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**INTERMARRIAGE PATTERNS AND SOCIO-ETHNIC STRATIFICATION
AMONG ETHNIC GROUPS IN TORONTO**

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Intermarriage Patterns and Socio-ethnic Stratification among Ethnic Groups in Toronto[1]

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines patterns of interethnic marriage in Toronto, Canada. Using data from the 2001 Canadian Census, the paper makes a major contribution to the literature on intermarriage: first, by relating various widely argued hypotheses concerning intermarriage to the results for Toronto, one of the most ethnically diverse cities in the world and a perfect laboratory for investigating the scope of interactions between groups; second, by paying particular attention to how race/ethnicity, class, and gender intersect; and third, by using a large customized census data set (20 per cent sample). The results reveal the prevalence of ethno-racial endogamy and suggest the existence of socio-ethnic stratification and status exchange in patterns of intermarriage in Toronto, an officially multicultural context assumed to be structurally horizontal.

KEY WORDS: intermarriage, ethnic groups, socio-ethnic stratification, endogamy, status exchange, horizontal/vertical mosaic

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[1] A draft version of this article was presented at the 101st Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association, held in Montreal, Canada, in August 2006.

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INTRODUCTION

In 2003, a public opinion survey conducted by the Centre for Research and Information on Canada and by the *Globe and Mail*, a major Canadian newspaper, provided a set of questions on Canadian identity and diversity. In their response to the most important factors when choosing a spouse, virtually all Canadians were unanimous in saying that it is important that spouses have similar attitudes towards family and children or similar moral values. Factors related to educational background (46 per cent), religious background (44 per cent), economic or class background (36 per cent), and ethnic background (28 per cent) were deemed much less important. The study concluded that:

> Canadians work, socialize, date, and marry people from all kinds of different backgrounds. While most thought that ethnicity is important in terms of personal identity (59%), they do not think it is important when choosing a spouse. Moreover, for immigrants and visible minorities alike, the higher than average importance placed on ethnic or racial identity is not accompanied by a pervasive sense that it is important to build families along mono-cultural lines by avoiding marriage to someone from a different ethnic background (Parkin and Mendelsohn 2003:14).

The research results that I present here, which refer specifically to Toronto – the most ethnically diverse city in Canada, and one of the world's major immigration-receiving areas, with nearly 50 per cent of the city's population born outside Canada – prove, however, that there is a discrepancy between the attitudes and the actual behaviours of Canadians in Toronto: In 2001, most marriages and common-law unions were ethnically endogamous. Although ethnic intermarriage has increased in Canada during the last century (Kalbach 1983, 196-212, Richard 1991, 106), exogamy (marriage outside one's racial or ethnic group) is still the exception, and endogamy, the prevalent trend.

These results seem particularly contrary to the what one might expect, given Canada's official multicultural policy, which promotes both ethnic diversity and social cohesion. Indeed, within this context of a supposed "horizontal mosaic," one would expect to observe a reduction in the social distances between persons of different ethnic backgrounds and a significantly higher rate of intermarriage than in more ethnically, racially, or religiously segmented contexts. Researchers have argued, for instance, that racial barriers have been historically stronger in the United States than in Canada, particularly in the gap between black and white populations, leading to the prevalence of unfavourable attitudes in the United States towards interracial marriages (Lieberson and Waters 1988; Model and Fisher 2002). However, although figures are not strictly comparable due to the differences in the variables used, some past studies have shown that the percentages of endogamy and exogamy in the United States and Canada are quite similar (see, for example, Reitz and Breton 1994, 51-53). More recent figures also have confirmed these findings. Milan and Hamm's (2004, 6) study of intermarriage in Canada using 2001 Census data (that is, marriages and common-law unions between a visible minority person and a non-visible minority person or a person from a different visible-minority group) showed an interracial union rate of 3.1 per cent. In comparison,

Fields and Casper's (2001) study of intermarriage in the United States, using 2000 Census data, showed that 2 per cent (for married couples) and 4 per cent (for unmarried couples) of unions were interracial in the United States in that year. Using 2000 US Census data, Lee and Edmonston (2005) also showed that interracial couples had increased from less than 1 per cent of all married couples in 1970 to more than 5 per cent of such couples in 2000, with about one-fourth of them comprising Hispanic and non-Hispanic unions. Further, a direct comparison between rates of white and black intermarriage in Canada with those in the Unites States shows that the proportion of interethnic couples formed by whites and blacks accounts for about 0.7 per cent of the total number of marriages both in Canada and in the States.

In this paper, I argue that patterns of intermarriage among ethnic groups in Toronto, suggest socio-ethnic stratification, as defined by Isajiw:

> a hierarchical system of ethnic groups, arranged according to the degree of power that the groups have in society, the level of the quality of life their members enjoy and the collective resources possessed, and the amount of prestige the groups and their members enjoy in relation to one another. Ethnic status, then, is the place that any particular group holds in this hierarchical system (Isajiw 1999, 111).

By using a customized data set from Statistics Canada's 2001 Census, I will examine a number of hypotheses concerning intermarriage, paying particular attention to the intersections between race/ethnicity, class, and gender, the results of which call into question the "horizontal mosaic" that is purported to exist in Toronto.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND AND HYPOTHESES

The process of partner choice and marriage/family formation is a multi-dimensional phenomenon that has been studied across a wide range of disciplines, including sociology, demography, human geography, social and cultural anthropology, and social psychology. Each discipline focuses on different sets of factors, which are not necessarily independent of each other: for example, social distance with respect to economic, educational, national, religious, or racial background; sex ratios, geographical proximity, group size, and interaction opportunity; family structure and cultural norms; and social categorization, group identity, stereotypes and prejudices.

In this paper, I examine a number of hypotheses that address most of the above factors. I specifically focus on the intersections between race/ethnicity, class, and gender.

Endogamy

Research on intermarriage has consistently confirmed that endogamy (marriage within the same group) and homogamy (marriage between individuals of similar socio-economic and educational status) are the predominant trends. This has been found to occur for a variety of preferential, normative, and structural reasons, regardless of partners' nationality, religion, ethnicity, social class, and so forth (Merton 1941; Davis 1941; Lévi-Strauss 1949 ; Winch 1958; Kerckhoff 1963; Gordon 1964; Leach 1967; Akers 1967; Musham 1974; Blau, Beeker, and Fitzpatrick 1984; Murstein 1986; Coleman 1994; Gray 1987; Varro 1995; Noiriel 1996; Qian 1997; Kalmijn 1998; Breger and Hill 1998; Fu 2001; Harris and Ono 2004; Meng and Gregory 2005; Rosenfeld 2005; Rodríguez-García 2006a, Qian and Lichter 2007).

Therefore, it is to be expected that endogamy is also the prevalent trend in the particular case studied here, Toronto, Canada. I examined the endogamy tendency empirically by looking at the ethnic origins (n = 18, single response) of the husband and wife in the married or common-law couples recorded in the 2001 Census.

Previous studies on intermarriage have also pointed out that groups that intermarry usually select mates belonging to ancestries similar to their own (for example, Alba and Golden 1986). Internal heterogeneity and divisions within the ethnic community, however, should also be taken into account (Breton 1964:199) to explain a lack of pan-ethnic endogamy in some cases. It can be predicted, therefore, that "similar" ancestry is more broadly determined for certain groups; in other cases, people may tend to form unions only with partners who have precisely the same background and origins.

Group Size and Institutional Completeness

One important socio-demographic element determining the rate of intermarriage is the size of the particular groups in question. Several research studies have pointed out that, in general terms, the intermarriage rate is inversely related to a group's size – that is, intermarriage is more likely to occur among smaller populations (Besanceney 1965; Blau 1977; Blau, Blum, and Swartz 1982, 46-47; Blau et al. 1984; Hwang, Saenz, and Aguirre 1997; Lieberson and Waters 1988; Qian 1999; for the Canadian case see Hurd 1964; Richard 1991, 127-130; Reitz and Breton 1994, 51; Kalbach 1983, 208). Small group size limits the opportunities for interactions within the group; therefore, members of a smaller group tend to have more out-group interactions, which, in turn, lead to a higher proportion of out-group marriages. Conversely, bigger groups become more balanced with respect to sex ratios and tend to provide for all necessities in terms of interaction, work, and leisure, for example, which increases the chance of finding a partner within the group.

"Institutional completeness" (Breton 1964), which relates closely to group size, also can be proposed as a reason for higher rates of endogamy. As ethnic communities become larger, the social organization of the community usually becomes stronger. In becoming more socio-economically successful and in developing a higher degree of in-group solidarity, the ethnic community attracts more co-ethnics within its social boundaries. Higher rates of endogamy are, therefore, to be expected because the community offers its members the prospect of living their lives completely within the framework of the community, according to their different social or cultural attributes (language, religion, and the like), thus reducing dependence on out-group institutions and interactions. As stated by Breton: "the communities showing the highest degree of institutional completeness have a much greater proportion of their members with most of their personal relations within the ethnic group" (Breton 1964, 196).

In light of these ideas, it is expected that intermarriage is more likely to occur among smaller and less-cohesive populations. This hypothesis will be applied to the Toronto context by using Spearman's rank correlation coefficient to evaluate the correlation between group size and rates of endogamy.

Generation

Generation status, including age at the time of migration, is another important determinant of rates of endogamy and exogamy. Previous research on intermarriage has shown that rates of exogamy generally increase with the duration of residence and with immigrant generation status. In other words, the second and third generations of a given immigrant group are likely to be more exogamous than the first generation (for example, for the United States see Gordon 1964; Lieberson and Waters 1988; Qian 1999; Feliciano 2001; Qian, Blair, and Ruf 2001; for Canada, see Richard 1991, 106-111; Ram 1990, 225; for Australia, see Giorgas and Jones 2002; for Europe, see Coleman 1994, 2004; Lievens 1999).

A tendency towards higher rates of intermarriage across the different generations has been explained by the fact that with successive generations, immigrants are more strongly socialized in the culture of the host society and they have higher education levels, more socioeconomic resources, and greater spatial mobility, all of which allow for a diversification of social networks and greater possibilities for out-group interaction. Similarly, immigrants who migrated at a younger age are less strongly socialized in their home country since they may not yet have completed their education prior to their emigration.

Generation status, age at migration, and duration of residence are also factors associated with language proficiency. Some researchers have argued that differences in language skills affect levels of endogamy (Stevens and Swicegood 1987; Hwang et al. 1997; Tzeng 2000). The reason for this relationship is that immigrants who speak the official language poorly have fewer opportunities to meet members of the out-group. As well, people generally prefer to marry culturally similar partners,

and language is a vital part of culture. New immigrants who have limited English-language proficiency, perhaps in addition to few marketable or accredited skills and limited information about their new homeland, often, by necessity, cluster in ethnic enclaves upon arrival and rely on co-ethnic networks and institutions to find housing, jobs, and their way around. These circumstances, researchers have argued, explain higher rates of endogamy.

