained in the form of maps or graphs as well as tables.

3. Demographic Analysis of Recent Census Data on Canada's Jews

a. Tentative Plans for Comprehensive Analyses

The plans for demographic analysis of the 1971 Census data on Jews are being prepared under the auspices of the Canadian Jewish Congress (CJC). Basically, the programme calls for a series of studies on the various topics covered by the census. Paramount among these are spatial distribution, age-sex structure, economic composition, fertility and internal migration. According to tentative plans, the studies will be

reported in papers to be published as Volume 3 of the *Canadian Jewish Population Studies*. (Volume 1 of this series deals with pre-1961 data while Volume 2 reported studies based on the 1961 Census.) When they materialize, these studies will serve as a basic for a demographic monograph on Canada's Jews which will complement previous historical reviews by Rosenberg (1939 and 1965).

In the course of the proposed analyses, much emphasis will be placed on time series and examination of data from previous censuses. This strategy is warranted for two reasons. First, previous studies have not made use of many of the new methodological tools, such as geostatistical analysis and influences based on stable population theory; secondly, it appears that unpublished data sources have not been utilized sufficiently.

The analysis of the 1971 Census data on Jews will commence as soon as census statistics from the sample questionnaire become available in the latter half of 1973. In the meantime, the authors are working on two retrospective aspects: (i) an investigation into the question alluded to previously, concerning the gap between the data on "Jews by ethnicity" and "Jews by religion" in past censuses; and (ii) exploration of hitherto untapped data sources as well as some relevant studies and papers which, for some reason or other, are not widely known. Tentative findings are reported in the following Sections 3(b) and 3(c), respectively. In addition, work is progressing on an analysis of the Canadian Jewish population who reported "Yiddish" as their mother tongue in 1971.

b. The Gap Between Data on "Jews by Ethnicity" and "Jews by Religion"

Until 1941, figures on Jews by ethnicity and religion were virtually identical (Table 1). The census of 1951 and, to an even larger extent, that of 1961 showed an increasing differential between the two sets of figures. Two questions come to mind when confronted with this situation: What is the reason for this gap? To what extent are the data useful, given the differential?

Upon analysis of the 1951 and 1961 data, it becomes quite apparent that a significant proportion of the differential is accounted for by the classification of persons who should have been recorded as "Jews by ethnicity", into other groups. As Table 1 shows, in 1951 this affected approximately every tenth Jew while in 1961 it affected every fourth one. An explanation for this phenomenon requires an examination of *questionnaire organization, enumerator instructions, and editing procedures*.

There have been a number of significant changes in the labelling and placing of the ethnicity item in the five decennial censuses since 1931 (see Appendix). Thus, the term used for ethnicity has changed from "racial origin" (1931, 1941) to "origin" (1951) to "ethnic or cultural group" (1961, 1971). The location of the ethnicity question on the questionnaire in relation to the question on birthplace, citizenship, mother tongue and religion has also changed.

Table 1. The Population Reporting 'Jewish' as Ethnicity and as Religion and 'Yiddish' as Mother Tongue, Canada, 1901-1971

Census year	'Jewish' by ethnicity (A)	'Jewish' by religion (B)	'Jewish' by ethnicity and religion (C)	Ratio C/B (D)	'Yiddish' as mother tongue (E)
1901	16,131	16,493	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
1911	76,199	74,760	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
1921	126,196	125,445	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
1931	156,726	155,766	155,351	0.99	149,500
1941	170,241	168,585	168,108	1.00	129,806
1951	181,670	204,836	178,633	0.87	103,593
1961	173,344	254,368	168,663	0.66	82,448
1971	296,945	276,025	276,025	1.00	49,890

N.A. = Not available.

Source: Censuses of Canada, 1901-1971.

Enumerator instructions defining ethnicity have also changed over the years. In 1931 and 1941 no specific definition of ethnicity was provided. The enumerator was merely cautioned not to confuse racial origin with either nationality, country of birth or country of origin. In 1951 the procedure was altered in an attempt to establish a clear objective criterion - the language spoken by the person or by his paternal ancestor when he first came to this continent. If the respondent found it difficult to answer, the enumerator was to ask him whether his origin, on the male side, was English, French, Ukrainian, Jewish, etc. In 1961 and 1971 the procedure was reversed and the respondent was first to be asked to what ethnic or cultural group he, or his male immigrant ancestor belonged, and if difficulty was encountered, the language criterion was to be applied. The changes in definition have affected the data on several ethnic groups since the 1951 Census. "Chief among these is the population of Jewish origin The use of the 'language' criterion in 1951 to determine a person's origin undoubtedly resulted in some Jewish persons being reported among 'Other European origins'." (Canada (1956), p. 137; with regard to this issue in 1961, see Canada (1966), p. 9.)