This line of reasoning leads us to predict that rates of intermarriage generally increase with the duration of residence and with immigrant generation status: the higher the generation status, the higher the percentage of intermarriage. I examined this hypothesis by looking at the generation status (first, 1.5, second, and third-plus generations) of men and women in ethnically endogamous and exogamous partnerships.

Gender

Previous literature on intermarriage has also analyzed differences in patterns of intermarriage according to gender. As a result of the predominant patriarchal social order, men, in general, are more exogamous than women. Furthermore, several research studies have shown that, with the exception of Asians, minority men tend to marry out more often than minority women (Hwang, Saenz, and Aguirre 1995; Hwang et al. 1997; Lee and Fernandez 1998; Qian 1997, 1999, 584; Qian et al. 2001; Jacobs and Labov 2002; Lee and Edmonston 2005, 13). Hence, it can be hypothesized that minority men are more exogamous than minority women, with the exception of those from Asian groups. Gender is a variable that will be further explored in the discussion of status exchange theory.

Homogamy

Previous work on intermarriage worldwide has also shown that homogamy, or the tendency to choose partners sharing similar educational, occupational, and/or economic status, is a prevalent trend (Merton 1941; Winch 1958; Kerckhoff 1963; Musham 1974; Coleman 1994; Mare 1991; Varro 1995; Qian 1997; Kalmijn 1991, 1998; Fu 2001; Meng and Gregory 2005; Rosenfeld 2005; Schoen and Cheng 2006; Rodríguez-García 2004, 2006a). The majority of such studies have focused on educational homogamy; that is, the partners in most interethnic unions share a similar educational background. Several reports specifically have pointed out that education positively influences the likelihood of ethnic intermarriage, since educational attainment increases the opportunities to meet members of the out-group (Kalmijn 1993, 1998; Lieberson and Waters 1988; Qian et al. 2001; Lee and Edmonston 2005, 16). The relationship between educational and the income factors, however, has been under-researched. In this study, I included both variables in the analysis, therefore allowing a better test of the homogamy/heterogamy and status exchange hypotheses.

Given the findings of previous research, it is predicted that most partners share similar educational and economic (income) levels, both in endogamous and exogamous couples. This hypothesis will be evaluated by looking at the education and income levels (same, lower, or higher) of men and women in both ethnically endogamous and exogamous partnerships.

Socio-ethnic Stratification and Status Exchange

Finally, and most importantly, I also examined the status exchange hypothesis proposed originally by Merton (1941) and Davis (1941). This thesis states that, in stratified social orders, where there is a prestige hierarchy of social groups, minority-group members with higher socio-economic resources are more likely to marry members of the dominant group since these resources allow them to compensate for their socially disadvantaged racial or ethnic position. Merton (1941) proposed the status exchange theory to explain why black men were more likely to intermarry than black women. He suggested that marriage between a black man and a white woman could be viewed as an exchange of the man's higher achieved status (usually his education, income, or occupation) for the woman's higher racial status.

Of course, the status exchange theory, as it relates to intermarriage, can be criticized for its underlying assumption that interracial couples are more motivated by the rational incentive of status gain in their choice of a marriage partner than they are by other social and cultural factors, including the intangible ones (Gaines and Liu 1997). Further, this hypothesis has been tested and supported mainly by analyzing black-white intermarriages in the United States (Merton 1941; Kalmijn 1993; Fu 2001; Model and Fisher 2002; Rosenfeld 2005), which is another limitation; and other studies that tested Davis and Merton's thesis with different groups have questioned its applicability. For example, Jacobs and Labov (2002) have found that the gender patterns predicted by Merton (that is, minority men marrying out and "up" in terms of ethno-racial status more often than minority women) do not hold for all minority groups, as in the case of Asian Americans, a group in which women tend to intermarry more than their male counterparts.[2] Moreover, in his analysis of interracial marriage patterns among whites, African Americans, Hispanics, and Asian Americans, Qian (1999, 594-95), using data from the 1980 and 1990 U.S. censuses, found that Asian-American wives tended to be better educated than their white husbands, but the opposite occurred among African-American and Hispanic wives. Since Asian Americans have, on average, higher educational attainment than the other racial minorities, he concluded that the "different effects of educational attainment on interracial marriage for each racial group may be caused by racial differences in educational attainment." Finally, the status exchange theory has been contested on the basis that homogamy, the

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[2] Ethnographic research findings show that this trend of Asian women marrying out more than their male counterparts can partly be attributed to the colonially rooted Western exoticization of Asian woman as well as the desire of Asian women to escape traditional family and gender roles. For further discussion and references, see the "Generation and Gender" sections of this paper.

trend that is overwhelmingly found across both in-group and out-group marriages, cannot coexist with status exchange (Rosenfeld 2005).

Gender patterns, however, that depart from Merton's findings, while they may reveal other social and cultural factors affecting partner choice, do not in and of themselves refute the theory's basic premise of an exchange taking place between partners of "unequal" ethno-racial status. Furthermore, homogamy and status exchange are not necessarily mutually exclusive research outcomes if a wider variety of interracial or interethnic pairings and socio-economic factors are considered in a single study, which allows for more subtle variations of status exchange to be recognized. For instance, Schoen and Cheng's (2006) recent detailed analysis of 1990 US census data for three American states (Virginia, North Carolina, and Wisconsin) showed that as racial disparities persist, homogamy stays high and status exchange characterizes patterns of interracial (black-white) marriage. In this study, I was able to find some empirical support for the status exchange hypothesis through an analysis of both the educational and income levels of female and male partners in marriage and common-law unions that include a total of 18 different ethnic groups.

Socio-ethnic Stratification in Canada

In 1941, Kingsley Davis stated that "a cardinal principle of every stratified social order is that the majority of those marrying shall marry equals" (1941, 376). Similarly, in his discussion of caste and class systems, anthropologist Edmund Leach, responding to a criticism that he had overstated the role of endogamy in the maintenance of caste and classlike structures, stated: "in a very fundamental way, we all of us distinguish those who are of our kind from those who are not of our kind by asking ourselves the question: 'Do we intermarry with them?'" (1967, 19). Surely, given that marriage is intimate and intended to be lasting, patterns of endogamy and exogamy, which are a result of both individual and contextual factors, tell us not only about individual choices but also about patterns of social interaction in different societies and the extent of racial, ethnic, and social boundaries.

Canada stands out as being one of the most ethnically diverse societies in the world, with a mixture of cultures, languages, and nationalities that amount to more than 200 different ethnic groups and with a foreign-born population (18 per cent) that is second only to Australia's. Whereas in the past, the vast majority of immigrants to Canada came from European countries, in the last few decades, non-European immigration has predominated and has led to a dramatic racial and ethnic diversification of major Canadian cities (Fong 2006a, 3-5; Reitz and Lum 2006, 15-28). As one of the world's major immigration-receiving areas, Toronto has been named as the most ethnically diverse city in Canada, if not in the world (Doucet 2001). It is often referred to as "the world in a city," with nearly 45 per cent of its population born outside Canada (Statistics Canada 2003). Furthermore, Canada's history and political and economic structure make it one of the least segmented Western societies in the world. Disparities between rich and poor and the correlation between socio-economic attainment and racial or minority status are less pronounced compared to

other Western democracies. Somehow, policies for accommodating diversity have worked more smoothly in Canada, with less of a backlash, higher levels of public support, and higher levels of comfort and security on the part of minority groups (see Isajiw 1997, for a comparison between different models of social incorporation in North America and Europe).

Nonetheless, there is also considerable evidence of existing inequities, social divisions, status differentials, and other forms of social stratification within Canadian society. First, it is widely recognized that the founding groups of Canadian society, the British and the French (they make up 80 per cent of the Canadian population), the so-called "charter groups," enjoy political, demographic, and social domination in Canadian society and occupy a higher, more elite status in the socio-economic structure (Porter 1965; Reitz 1998; Isajiw 1999, 110, 156; Fong and Wilkes 1999, 600; Li 2003c, 14; Drieger 2003, 166-188; see also Breton 2005, 3-74, 290-324; and Richmond and Saloojee 2005). More than 40 years ago, in his now classic *Vertical Mosaic*, John Porter (1965) used data from the 1931, 1951, and 1961 censuses specifically to show that ethnic groups in Canada form a hierarchical structure of statuses, based on the groups' over- or under-representation in different occupational, educational, and income categories. Today, it can still be argued that there is a colour line by which, in general, whites continue to hold their position at the top; blacks maintain a status at the bottom; and Asians are found in the middle, not necessarily in economic terms, but almost always in terms of prestige and social status.[3] Of course, all of these racial categories are characterized by internal hierarchies as well, with, for example, whites of Northern European origins holding higher status than their Southern European counterparts, or Japanese people, in Canadian society today, maintaining a privileged socio-ethnic status within the Asian group (Pineo 1977; Reitz and Breton 1994, 74-76; Isajiw 1999, 136).

Second, countless analyses, based on Canadian censuses and survey data, clearly have indicated that immigrants and visible ethnic and racial minorities in Canada are often disadvantaged in the labour market. Immigrants in Canada, in fact, in many cases have higher educational attainment than the Canadian-born population; nonetheless, the former face greater employment discrimination and income disadvantages, both of which affect women more than men. The fact that occupational distributions are quite similar among different racial groups, but that relatively large income differentials according to ethnicity or race exist, means that ethnic or racial minorities face particular obstacles in getting equal pay for equal work (see Richmond 1964; Reitz and Breton 1994, 82-83, 90-124; Boyd 1992; Scassa 1994; Pendakur and Pendakur 2000; Gee and Prus 2000; Li 2003a, 78-123, 2003c; Drieger 2003, 180-187; see also Isajiw 1999, 96-97, 109-141; Zawilski and Levine-Rasky 2005; Reitz and Lum 2006, 32-42; and Reitz and Banerjee 2007, 3-8). A number of

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[3] Zhou and Lee have described the "dual status" and "in-betweenness" of Asian populations in America: "On the one hand, they are minorities and therefore subject to racial discrimination and prejudice. On the other, some Asian ethnic groups have achieved social status on a par with–and in some arenas, superseding–whites" (2004:22). This complex social position of Asian Americans is reminiscent of Weber's distinction between "class" (individual position in the market place) and "status" (a person's socially conferred position, which affords this individual a particular "style of life" and "social honor); these factors may be independent of each other.

systematic analyses have confirmed these findings. For example, the widely cited Ornstein Report (2000) for the City of Toronto showed that members of visible minorities had lower incomes than those in the non-minority population. Central Americans, Afghans, Arabs, West Asians, Pakistanis, Bangladeshis, and Somalis were among those categorized as the most severely disadvantaged, with unemployment rates of 20 to 29.9 per cent, as opposed to the overall average of 9.4 per cent. These data also were consistent with the findings of previous research done in Toronto, which compared the educational, occupational, and income status of ethnic groups (Breton et al. 1990). More recent studies, such as the analysis of the 2002 Ethnic Diversity Survey data conducted by Reitz and Banerjee (2007), confirm that racial inequality and discrimination against racial minority immigrants is a significant issue in Canada.

One of the major barriers to attaining socio-economic equality that is often cited by researchers is that the foreign credentials of immigrants too often have not been recognized in Canada (Rajagopal 1990; Basran and Zong 1998; Reitz and Banerjee 2007, 11). It is widely acknowledged in ordinary Toronto society that many immigrants and persons of minority ethno-racial groups in Toronto who work as taxi drivers used to be doctors, engineers, or professors in their countries of origin. Isajiw (1999, 96) calls this "the problem of status dislocation," from which the effect on the psychological well-being of immigrants can be substantial (for a detailed description of socio-ethnic stratification and ethnic economies in Toronto, see Preston, Lo, and Wang 2003).

Although ethnic enclaves in Toronto are not necessarily ghettos, and no exact correlation between location of residence and minority status has been found, other studies have identified economic disparities in the residential distribution of visible minorities in Toronto (for instance, Myles and Hou 2002; Qadeer and Kumar 2006). More recently, Eric Fong (2006b, 59, 72) also found "higher levels of residential segregation of visible minority groups (Asians and Blacks) from the Charter groups and other European groups" in Toronto, suggesting that "it may be difficult for visible minority groups to achieve full participation in the larger society and to share neighbourhoods with the more established groups in Canada."

Hiebert and Pendakur (2003), Reitz and Lum (2006), and Reitz and Banerjee (2007), among other scholars, have argued that this ethnic stratification has increasingly occurred in recent years, coinciding with an increase in immigration from non-European countries. Indeed, today's newcomers are not as successful as those who immigrated to Canada 20 to 25 years ago. The evidence shows rising poverty rates, employment difficulties, and less favourable economic prospects among immigrants in Canada during the last decade.

Finally, as Reitz (1988) has pointed out, Canada is not less prone to racism and hatred than anywhere else; less racial conflict does not mean less racial discrimination. Similarly, Li has argued that despite the fact that "Canada has developed constitutional and legislative protection to ensure that 'race', 'origin', and 'colour' are illegal grounds for differential treatments, in tacit recognition that these are unscientific concepts that undermine the principles of liberty, freedom, and equality …, these tools are insufficient to guarantee *de facto* racial equality" (2003c, 1; see also Li 2003b;

Reitz and Breton 1994; Reitz and Lum 2006, 30; Reitz and Banerjee 2007: 8-15; Henry and Tator 2006; and Johnson and Enomoto 2007).

Hence, despite the limitations attributed to John Porter's "Vertical Mosaic" theory (see Tepperman 1975; Helmes-Hayes and Curtis 1998; Isajiw 1999, 208-09; Breton 2005), there are, unfortunately, many social indicators that have become increasingly evident over the last few years that suggest a continued and strong link in Canada between immigrant or minority racial status and low socio-economic status. Immigrants and their descendants may be identified as "forever foreigners" on some level and, consequently, they are held back.

Drawing on these ideas, I argue that socio-ethnic stratification in Toronto has had an effect on patterns of marriage among ethnic groups and that these patterns have tended to follow the "colour line" stratification. This argument advances, and is supported by, both research on socio-economic homogamy that uses marriage patterns together with mobility patterns to describe how open stratification systems are (Glass 1954) and Blau's macro-sociological theory of social structure (Blau 1977), which links structural social differentiation (inequality) with unequal social association, including partnerships (see also Blum 1985; and Rytina, Blau, Blum, and Schwartz 1988).

It is, therefore, expected that partners belonging to ethnic groups that occupy a lower position within the Canadian socio-ethnic stratification who marry members of a "higher" status group are more likely to compensate for their "lower" ethno-racial status by contributing a relatively higher level of income and/or education. Moreover, it is predicted that due to an unequal labour structure that favors men over women, status exchange affects women more than men. That is, women who form partnerships with members of higher-status groups have to compensate for their lower social status to a greater degree than their male counterparts by matching or exceeding their spouse's education level. This hypothesis will be evaluated by looking at the education and income levels (same, lower, or higher) of men and women in both ethnically endogamous and ethnically exogamous partnerships.

Based on the aforementioned research concerning the social hierarchy of ethno-racial groups in Canada, this study uses the categories "high socio-ethnic status" (which includes British, French, North American, Western European, Northern European, Eastern European, and Southern European ethnic origins) and "low socio-ethnic status" (which includes Caribbean; Latin, Central, and South American; African and Maghrebi; Arab and West Asian; South Asian; and East and Southeast Asian

ethnic origins),[4] which will be used to associate the ethno-racial status of ethnically exogamous partners with their education and income levels. Pearson's Chi-square test will be applied.

DATA AND METHODS

The results I present in this paper draw on government-funded research conducted in Toronto between 2004 and 2005, which examined patterns of marriage and social stratification amongst ethnic groups by using data from the Census of Canada 2001 and by carrying out ethnographic fieldwork with the Chinese community in Toronto.[5] In this paper, however, I will focus on describing the statistical results for patterns of marriage among ethnic groups in general. The theoretical frame of this research includes ethnic identity, segmented assimilation, and socio-ethnic stratification theories as well as macro-sociological theory.

The quantitative data for this research effort came from a customized request to Statistics Canada for 2001 Census data (20 per cent sample) for the Toronto Census Metropolitan Area (CMA). In keeping with the objectives of this study, the data requested related to information about married or common-law opposite-sex couples in Census families arranged according to the ethnic group identified for each husband and wife. I will be using the word "intermarriage" to refer also to interethnic common-law unions in which the partners are not formally married. The variables used in the analysis were the following:

> *Ethnic group*: This term refers to the ethnic or cultural group to which the respondent's ancestors belong. In the Census, there are 232 ethnic origins and 25 categories and sub-categories, which I aggregated into the following 18 categories (single-ethnic responses):[6]

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[4] It must be acknowledged that these are contested categorizations, as they are both overly broad and internally heterogeneous and they most likely contain exceptions. They are, however, largely in keeping with previously released studies on socio-ethnic stratification in Canada. Moreover, while Jewish and Japanese ethnic origins form part of the discussion of this paper, and have been included in the various tables, the data for these two groups have not been included in the calculations specifically pertaining to "high" and "low" ethnic groups. The reason for the omission of these two groups is to reduce the bias in the correlations, since these two minority groups have particular features that make them more difficult to characterize as holding "high" or "low" socio-ethnic status, especially within the context of Toronto society.

[5] A separate paper on the Chinese community in Toronto—"Marriage Patterns among Chinese Communities in Toronto"—was presented at the annual Conference of the North American Chinese Sociologists Association in 2006 in Montreal, Canada, and is in the process of publication.

[6] Respondents in the Census 2001 are permitted to report more than one ethnic origin. People more likely to report multiple origins include those from European backgrounds whose ancestors have lived in Canada for several generations. In general, groups with a more recent history in Canada were more likely

British; French; North American; Northern European; Southern European; Eastern European; Western European; Jewish; Latin, Central, and South American; Caribbean; African origins and Maghrebi; Arab and West Asian; South Asian; East and Southeast Asian; Chinese; Korean; Filipino; and Japanese. The latter four categories, which are also included in the East and Southeast Asian category, were considered in both an aggregate manner and separately in order to, on one hand, observe general trends among East and Southeast Asians and, on the other, to examine individual group behaviours and interactions.

Although the variable "ethnic origin" can sometimes be problematic (for instance, the "French ethnic origin" category includes Acadians, which are a francophone regional group; "North American" as an ethno-cultural category is also problematic), I found that "ethnic origin" or "ancestry" was a more suitable variable than other available variables, such as "visible minority" (persons, other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour). First, I find "visible minority" a less relevant and a more biased category because it does not include Europeans, thereby limiting the possibilities for inter-group analysis and the exploration of socio-ethnic stratification dynamics. Previous work on intermarriage in Canada using the category "visible minority" has had this limitation (for example, Milan and Hamm 2004). Second, although there is a big overlap between the variables "visible minority" and "ethnic origin" in some cases (for example, Chinese), in other cases, minority ethnic groups may not necessarily be visible minorities or people of colour (Latin Americans and West Asians, for instance, are often not visible minorities). "Ethnic origin" is also a more useful variable than "country of birth" because it reveals more about the ancestry and the self-identification of the respondent and, thus, allows for a more meaningful examination of patterns of group interaction, permitting diachronic analysis of the variations in patterns of intermarriage across the different generations.

Place of birth: In order to analyze patterns of endogamy and exogamy between members of sub-communities, a separate set of tables presents data on Chinese populations by place of birth, since the ethnic origin category does not permit this type of analysis: China PRC (People's Republic of China), Hong Kong, Macau, Taiwan, and Total China (the latter which includes China PRC, Hong Kong, and Macau). The Chinese group was selected because it is the biggest visible minority group in Canada and the fifth largest ethnic group, after Canadian, English, Scottish, and Irish. In 2001, the number of individuals residing in Canada who identified themselves as ethnically Chinese was 1,094,700, representing 3.5 per cent of the total population. Moreover, 40 per cent of Canada's Chinese population – 435,685 people – resided in the Toronto metropolitan area, representing 10 per cent of the city's total population. Further, the Chinese communities' socio-economic characteristics and internal heterogeneity make them a very suitable group for exploring intermarriage patterns between ethnic sub-communities. Spearman's rank correlation coefficient was applied to evaluate the correlation between the group size and the endogamy rate variables.

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to report single responses. Single responses where chosen to avoid double counting.

Generation status: Generation status of the respondent refers to whether the respondent or the respondent's parents were born in or outside Canada. The following generation statuses were selected: first generation (foreign-born population, age at migration 13 years old or more/older); 1.5 generation (children of immigrants who were born outside Canada and who immigrated with their parents; age at migration 12 years old or less/younger); second generation (Canadians born to at least one foreign-born parent); and third-plus generation (Canadians born to parents who both were Canadian born).

Regarding the 1.5 generation, for the purpose of the study, it was important to differentiate between the first generation (foreign-born population) and those who immigrated as children or as adolescents. Children's experiences of immigration and socialization, which are affected by schooling in the adopted country, are not the same as adults', so the outcomes with respect to social interaction and couple formation will presumably be very different.