The third factor mentioned as a contributor to the ethnicity-religion differential concerns changes in the edit procedures. The 1941 Census Administrative Report states that there was a manual "revision" operation for every question (Canada (1945), p. 44). The instructions given to revision clerks were that "In the case of persons whose religion is Jewish, the origin must be given as Jewish". It is now impossible to determine how many changes were effected by this operation in the Census of 1941 and earlier years. The 1951 and 1961 Censuses omitted this edit when mechanical edits replaced manual ones.

There may be other contributory causes to the differential, e.g., the acceptance of "American" and "Canadian" as valid responses for ethnicity; coding errors; and deviation of enumerators from the written instruction. Unfortunately, it is now difficult to measure the effect of these factors.

To what extent are the Jewish ethnicity data from 1951 and 1961 usable? If the same data were available for Jews by religion as well as by ethnicity, there would be no problem. Unfortunately, the ethnicity variable is the one most frequently used for cross-classification of census information, whereas the number of published cross-classifications for the religion variable is very limited.

Clearly, absolute numbers for the Jewish population in 1951 and 1961 should be culled from the data on religion. By the same token, neither raw nor transformed⁽²⁾ cross-classified ethnicity data should be used where there is a strong correlation between language and the cross-classifying variable (e.g., distribution of Jews by country of birth). With these exceptions, transformed data are likely to be valid as trend indicators (e.g., for fertility or age-sex analysis) since there is no indication of significant bias for other variables.

When using 1951 cross-classified data on Jews, one must keep this problem in mind. With regard to 1961 data however, the problem is a minor one, since the Canadian Jewish Congress commissioned special 1961 Census tabulations to provide for "Jews by religion" the same cross-classifications that are available for "Jews by ethnicity". Copies are kept at Statistics Canada, The Canadian Jewish Congress in Montreal and the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

c. Notes on Supplementary Data Sources

The first steps in the examination of data relevant to Canada's Jews have revealed that a certain amount of material - mainly in unpublished form - has hitherto lain dormant in obscurity. Three specific examples are described below in brief.

(i) Unpublished 1961 Census data

Only basic tabulations are available from the 1961 Census in published form (including the seven Volume Series, the Census Tract Series and the Special Report Series). These are complemented by unpublished tabulations of three types:

First, the preplanned computer print-outs as listed in the 1961 Census Administrative Report (Canada (1970b), Appendix D). This list is particularly convenient because it is printed together with the corresponding list of published data.

Secondly, tabulations involving religion and/or ethnicity prepared

(2) I.e., rates, ratios, etc.

for several 1961 Census Monographs. For example, "Post-War Immigration (P.W.I.) Tabulations" were prepared for the volume on immigration by Kalbach (Kalbach (1970)); the complete listing of the 85 tables is provided in Appendix H of his monograph, while two selected tables are printed there as Appendices B and C. Variables covered include ethnicity cross-classified by period of immigration, birthplace, age-sex, marital status-sex, religion, schooling-age-sex, labour force by industry, etc.

Thirdly, special tabulations relevant to Jewish demography commissioned by certain Canadian organizations such as the Canadian Jewish Congress and the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism.

(ii) Unpublished registration data

Vital statistics on Jews have become rather scarce after the re-organization of the annual reports (1951) and the subsequent phasing out from registration forms of the item on ethnicity (as in the case of Manitoba and Ontario)⁽³⁾. Only the publication of the series showing religion of bride cross-classified by religion of groom is being continued. Various relevant series for the 1951-60 period do exist, however, as unpublished tables kept by the Vital Statistics Section.

The compilation of registration data on immigrants was discontinued in 1967. It appears, however, that many important series may be obtained from unpublished sources for earlier years.