Income level: Three categories (same, lower, higher) were created to compare the total income levels, grouped into ten different ranges, of each partner: less than $20,000; between $20,000 and $29,999; between $30,000 and $39,999; between $40,000 and $49,999; between $50,000 and $59,999; between $60,000 and $69,999; between $70,000 and $79,999; between $80,000 and $89,999; between $90,000 and $99,999; more than $100,000.

Education level: Similarly, three categories (same level, lower level, higher level) were created to compare spouses' different levels of education, of which there were four choices: less than high school; high school; some postsecondary; university degree. Pearson's Chi-square test was applied.

Data for all variables were processed using Excel and Beyond 20-20 software, and statistical analysis was carried out using SPSS version 14.0 for Windows. Estimates in the main body of the statistical tables have been rounded to base 5 or base 10.[7]

Because of the nature of the customized data set from Statistics Canada's 2001 Census, which was released already grouped by couple, and not by individual, it was not possible to apply log-linear models or independent regression analysis, which would test the hypotheses more precisely. Multivariate analysis would have allowed for control of confounding factors (for example, the marginal distributions of men and women in each ethnic group), contributing factors to be isolated, and interactions among factors to be tested (for example, generational status, education, sex, ethnicity, population size, and the like). In the case of this study, each table looks at only one variable and is organized by couple, not by individual. In this way, it is not possible to know the education level or the income level of an isolated individual, since the data are already grouped, nor is it possible to test all the hypotheses jointly with a single model, since the tables are independent from

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[7] For detailed information on the methodology used by Statistics Canada, see
www.statcan.ca/english/sdds/5015.htm

each other. The results offered in this paper, therefore, are more descriptive in nature. They show interesting relationships between variables, are grounded in a large data set, and have independent theoretical and empirical support. An alternative methodological approach could be applied with different data.

FINDINGS

Ethnic Endogamy

As predicted, the general trend for all 18 selected ethnic groups analyzed was endogamy; that is, in 2001, most couples in Toronto were married or living in a common-law union with persons of the same ethnic group. As shown in Table 1 and Appendix 1, of the total 709,160 unions recorded for the Toronto CMA in 2001, 544,635, or 76.8 per cent, were ethnically non-mixed, and 164,525, and 23.2 per cent, were ethnically mixed. However, the findings show that some groups were more endogamous than others. The ethnic groups with the highest percentage of endogamous marriages were Asians, particularly South Asians (93.8 per cent) and East and Southeast Asians (91.8 per cent), especially Chinese (93.5 per cent), with the exception of Japanese (53.8 per cent). Arabs and West Asians (83.1 per cent) and Jews (82.9 per cent) also had high percentages of endogamy in 2001 (Table 1). European ethnic groups (with the exception of Southern Europeans) displayed higher rates of exogamy. These results were consistent with prior research on intermarriage in Canada (for example, Hurd 1964, 99-101; Jansen 1982; Kalbach 1983; Ram 1990, 216; Choinière and Robitaille 1990, 266; Milan and Hamm 2004, 4; for the US, see, for example, Kitano, Yeung, Chai, and Hatanaka 1984; Hwang et al. 1997; Lee and Fernandez 1998; for Europe, see, for example, Coleman 1994, 2004).

Table 1
Rates of Mixed and Non-mixed Unions (Marriage and Common-law) and Mixed Unions by Sex, by Selected Ethnic Origins [a]

Ethnic Origin	% Unions		% Mixed Unions by sex			
	Non-mixed	Mixed	Male		Female	
			%	Abs.	%	Abs.
South Asian	93.8	6.2	3.7	3,715	2.6	2,605
Chinese	93.5	6.5	2.6	2,405	4.1	3,800
East and Southeast Asian[b]	91.8	8.2	2.1	2,810	6.3	9,025
Korean	91.6	8.4	2.5	235	6.2	605
Arab and West Asian	83.1	16.9	12.2	3,255	6.0	1,495
Jewish	82.9	17.1	11.5	2,575	7.2	1,545
Filipino	80.8	19.2	3.0	675	17.1	4,460
Southern European	80.1	19.9	12.4	19,680	9.6	14,865
Caribbean	77.1	22.9	13.7	4,065	12.1	3,555
African origins and Maghrebi	77.1	22.9	16.9	1,860	8.5	845
Latin, Central, and South American	67.9	32.1	16.2	1,540	21.9	2,225
Eastern European	64.5	35.5	20.5	9,570	22.7	10,920
North American	60.9	39.1	22.6	13,130	25.9	15,680
Japanese	53.8	46.2	27.1	850	32.8	1,115
British	53.5	46.5	31.1	25,365	29.5	23,470
Western European	33.9	66.1	50.0	10,600	48.8	10,115
Northern European	23.4	76.6	59.5	1,430	64.4	1,760
French	15.5	84.5	69.2	3,540	76.2	5,030
TOTAL	76.8	23.2	24.4	103,135	24.4	103,135

Source: 2001 Census, Statistics Canada Custom Tabulation.

Notes: (a) Based on 20% sample, for single-ethnic response only.
   (b) Includes Chinese, Korean, Filipino, and Japanese.

The Chi-square test showed that the ethnic origins with higher rates of intermarriage were British; French; North American; Northern European; Western European; Eastern European; Latin, Central, and South American; and Japanese, and that the ethnic origins with lower rates of intermarriage were South Asian; East and Southeast Asian; Chinese; Korean; Filipino; Southern European; Jewish; Caribbean; African origins and Maghrebi; and Arab and West Asian. These differences in endogamy rates were significant at p-value <.05 (2-tailed). The Bonferroni correction was used to adjust the p-value of the multiple comparisons.

The French, Northern European, and Western European groups had the highest rates of intermarriage (Table 1 and Appendix 1). This result may seem inconsistent with previous investigations that have pointed out, for instance, that the French, particularly the native born, are amongst the most endogamous groups in Canada (Hurd 1964, 99-100; Richard 1991, 108-111, 147; Choinière and Robitaille 1990, 266). It should be taken into account, however, that 73.8 per cent of

the French respondents in this research sample married a member of some other European-origin group, as did 59.3 per cent of Northern Europeans and 57.4 per cent of Western Europeans. Furthermore, the results of the analysis showed a high rate of intermarriage between people of European origin and people included in the "other ethnic origins" category, which is comprised of all ethnic groups not listed (that is, Aboriginal origins; other European origins, not including Jewish origins; and Oceania origins) and all multiple-ethnic responses (accounting for about 25 per cent of the total responses). For instance, 35 per cent of both British and French respondents married people of "other ethnic origins." These results can partly be explained by the fact that the "other ethnic groups" category contains all the hyphenated responses, and among them, in great numbers, we can find combinations of two European ancestries, such as "French-British," "British-North American," or "Northern European-Western European." In other words, many intermarriages with people of "other ethnic origins" could, in fact, be unions between persons of similar ancestry, that is, European.

This trend towards a pan-ethnic choice of partner in intermarriage coincided with the findings of previous investigations (for example, Alba and Golden 1986, 203, 212). In the Toronto context, a significant percentage of the Latin, Central, and South Americans in this study, mostly females (60.2 per cent), were married to, or lived in common-law unions with, Southern Europeans (11.1 per cent) (see Appendices 1 and 2). For other groups, however, the choice of a pan-ethnic partner might have been limited by socio-cultural differences, such as language, as well as by historical conflicts between countries/regions that might be geographically close. On the basis of the available data, this appears to have been the case, for example, for Chinese from the People's Republic of China (hereafter referred to as PRC) and Chinese from Hong Kong, two communities that, while in close geographic proximity, do not seem to mix with one another in terms of marriage. In the Toronto case, 85.2 per cent of people born in the PRC were married to or were in common-law unions with partners also born in the PRC; the percentage of people born in the PRC who were married to people born in Hong Kong, however, was only 5.6 per cent. Similarly, in 2001, only 10.9 per cent of people born in Hong Kong were married to people born in the PRC. People from Hong Kong, however, were more exogamous, in general, than PRC Chinese: not only had a greater percentage married Chinese from the PRC, but also, they were more likely to have married people born in Taiwan, Macau, other Asian countries, or other non-Asian countries.

Table 2
Married or Common-law Couples with at Least One Partner Born in China (PRC),
by Selected Place of Birth of the Other Partner, Ages 40 and Younger

Sex of the partner born in China (PRC)	Total			China (Total)[c]			China, PRC			Hong Kong		
	N	%[a]	%[b]	N	%[a]	%[b]	N	%[a]	%[b]	N	%[a]	%[b]
Female	15,705	100.0	95.2	14,730	93.8	98.0	14,060	89.5	100.0	645	4.1	69.7
Male	14,860	100.0	90.0	14,355	96.6	95.5	14,060	94.6	100.0	280	1.9	30.3
Total	16,505	100.0	100.0	15,025	91.0	100.0	14,060	85.2	100.0	925	5.6	100.0

	Macau			Taiwan			Other Asian countries			All other countries		
	N	%[a]	%[b]	N	%[a]	%[b]	N	%[a]	%[b]	N	%[a]	%[b]
Female	30	0.2	75.0	55	0.4	57.9	505	3.2	63.9	415	2.6	69.2
Male	10	0.1	25.0	40	0.3	42.1	285	1.9	36.1	185	1.2	30.8
Total	40	0.2	100.0	95	0.6	100.0	790	4.8	100.0	600	3.6	100.0

Sex of the partner born in Hong Kong	Total			China (Total³)			China, PRC			Hong Kong		
	N	%[a]	%[b]	N	%[a]	%[b]	N	%[a]	%[b]	N	%[a]	%[b]
Female	6,670	100.0	78.8	5,480	82.2	89.0	280	4.2	30.3	5,130	76.9	100.0
Male	6,920	100.0	81.8	5,810	84.0	94.3	645	9.3	69.7	5,130	74.1	100.0
Total	8,460	100.0	100.0	6,160	72.8	100.0	925	10.9	100.0	5,130	60.6	100.0

	Macau			Taiwan			Other Asian countries			All other countries		
	N	%[a]	%[b]	N	%[a]	%[b]	N	%[a]	%[b]	N	%[a]	%[b]
Female	65	1.0	61.9	30	0.4	18.8	380	5.7	44.7	780	11.7	60.5
Male	40	0.6	38.1	130	1.9	81.3	470	6.8	55.3	510	7.4	39.5
Total	105	1.2	100.0	160	1.9	100.0	850	10.0	100.0	1,290	15.2	100.0

Source: 2001 Census, Statistics Canada Custom Tabulation, 20% sample.

Notes: (a) As a proportion of all couples.

(b) Proportion relative to the total number of couples with at least one partner of the given place of birth.

(c) Includes China, PRC, Hong Kong, and Macau.

Chinese-Canadians from Hong Kong and those from mainland China are distinguishable populations, not only by virtue of language (Cantonese, Mandarin, and the different dialects), but also because of differences, for example, in their socio-economic status, in their residential distribution, and/or in their histories of immigration to Canada (Luk and Lee 1996; Lo and Wang 2004, 2005). Hong Kong was part of the British Commonwealth for many years and it remains an important international trade centre. Therefore, Chinese people from Hong Kong are more oriented towards a capitalist socio-economic system and Western practices than immigrants from mainland China are. The former group arrived in Toronto, and in Canada, in general, chiefly during the 1980s,

prior to their PRC counterparts.[8] Hong Kongers entered Canada mainly as business immigrants and as independent immigrants whose skills, occupations, and experience were considered to be in demand in relation to the Canadian economy. As in the United States, this immigrant group made use of the resources provided by a welcoming multicultural policy, with many becoming very successful entrepreneurs and establishing strong community networks. In the years leading up to the return of Hong Kong to the PRC in 1997, for five consecutive years, Hong Kong had been the Greater Toronto Area's largest source of immigrants. In more recent years, though, the numbers of Hong Kong Chinese have been exceeded by immigrants from mainland China. The bulk of immigrants from PRC China arrived during the 1990s (particularly after the Tiananmen incidents in 1989). Due to the different arrival times of the two Chinese populations, the competition for government resources has created some degree of conflict between these communities. It is, therefore, reasonable to argue that all of these differences and ethnic fragmentations *within* the Chinese community have tended to produce corresponding variations in patterns of marriage within and without the group; that is, a trend towards endogamy within these two sub-communities emerges.[9]

Group Size, Segregation, and Institutional Completeness

Group size, as it often has been argued, can be a determining factor in rates of intermarriage; that is, intermarriage is more likely to occur among smaller populations since small group size limits the opportunities for interactions within the group. Conversely, bigger groups reduce the necessity for out-group interaction. This prediction has been tested by applying Spearman's rank correlation test (for data that are not normally distributed). The test showed that Spearman's coefficient (Rho) was 0.507. This coefficient is significantly distinct from zero (p-value = .032) and indicates a moderately positive correlation between the population size and the endogamy rate-variables.[10] The

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[8] Notably, beginning with the 1858 gold rush in British Columbia and, then, in response to the call for labourers to build the Canadian Pacific Railway in the late 1800s, Chinese people have been in Canada for well over a century and a half. Until the 1960s, however, restrictions and discriminatory immigration policies kept the Chinese population in Canada quite small. Only in more recent decades have waves of Chinese immigrants, largely from Hong Kong and from the People's Republic of China, made this ethnic group one of Canada's fastest growing minority populations (see Li 1998, 2005; Lo and Wang 2005).

[9] Batson, Qian, and Lichter (2006) have found similar outcomes among America's black population, highlighting that social, cultural, and economic barriers to marriage also exist between native-born African Americans and other, and newer, black populations. Rodríguez-García (2006*a*) has also found the same pattern among different African nationalities that are geographically and also culturally close but that have important historical differences that make them not inclined to intermarry, suggesting that neither spatial proximity nor affiliation to Islam fosters social cohesion to the extent that one might think.

[10] Values of Rho range from +1 (perfect correlation) through 0 (no correlation) to -1 (perfect negative correlation). In general, positive correlation coefficients up to 0.33 are considered to indicate weak

scatterplot (Figure 1, see also Appendix 3) shows a higher positive correlation between the two variables for some groups (for example, Chinese; South Asian; East and Southeast Asian; Southern European) than for others (for example, Korean; Jewish; Latin, Central, and South American).
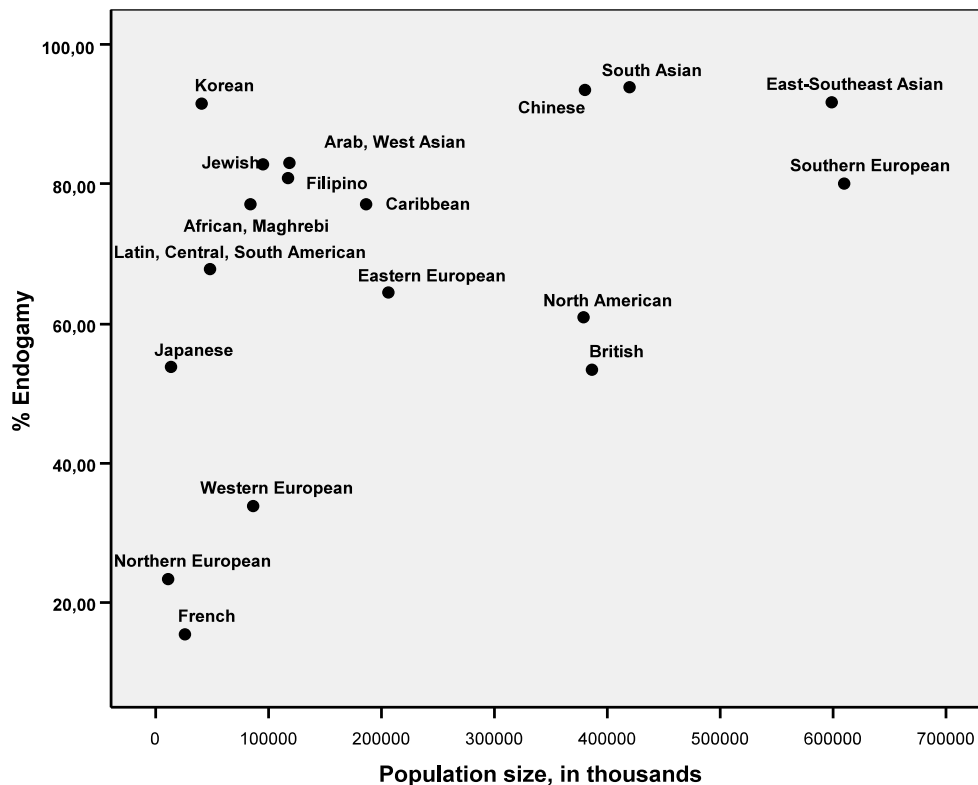
Figure 1. **Scatterplot of Population Size (Single-ethnic Response, n = 18) and Endogamy Rate.**

Source: 2001 Census, Statistics Canada Custom Tabulation.

For instance, the Chinese, who constitute very large group in the Toronto CMA, were in 2001, as already noted, among Toronto's most endogamous ethnic groups. This finding was consistent with previous research on Asian intermarriage conducted in Canada (Hurd 1964, 99-101; Jansen 1982; Kalbach 1983; Ram 1990:216; Choinière and Robitaille 1990, 266; Milan and Hamm 2004, 4), in the United States (for example, Kitano et al. 1984; Kibria 1997; Hwang et al. 1997; Lee and Fernandez 1998, Liang and Ito 1999), and in Europe (for example, Coleman 1994, 2004). In large Canadian cities, such as Toronto, where Chinese populations form a large ethnic minority (a "mijority," it could be termed), there is a greater tendency for Chinese people to marry within, since

relationships; 0.34 to 0.66 indicate medium strength relationships; and correlation coefficients over 0.67 indicate strong relationships.

they have a large selection of co-ethnic dating partners. In contrast, Japanese populations in Canada tend to be smaller; they, therefore, are more likely to move beyond ethnic boundaries and to intermarry.

"Institutional completeness" (Breton 1964), which often, but not always, correlates positively with group size, seems to be a factor that also can be associated with intermarriage rates. Again, the Chinese populations in Toronto not only constituted the biggest visible "minority" in 2001, but they also tended to be socio-economically successful and they possessed a high degree of in-group solidarity, albeit mostly amongst members originating from the same place. A tremendous range and diversity of institutional sectors exist within the community (for example, civic and cultural organizations, shopping malls, churches, newspapers, television channels and radio stations). Such a high degree of institutional completeness allows many members of Toronto's various Chinese populations to live their lives completely within the framework of their particular community, thus reducing their dependence on out-group institutions and interactions. In the case of ethnic Japanese residing inToronto, the fact that they were more exogamous can be explained not only by the relatively small size of the group, but also by the fact that during and immediately following the Second World War, Japanese Canadians were obliged to live in internment camps and relocation centres, with families often forcibly split up, leading to the formation of a less cohesive community.[11]

Another factor affecting marriage patterns that is often linked to both group size and institutional completeness is the geographic and residential distance between groups. In this regard, the findings from my investigation were consistent with previous research on this topic and confirmed that endogamy is higher among groups that are more geographically segregated (Hwang et al. 1997; Lieberson and Waters 1988). Using the example once more of Chinese populations living in Toronto, as one of the most endogamous ethnic groups, they also were amongst the most residentially segregated groups, with a higher rate of mother-tongue maintenance and a lower rates of English/French proficiency (Myles and Hou 2002, 19; Qadeer 2003, 4). These residential, language, and marriage patterns were similar to those of the Italians and Portuguese who migrated to Canada during the 1950s and 1960s and who still maintain high rates of endogamy (see Noivo 1999, 59-65, for an analysis of the Portuguese case in Toronto).

Of course, other factors, which may, in part, underlie the drive for institutional completeness or the preferred geographical separation of certain groups, can also be offered to explain the low rate of intermarriage among certain ethnic communities. In the case of Chinese Canadians, an additional deterrent towards exogamous couplings is, undoubtedly, racism and the historical social hostility towards marriages between Chinese immigrants and whites (Li 1998, 70).

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[11] For more information on the history of Japanese Canadians, see Takata 1983.

Generation and Gender

The findings of this research also confirmed that generation status is an important determinant of rates of endogamy and exogamy. As predicted, it has been found that rates of exogamy generally increase with the duration of residence and with immigrant generation status. In general (for the total ethnic origins for the Toronto CMA in 2001), the higher the generation status, the greater the percentage of intermarriage, both for men and women (Table 3). For instance, in couples comprised of men of any generation and third-generation women, 71.6 per cent were mixed, while only 21.5 per cent of couples comprised of men of any generation and women of first generation were mixed. The results were practically identical for men (71.2 per cent and 21.4 per cent, respectively).

Table 3
Married or Common-law Couples with a Partner of Total Generation Status, by the Generation of the Female/Wife or Male/Husband Partner and by Type of Couple (Non-mixed, Mixed)[a]

Generation Status of Wife/Female Partner	Total Couples		Non-mixed		Mixed	
	N	%[b]	N	%[c]	N	%[c]
Total Generation Status	1,064,275	100.0	606,015	56.94	458.255	43.06
First Generation	540,205	50.76	423,775	78.45	116.430	21.55
1'5 Generation	71,995	6.76	37,975	52.75	34.015	47.25
Second Generation	175,350	16.48	65,560	37.39	109.790	62.61
Third-plus Generation	276,725	26.00	78,715	28.45	198.015	71.56

Generation Status of Husband/Male Partner	Total Couples		Non-mixed		Mixed	
	N	%[b]	N	%[c]	N	%[c]
Total Generation Status	1,064,275	100.0	606,015	56.94	458,255	43.06
First Generation	560,500	52.66	440,300	78.55	120,205	21.45
1'5 Generation	66,980	6.29	30,740	45.89	36,245	54.11
Second Generation	170,015	15.97	58,270	34.27	111,740	65.72
Third-plus Generation	266,775	25.07	76,710	28.75	190,070	71.25

Source: 2001 Census, Statistics Canada Custom Tabulation, 20% sample.