(iii) Unpublished or little known studies

The bibliographies published by Schmelz and others (1976) and Glikson (1970) may be considered as the basic reference lists for post-1920 studies related to Jewish demography. As far as Canada's Jews are concerned, attempts are being made here to identify additional references and keep the bibliographical lists up to date. The following are some items added to the lists:

(1) Some years ago, the Census Division of the Canadian Dominion Bureau of Statistics published a bibliography on Canadian Demography (see Stone - Kokich (1966)). About 20 references from this list, relevant to Jewish demography, may be added to the above-mentioned works by Schmelz and Glikson.

(2) Since 1960 the Federal Department of Manpower and Immigration has published four bibliographical lists on "Citizenship, Immigration and Ethnic Groups in Canada". The bibliographies cover the period from 1920 to 1968 and contain several references relevant to Jewish demography (see Canada (1960, 1962, 1966, and 1970c)).

(3) The Jewish population has been discussed in several works prepared for the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism.

(3) Though the final compilation and publication of Canadian vital statistics is carried out by Statistics Canada, the registration procedure falls within Provincial jurisdiction.

Volume IV, entitled "The Cultural Contribution of the Other Ethnic Groups" (Canada (1969)) is noteworthy: in addition to the text proper, the Appendix presents an extensive collection of statistical tables on ethnic origin. Furthermore, being a relatively recent publication, it includes references which appear in none of the lists mentioned previously.

(4) Some relevant references are also to be found in the series entitled "List of Theses and Dissertations on Canadian Geography" (items on ethnicity and religion). Three issues in this series have been published to date, from which such relevant works as Enchin (1971) and Fromsom (1965) were identified.

(5) Relevant data have been incorporated in three works by Richmond (1967, 1968, 1972), which deal with ethnic and immigrant groups generally. The two later studies focus on Toronto where the second largest Canadian Jewish community is located.

With regard to the various tabulations and works cited here, an attempt will be made to acquire a copy of each and store it on microfilm or otherwise in the archives of the Canadian Jewish Congress. Thus, it is hoped that a complete array of the hard-to-find items will be at the disposal of analysts upon request.

4. Summary and Abstract

In the past, the Canadian Census has provided detailed, continuous and reliable data for Jewish demographic studies. The 1971 returns are expected in the course of 1973 and in view of the new features incorporated in the 1971 Census, the data may well be expected to provide excellent possibilities for analysing the demographic characteristics of the Jewish population. Plans are now being laid in anticipation of these data so that the analysis may commence shortly after they are released. The prospects of publishing a comprehensive demographic profile of Canada's Jews by 1975 seem very good. At the same time preparations are under way to secure the storage of hard-to-get data on Jews in the archives of the Canadian Jewish Congress so that they are accessible to any analyst requiring them.

5. Appendix: Instructions to Census Enumerators
for Obtaining Ethnic Origin Data in Censuses
of Canada, 1931-71

1971 CENSUS OF CANADA

Question-

15. To what ethnic or cultural group did you or your ancestor
(on the male side) belong on coming to this continent?

- | | | |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| <input type="radio"/> English | <input type="radio"/> Native Indian | <input type="radio"/> Polish |
| <input type="radio"/> French | <input type="radio"/> — Band | <input type="radio"/> Scottish |
| <input type="radio"/> German | <input type="radio"/> Native Indian | <input type="radio"/> Ukrainian |
| <input type="radio"/> Irish | <input type="radio"/> — Non-band | |
| <input type="radio"/> Italian | <input type="radio"/> Netherlands | |
| <input type="radio"/> Jewish | <input type="radio"/> Norwegian | |

Other, write here

Instruction-

- 15 Ethnic or cultural group refers to descent (*through the father's side*) and should not be confused with citizenship. Canadians belong to many ethnic or cultural groups — English, French, Irish, Scottish, German, Ukrainian, Jewish, Native Indian, Negro, Chinese, Lebanese, etc.

Use as guide if applicable in your case:

- 1 The language you spoke on first coming to this continent, if you were born outside of Canada.
- 2 If born in Canada, the language spoken by your ancestor on the male side when he came here.

1961 CENSUS OF CANADA

Question -

10. To what ethnic or cultural group did you or your ancestor (on the male side) belong on coming to this continent?

<u>Austrian</u>	<u>Belgian</u>	<u>Czech</u>	<u>Danish</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Native Indian</u>	If not listed, write here:
<u>Estonian</u>	<u>Finnish</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>German</u>	<u>Greek</u>		
<u>Hungarian</u>	<u>Icelandic</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>Band member</u>	
<u>Lithuanian</u>	<u>Negro</u>	<u>Netherlands</u>	<u>Norwegian</u>	<u>Polish</u>	<u>Non-Band</u>	
<u>Romanian</u>	<u>Russian</u>	<u>Scottish</u>	<u>Slovak</u>	<u>Swedish</u>		
<u>Ukrainian</u>	<u>Welsh</u>	<u>Yugoslavic</u>				

Instructions -

Mark one space only.