Notes: (a) The total numbers include the "other ethnic origins" category, which is comprised of all ethnic groups not listed (i.e., Aboriginal origins; other European origins, not including Jewish origins; and Oceania origins) and all multiple ethnic responses.
(b) As a proportion of all couples.
(c) As a proportion of all couples of the given combination.

Patterns of intermarriage varied across different generations for each of the 18 ethnic origins investigated (Figure 2 and Appendix 4). A Chi-square test (see Appendix 5), confirmed that, for all

the ethnic groups, there were significant differences in the rates of exogamy between the different generations and that, in general, the rate of intermarriage increased through the generations.

These findings were consistent with previous research (for example, see Richard 1991, 106-111; Ram 1990, 225; Reitz 1980; and Isajiw 1990, for Canada; Lieberson and Waters 1988, for the United States). The second and third generations were likely to be more exogamous than first-generation immigrants because of the former's diversification of social networks and their increased opportunities for interaction, which were partly due to their higher education levels. First-generation immigrants, in contrast, tended to maintain a higher degree of involvement with their specific social networks. As Ram has suggested:

> one of the reasons why the propensity to intermarry is lower among persons originating from Asia, the Caribbean, and Southern Europe than from the U.S., Australia, and Western and Northern Europe, is the fact that immigrants from the former group of countries are more recent arrivals and therefore are less exposed to out-group relations. Once they have lived longer in Canada, their rate of intermarriage is likely to increase (Ram 1990, 225).

According to my data, in 2001 Chinese residents in Toronto were predominantly first-generation immigrants (80 per cent of the total Chinese population and, from the customized research sample, 92 per cent of the Chinese people who were married or in common-law unions) and, therefore, this group was more endogamous than, say, Western or Eastern Europeans, who had been in Canada for a significantly longer period of time (see Table 1 and Appendix 1). Notably, rates of intermarriage among Asian groups have been found to be higher in the United States than in Canada (for example, Wong 1989; Tuan 2003, 33-37). This reality can be explained, to a large degree, by the higher percentage of second-, third-, and even fourth-generation Asian Americans living in the US in comparison to the predominantly first-generation Chinese population that lives in Canada. Research has shown that many Chinese Canadians already had married a partner from the home country before immigrating to Canada.
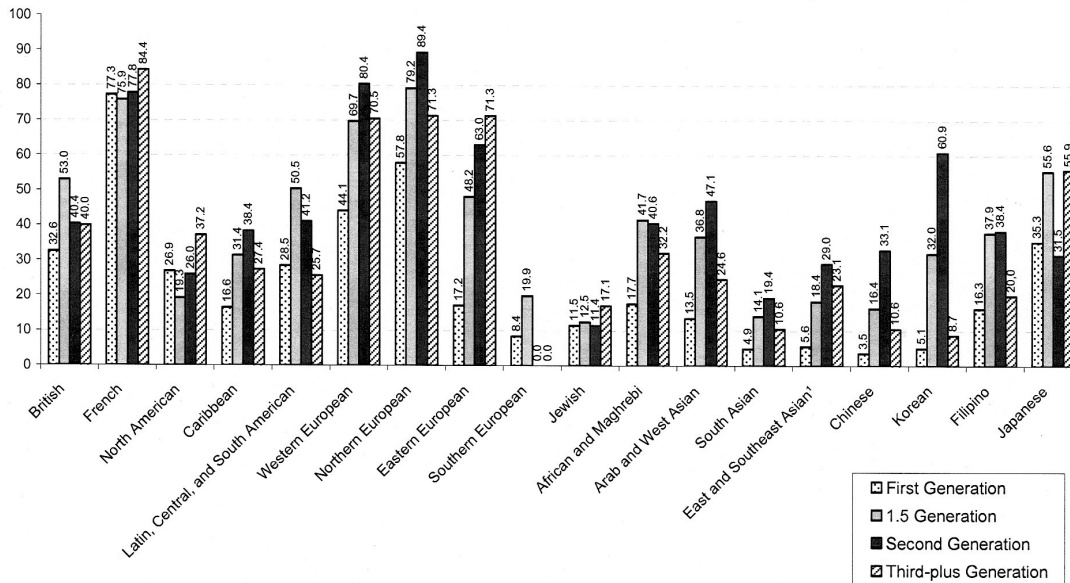
Figure 2. Proportions of Mixed Unions (Marriages and Common-law), by Ethnic Origin and Generation Status

Source: 2001 Census, Statistics Canada Custom Tabulation, 20% sample.
Note: (1) Includes Chinese, Korean, Filipino, and Japanese.

Although the results of this study generally (for the total ethnic groups) support the generation hypothesis, it must be noted that some inconsistency in the pattern appears in the data for the third-plus generation. In 2001, Canadians born to foreign-born parents (that is, members of the second generation), indeed, had a significantly higher tendency to marry outside their own ethnic origin than did first-generation and 1.5 generation immigrants from those same origins. For many groups, however, particularly those who were more recent arrivals and who occupied a lower socio-ethnic/racial status within Canadian society, there was a break in the pattern between the second and the third-plus generations, the latter of whose members were considerably more likely to marry endogamously than the two generations that preceded them (see Figure 2 and Appendix 4). It must be taken into account, though, that the absolute numbers for the members of the third-plus generations were much smaller, which made comparison with previous generations more difficult. As well, many people in third-plus generations may identify themselves either as Canadian or by more than one single-ethnic identification.

As for gender differences, the results showed that, in general, men and women were equally exogamous, but that, as predicted, minority men tended to marry out more often than minority women, with the exception of Asians (see Appendices 1 and 2). This finding was consistent with previous research (Hwang et al. 1997; Lee and Fernandez 1998; Qian 1997, 1999, 584; Qian et al. 2001; Jacobs and Labov 2002; Lee and Edmonston 2005, 13; Qian and Lichter 2007, 76-77). Furthermore, there were patterns in the Toronto data that suggested an intersection between gender

and ethno-racial variables. For instance, as shown in Figure 3, within the unions between people of Latin American and British origins, more unions occurred between Latin American females and British males (71.6 per cent) than the other way around (28.4 per cent). A further gender-specific pattern was that a greater number of unions took place between African males and females of European or North American origin (65.3 per cent, as an average) than between African females and European or North American males (34.7 per cent, as an average) (see Appendix 2).

Moreover, men of European origin married East Asian women more than they married Arab, African, or South Asian women (see Appendices 1 and 2). Related to this information, as shown in Table 4, is the fact that Chinese women were more ethnically exogamous (6.7 per cent) than Chinese men (4.4 per cent). Similarly, calculations based on single-ethnic response indicated that 4.1 per cent of Chinese females marry out as compared to 2.6 per cent of Chinese males (see Tables 1 and 4).

One factor explaining this specific trend could be that Chinese women living in Western societies might find that exogamous unions afforded them greater equality; in other words, Asian women might have more to gain through intermarriage than their male counterparts (Tzeng 2000, 334; Rodríguez-García 2006b; see also Desai and Subramanian 2003, 142, who found the same dynamics among South Asian youth in Toronto; and Lee 2004, 294-296, who found the same patterns among Korean females in New York). Furthermore, East Asian females traditionally have been fetishized and portrayed in literature and the media as feminine, exotic, docile, subservient, mysterious, and/or seductive. Such stereotypes and constructs might foster higher rates of couplings between European or North American men and East Asian women (Sung 1990; Qian 1997; Gaines and Liu 1997; Fujino 2000; Zhou and Lee 2004, 10).
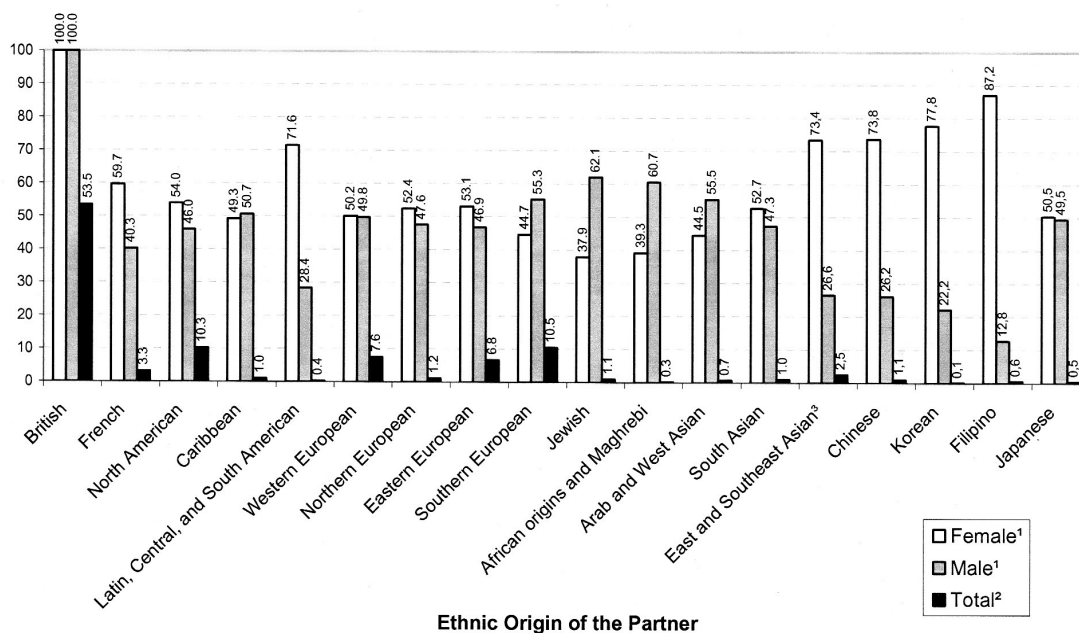
Figure 3. Proportion of Married or Common-law Couples in Census Families with a Partner of British Ethnic Origin, by the Sex and the Ethnic Origin of the Partner

Source: 2001 Census, Statistics Canada Custom Tabulation, 20% sample.
Notes: (1) Proportion relative to the total number of couples with at least one partner of the given ethnic origin.
      (2) As a proportion of all couples.
      (3) Includes Chinese, Korean, Filipino, and Japanese.

It should be noted, however, that the third-plus generations of East Asian Canadians, broke with the general pattern of increasingly exogamous behaviour through the generations (as previously mentioned, this pattern towards greater exogamy is apparent amongst the third-plus generations for most ethnic groups), and also displayed reversed gender trends as they apply to intermarriage. Within the third-plus generations, Chinese women, for instance, were more endogamous (89.1 per cent) than Chinese men of this same generation (85.9 per cent). Again, these results might be affected by the much smaller absolute numbers for the third-plus generations as well as by the potential for the use of different or multiple self-identifiers (for example, Canadian; Asian Canadian) among members of such populations. In contrast, single-ethnic identifiers were more likely to be selected by members of the first and second generations.

Table 4

Married or Common-law Couples with a Partner of Any Generation Status and Ethnic Origin, by the Generation of the Partner of Chinese Ethnic Origin and by Type of Couple (Non-mixed, Mixed)[a]

Generation Status of The Chinese Wife/ Female Partner	Total Couples		Non-mixed		Mixed	
	N	%[b]	N	%[c]	N	%[c]
Total Generation Status	95,890	100.00	89,445	93.28	6,445	6.72
First Generation	88,600	92.39	84,530	95.41	4,070	4.59
1.5 Generation	3,390	3.53	2,400	70.80	990	29.20
Second Generation	2,750	2.87	1,490	54.18	1,260	45.82
Third-plus Generation	1,150	1.20	1,025	89.13	125	10.87

Generation Status of the Chinese Husband/ Male Partner	Total Couples		Non-mixed		Mixed	
	N	%[b]	N	%[c]	N	%[c]
Total Generation Status	93,510	100.00	89,445	95.65	4,070	4.35
First Generation	87,175	93.22	84,730	97.20	2,445	2.80
1.5 Generation	2,910	3.11	2,250	77.32	660	22.68
Second Generation	2,325	2.49	1,530	65.81	795	34.19
Third-plus Generation	1,100	1.18	945	85.91	155	14.09

Source: 2001 Census, Statistics Canada Custom Tabulation, 20% sample.

Notes: (a) The total numbers include the "other ethnic origins" category, which is comprised of all ethnic groups not listed (i.e., Aboriginal origins; other European origins, not including Jewish origins; and Oceania origins) and all multiple ethnic responses.
(b) As a proportion of all couples.
(c) As a proportion of all couples of the given combination.

Homogamy, Socio-ethnic Stratification, and Status Exchange

The evidence from the data analyzed shows that, as predicted, most married and common-law unions, both ethnically endogamous and exogamous, were educationally homogamous. In the Toronto case in 2001, most couples were found to have similar educational levels. This finding was consistent with those from earlier studies (see, for instance, Kalmijn 1991, 1993, 1998; Qian 1997; Fu 2001; Rosenfeld, 2005; Rodríguez-García 2006a).

When looking at the income level variable, however, the first observation that can be noted is that, in general, for all ethnic origins, and for both mixed and non-mixed partnerships, the female/wife had a lower income than the male/husband. This pattern of income heterogamy shows a prevalent gender inequality in Toronto society, similar to most other societies in the world.

Moreover, and most importantly, a close examination of the relationship between socio-economic, ethno-racial, and gender variables leads to findings that support the status exchange hypothesis. In fact, the analysis of ethnically mixed couples with different educational or income attainments showed that both men and women, but especially women, who had high education or income levels but were from lower socio-ethnic status groups tended to marry spouses from higher ethno-racial status groups with relatively lower education and/or income levels. Thus, trends of both homogamy and asymmetry characterized many mixed unions in the Toronto CMA in 2001, sometimes, mutually exclusively and, in other cases, simultaneously.

Considering, first, the income levels of partners in ethnically mixed couples (marriage or common-law unions), Pearson's Chi-square test showed that, for husbands of high socio-ethnic status, there was a significant relationship between the socio-ethnic status and the income level of the female partner (chi-square = 203.7, p-value <.001). Moreover, for husbands of low socio-ethnic status, there was a significant relationship between the socio-ethnic status and the income level of the female partner (chi-square = 1189.6, p-value <.001). Table 5 shows the following trends with respect to income levels and status exchange:

a) In ethnically mixed couples formed by a male of high socio-ethnic status and a female of low socio-ethnic status, the females had a relatively higher income level than their male partners in relation to women of high socio-ethnic status in unions with their male counterparts. When looking at the distribution of incomes among high socio-ethnic status women, women with higher incomes than their spouses had the lowest representation: 95.6 per cent, as opposed to 96.9 per cent (equal) and 96.7 per cent (lower). In contrast, women of low socio-ethnic status who had higher incomes than their spouses were the most represented group: 4.4 per cent, as opposed to 3.1 per cent (equal) and 3.3 per cent (lower).

b) In ethnically mixed couples formed by a male of high socio-ethnic status and a female of high socio-ethnic status, the majority of females had either equal or lower income levels than their partners.

c) In ethnically mixed couples formed by a male of low socio-ethnic status and a female of high socio-ethnic status, the majority of females had either higher or lower income levels than their partners. This result might suggest some degree of status exchange for males of low socio-ethnic status, but it is far less conclusive than finding (a) in this list.

d) In ethnically mixed couples formed by a male of low socio-ethnic status and a female of low socio-ethnic status, the majority of females had either equal or lower income levels than their partners.

Table 5

Proportions of Ethnically Mixed Couples (Married or Common-law), by the Socio-ethnic Status[a] of Each Partner and by the Relative Income Level of the Female/Wife Partner

Socio-ethnic Status				Income Level		
				Lower	Equal	Higher
Status Male/ Husband	High	Status Female/ Wife	High	N	213,090	93,605	52,580
				%	*96.7*	*96.9*	*95.6*
			Low	N	7,270	3,035	2,440
				%	*3.3*	*3.1*	*4.4*
	Low	Status Female/ Wife	High	N	5,420	2,335	2,430
				%	*3.6*	*2.1*	*5.3*
			Low	N	143,705	111,505	43,310
				%	*96.4*	*97.9*	*94.7*

Socio-ethnic Status				Income Level [b]		
				Lower (A)	Equal (B)	Higher (C)
Status Male/ Husband	High	Status Female	High	C	C	
			Low			A B
	Low	Status Female	High	B		A B
			Low	C	A C	

Source: 2001 Census, Statistics Canada Custom Tabulation, 20% sample.

Notes: (a) "High" socio-ethnic status includes British, French, North American, Western European, Northern European, Eastern European, and Southern European ethnic origins; and "Low" socio-ethnic status includes Caribbean; Latin, Central, and South American; African and Maghrebi, Arab and West Asian; South Asian; and East Southeast Asian. Jewish and Japanese ethnic origins have not been included so as to reduce the bias in the correlations, since these two groups have features that make them more difficult to characterize as holding "High" or "Low" socio-ethnic status.

(b) The results show the difference between proportions in paired observations by column. The results are based on 2-tailed tests with significance p-value <.05. The Bonferroni correction was used to adjust the p-value of the multiple comparisons. For each significant paired observation, the key category with the lower proportion in the column appears below the category with the higher proportion in the column.

We can now look at some particular cases of the income-level variable. While Figure 4 illustrates that the women married to, or in common-law unions with, British men generally had lower incomes than their male partners, it also shows that the percentage of women with higher incomes than the men was greater among ethnic groups that occupied a lower status in the socio-ethnic structure (for example, South Asian or Caribbean). Caribbean women, for instance, (a category that is comprised mostly of women of colour) who were married to British men had a relatively high percentage of equal income level (28 per cent); notably, this percentage was higher than the equal income level percentages for women in any other ethnic group. Furthermore, South Asian women married to British men had a relatively large percentage in the higher income level (33 per cent). While not definitive, these findings might suggest the exchange of a woman's relatively low social status for her relatively higher economic status.

Similarly, as seen in Figure 5, South Asian men who were married to women of higher socio-ethnic standing had a higher level of income than South Asian men who were married to South Asian women. In unions between two South Asian partners, 52.7 per cent of the men had higher incomes than their spouses; however, 59.1 per cent of South Asian men married to British women had higher incomes, and 68.4 per cent of South Asian men married to North American women had higher incomes. The men, thus, appeared to be making relatively greater financial contributions in unions in which their ethnic status might have been perceived disadvantageously.

Ethnic Origin of Wife/Female Partner
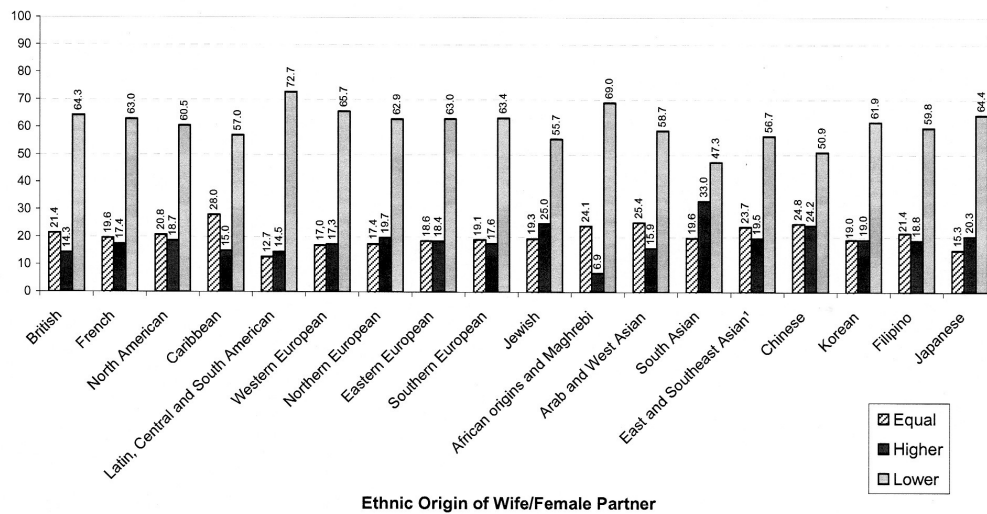
Figure 4. Proportion of Married or Common-law Couples in Census Families with a Male Partner of British Ethnic Origin, by Selected Ethnic Origin of the Female Partner and by the Relative Income Level of the Female Partner

Source: 2001 Census, Statistics Canada Custom Tabulation, 20% sample.
Note: (1) East and Southeast Asian includes Chinese, Korean, Filipino, and Japanese.
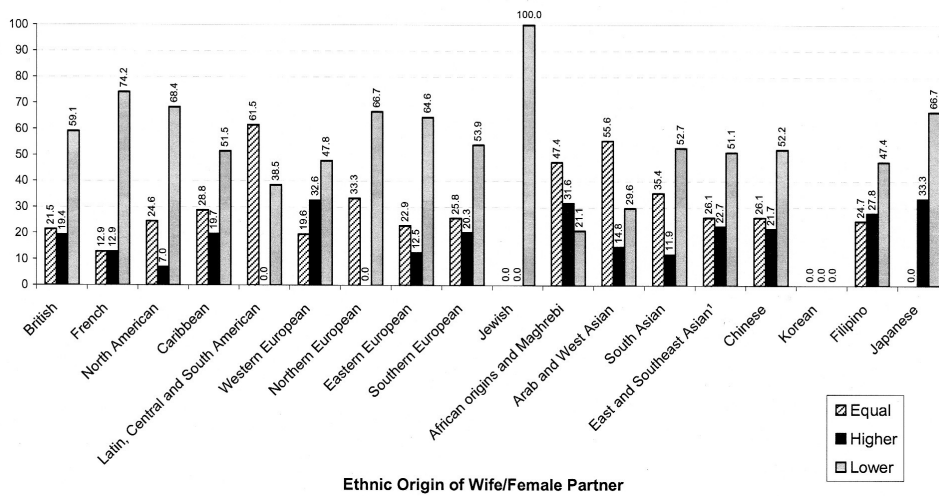
Figure 5. Proportion of Married or Common-law Couples in Census Families with a Male Partner of South Asian Ethnic Origin, by Selected Ethnic Origin of the Female Partner and by the Relative Income Level of the Female Partner

Source: 2001 Census, Statistics Canada Custom Tabulation, 20% sample.
Note: (1) East and Southeast Asian includes Chinese, Korean, Filipino, and Japanese.