It is important to distinguish carefully between "citizenship" or "nationality" on the one hand and "ethnic" or "cultural" group on the other. "Ethnic" or "cultural" group refers to the group from which the person is descended; citizenship (nationality) refers to the country to which the person owes allegiance. Canadian citizens belong to many ethnic or cultural groups - English, French, Irish, Jewish, Scottish, Ukrainian, etc.

For census purposes a person's ethnic or cultural group is traced through his father. For example, if a person's father is German and his mother Norwegian, the entry will be "German".

If the respondent does not understand the question as worded on the questionnaire, you will ask the language spoken by him on arrival if he is an immigrant, or by his ancestor on the male side on first coming to this continent. For example, if the person replies that his ancestor on the male side spoke French when he came to this continent, you will record "French". However, if the respondent should reply "English" or "Gaelic" to this question, you must make further inquiries to determine whether the person is English, Irish, Scottish, or Welsh.

If the respondent does not understand the question as worded on the questionnaire or you cannot establish the ethnic or cultural group through the language of the ancestors, you will ask "Is your ethnic or cultural group on the male side English, French, Jewish, Negro, North American Indian, Norwegian, Scottish, Ukrainian, etc.?"

Procedure for persons reporting British Isles:

If a person reports "British Isles" but does not know if he is English, Irish, Scottish, or Welsh, enter "British Isles" in the write-in space.

Procedure for persons reporting Native Indian:

- (1) If a person reports "Native Indian" ask an additional question: "Is your name on any Indian Band membership list in Canada?" If the answer is "Yes", mark the space for "Band member". If "No" mark "Non-band".

Note that "Treaty Indians" should be marked "Band member".

- (2) If the person is of mixed white and Indian parentage:

- (a) Consider those living on Indian reserves as "Indian" and determine Band status as outlined above.
- (b) For those not on reserves, determine the ethnic or cultural group through the line of the father.

Procedure for persons reporting "Canadian", "U.S.A." or "Unknown":

Since this question refers to the time when the person or his ancestors came to this continent, the answer should refer to the ethnic groups or cultures of the old world. However, if, in spite of this explanation, the person insists that his ethnic or cultural group is "Canadian" or "U.S.A.", enter his reply in the write-in space.

If the person states that he really does not know what to reply to this question, enter "Unknown".

1951 CENSUS OF CANADA

Question -

17. Origin

ORIGIN		0	0
ENGLISH	FRENCH	1	1
IRISH	WELSH	2	2
SCOTCH	SCOTTISH	3	3
WELSH	SPANISH	4	4
GERMAN	POLISH	5	5
CZECH & SLOVAK	RUSSIAN	6	6
ITALIAN	SWEDISH	7	7
GERMAN	DANISH	8	8
ITALIAN	NATIVE INDIAN		
JEWISH	UNKNOWN		

IF NOT LISTED, WRITE BELOW

Instructions -

It is important to distinguish carefully between "citizenship" or "nationality" on the one hand, and "origin" on the other. Origin refers to the cultural group, sometimes erroneously called "racial" group, from which the person is descended; citizenship (nationality) refers to the country to which the person owes allegiance. Canadian citizens are of many origins - English, Irish, Scottish, Jewish, Ukrainian, etc.

For census purposes a person's origin is traced through his father. For example, if a person's father is German and his mother Norwegian, the origin will be entered as "German".

You will first attempt to establish a person's origin by asking the language spoken by the person (if he is an immigrant), or by his paternal ancestor when he first came to this continent. For example, if the person replies that his paternal ancestor spoke French when he came to this continent, you will record the origin as "French". However, if the respondent should reply "English" or "Gaelic" to this question, you must make further inquiries to determine whether the origin is English, Irish, Scottish, or Welsh.

If the respondent does not understand your first question, or you cannot establish the person's origin from the answer you receive, you will ask "Is your origin in the male line English, Scottish, Ukrainian, Jewish, Norwegian, North American Indian, Negro, etc.?"

Ordinarily, persons born and bred in Canada or the United States will report some European origin, such as English, French, or Spanish. However, if a person insists that his origin is Canadian or American, you are to accept that answer and write it in the space provided.

Do not confuse Question 12 (Language first spoken in childhood) with this question. Above all, do not assume that the answer given to Question 12 establishes the answer to the question on origin.

For persons of mixed white and Indian parentage, the origin recorded will be as follows:

- (a) For those living on Indian reserves, the origin will be recorded as "Native Indian".
- (b) For those not on reserves the origin will be determined through the line of the father, that is, by following the usual procedure.

If a person states that, because of mixed ancestry, he really does not know what to reply to the question on origin, you will mark the oval "Unknown".

1941 CENSUS OF CANADA

Question -

100. Column 25. - Racial Origin.

Instructions -

(1) What is racial origin? The word "race" signifies - "descendants of a common ancestor."

(a) It is imperative to understand that a person's racial origin, and nationality very often are different, for instance the Canadian nationality comprises many different racial origins, e.g., English, French, Irish, Scottish, Welsh, Italian, German, etc.

(b) The name of a country from which a person came to Canada gives no indication of that person's racial origin, e.g., a person may have come to Canada from Austria, but may be Polish, or German, or Italian, etc. A striking example are the Ukrainians (Ruthenians). They have no Ukrainian (Ruthenian) nationality, but have come to this country from the nations of Poland, Russia, Austria, Hungary, and other nations of Europe through which they are dispersed. No matter what country they come from, their racial origin is "Ukrainian".

(c) The word Canadian does not denote a racial origin, but a nationality; the same applies to the word American.

(d) It is therefore necessary for the Enumerator to ascertain a person's racial origin separately from his country of birth, or nationality.

(2) What determines racial origin? As a general rule a person's racial origin is to be traced through his father, e.g., if a person's father is English and his mother French the racial origin shall be entered as English, while a person whose father is French and whose mother is English shall be entered as French, and similarly for other combinations.

(a) Canadian aborigines. For the Canadian aborigines, the entry will be Indian or Eskimo as the case may be. For a person of White and Indian blood, the entry shall be "Half-Breed".

(b) Coloured stocks. For persons belonging to stock involving difference in colour (i.e., the black, yellow, and brown races) the entry shall be Negro, Japanese, Chinese, Hindu, Malayan, etc., respectively, thus indicating the branch within the distinct ethnic stock, to which such persons belong.

(c) Mixed blood. The children begotten of marriages between white and black or white and Chinese, etc., shall be entered in the Column as Negro, Chinese, etc., as the case may be.

1931 CENSUS OF CANADA

Instructions -

122. Column 21: Racial Origin. The purpose of the information sought in this column is to measure as accurately as possible the racial origins of the population of Canada. I.e., the original sources from which the present population has been derived.

In the case of distinct ethnic stocks, involving differences in colour (i.e. the black, red, yellow or brown races) the answer will be Negro, Indian, Japanese, Chinese, Hindu, Malayan, etc., as the case may be.

In the case of persons deriving from European stocks, the proper answer will in many cases be indicated by the country or portion of the country from which the family of the person originally came, for example, English, Scottish, Irish, Welsh, French, but certain stocks may be found in more than one European country. In such cases the country of birth or the country from which they came to Canada may not indicate their racial origin. For example the Ukrainians (Ruthenians) may have immigrated to Canada from Poland, Russia, Austria, Hungary but they should not be classed as Poles, Russians, Austrians, Hungarians, but as Ukrainians. Similarly many immigrants from Russia are of German origin. The enumerator should make specific inquiry and should not assume that the country of birth discloses origin. A German born in France is not French by origin although he may be a citizen of France.

123. Origin is to be traced through the father. A person whose father is English and whose mother is French will be recorded as of English origin, while a person whose father is French and whose mother is English will be recorded as of French origin, and similarly with other combinations. In the case of the aboriginal Indian population of Canada, the origin is to be traced through the mother, and the names of their tribes should be given as Chippewa, Cree, Blackfoot, etc. The children begotten of marriages between white and black or yellow races will be recorded as Negro, Chinese, Japanese, Indian, etc., as the case may be. The object of this question is to obtain a knowledge of the various constituent elements that have combined from the earliest times to make up the present population of Canada.

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