Similar dynamics occurred in a number of other cases. Figure 6 shows that nearly 67 per cent of Japanese women married to Caribbean men had a lower income level and that about 33 per cent had an equal income level. No Japanese women in these unions, however, had higher incomes. Again, the status exchange argument could perhaps explain these statistics. The Japanese women did not need to have a higher income status than their husbands since Japanese women's socio-ethnic status in the Toronto social hierarchy was higher than that of Caribbean men; the women's ethnic status, thus, compensated for any financial "deficits," and the converse could be said regarding the men in such unions.

With respect to levels of educational attainment, the findings from this research were in keeping with those from previous studies (Kalmijn 1993; Qian 1997; Fu 2001). The findings showed, first, that there was a predominance of homogamy in the Toronto CMA in 2001 (that is, most couples, both endogamous and exogamous, had an equal level of education) and, second, that in ethnically mixed couples, for partners, and especially for women, of low ethno-racial and social status who married people of higher ethno-racial and social status, compensation took place in terms of education. These differences were statistically significant and, again, give support to the status exchange hypothesis.

Figure 6. Proportion of Married or Common-law Couples in Census Families with a Male Partner of Caribbean Ethnic Origin, by Selected Ethnic Origin of the Female Partner and by the Relative Income Level of the Female Partner

Source: 2001 Census, Statistics Canada Custom Tabulation, 20% sample.
Note: (1) East and Southeast Asian includes Chinese, Korean, Filipino, and Japanese.

The Chi-square test showed that, for husbands of high socio-ethnic status, there was a significant relationship between the socio-ethnic status and the education level of the female partner (chi-square = 493.1, p-value <.001); moreover, for husbands of low socio-ethnic status, there was a significant relationship between the socio-ethnic status and the education level of the female partner (chi-square = 477.0, p-value <.001). Table 6, which displays the results for education levels among ethnically mixed couples (marriage or common-law unions), indicates the following trends:

a) In ethnically mixed couples formed by a male of high socio-ethnic status and a female of low socio-ethnic status, the females had a higher education level than their male partners in relation to women of high socio-ethnic status in unions with their male counterparts. When looking at the distribution of education levels among women with high socio-ethnic status, women with higher education levels than their spouses had the lowest representation: 95.2 per cent, as opposed to 96.9 per cent (equal) and 96.9 per cent (lower). In contrast, women of low socio-ethnic status who had higher education levels than their spouses were the most represented group: 4.8 per cent, as opposed to 3.1 per cent (equal) and 3.1 per cent (lower).

b) In ethnically mixed couples formed by a male of high socio-ethnic status and a female of high socio-ethnic status, the majority of females had equal or lower education levels than their partners.

c) In ethnically mixed couples formed by a male of low socio-ethnic status and a female of high socio-ethnic status, the females had higher or lower education levels than their partners in relation to women of low socio-ethnic status in unions with men of similar socio-ethnic status. This result might suggest some degree of status exchange for males of low socio-ethnic status, but it is far less conclusive than finding (a) in this list.

d) In ethnically mixed couples formed by a male of low socio-ethnic status and a female of low socio-ethnic status, the majority of females had equal or lower education levels than their partners.

Table 6
Proportions of Ethnically Mixed Couples (Married or Common-law), by the Socio-ethnic Status[a] of Each Partner and by the Relative Education Level of the Female/Wife Partner

Socio-ethnic Status					Education Level		
					Lower	Equal	Higher
Status Male/ Husband	High	Status Female/ Wife	High	N	78,055	221,500	59,870
				%	96.9	96.9	95.2
			Low	N	2,460	7,055	3,040
				%	3.1	3.1	4.8
	Low	Status Female/ Wife	High	N	2,840	5,555	1,970
				%	3.7	2.9	5
			Low	N	73,705	187,100	37,760
				%	96.3	97.1	95

Socio-ethnic Status				Education Level [b]		
				Lower (A)	Equal (B)	Higher (C)
Status Male/ Husband	High	Status Female	High	C	C	
			Low			A B
	Low	Status Female	High	B		A B
			Low	C	A C	

Source: 2001 Census, Statistics Canada Custom Tabulation, 20% sample.

Notes: (a) "High" socio-ethnic status includes British, French, North American, Western European, Northern European, Eastern European, and Southern European ethnic origins; and "Low" socio-ethnic status includes Caribbean; Latin, Central, and South American; African and Maghrebi, Arab and West Asian; South Asian; and East Southeast Asian. Jewish and Japanese ethnic origins have not been included so as to reduce the bias in the correlations, since these two groups have features that make them more difficult to characterize as holding "High" or "Low" socio-ethnic status.
(b) The results show the difference between proportions in paired observations by column. The results are based on 2-tailed tests with significance p-value <.05. The Bonferroni correction was used to adjust the p-value of the multiple comparisons. For each significant paired observation, the key category with the lower proportion in the column appears below the category with the higher proportion in the column.

Some particular cases can now be presented to illustrate these trends. Figure 7 shows that nearly 50 per cent of British and Filipina couples had equal education levels and that, significantly, in 37 per cent of these couples, the Filipina wife/female had a higher education level than her British husband (although, as previously shown in Figure 4, nearly 60 per cent of Filipina women had a lower income level than their British husbands). Again, it could be argued that the Filipina female had to bring more to the union in terms of education when her partner belonged to an ethnic group that was above hers on the socio-ethnic scale. The same trend regarding educational attainment can be seen for British-South Asian couples (in which, as was noted earlier, 33 per cent of the South Asian women also had higher incomes than their British male partners).

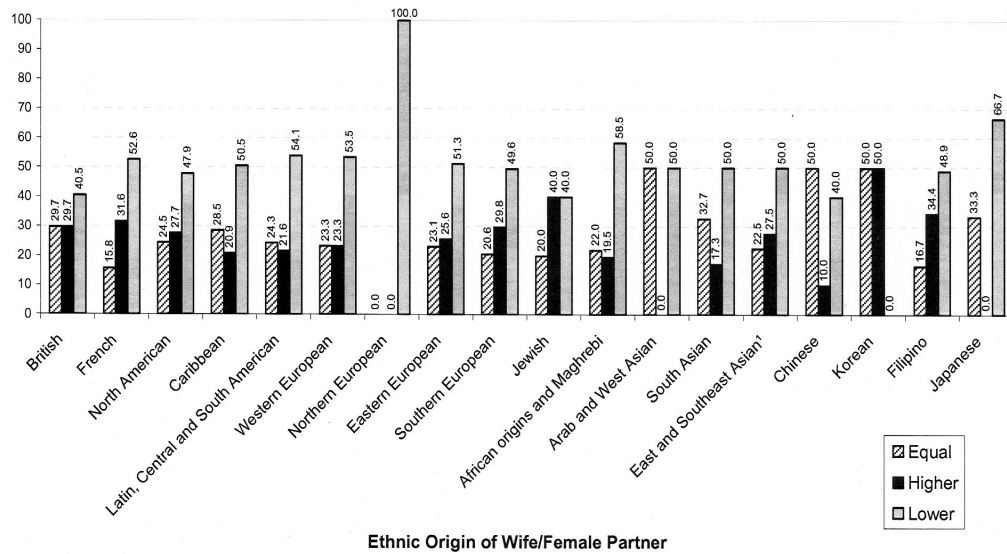
Ethnic Origin of Wife/Female Partner
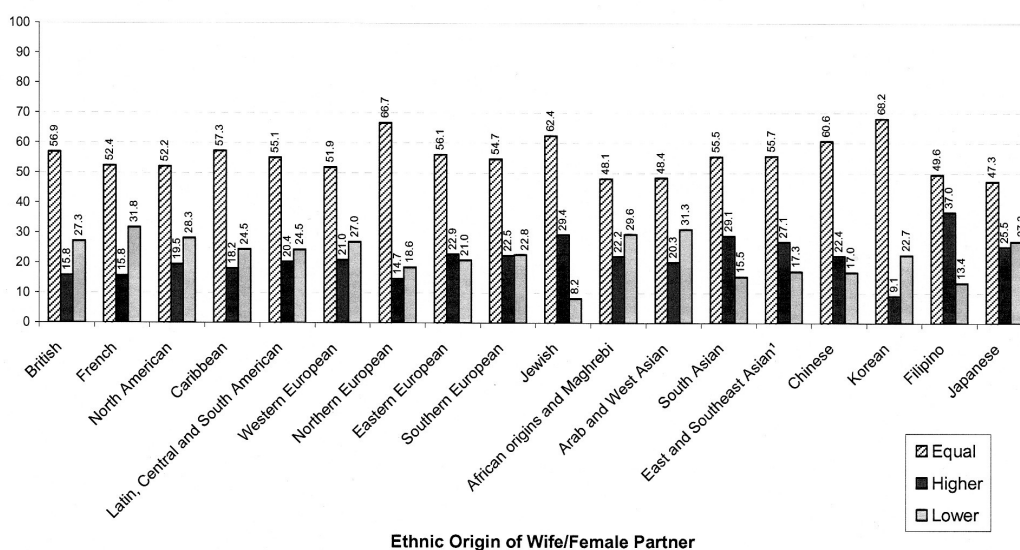
Figure 7. Proportion of Married or Common-law Couples in Census Families with a Male Partner of British Ethnic Origin, by Selected Ethnic Origin of the Female Partner and by the Relative Education Level of the Female Partner

Source: 2001 Census, Statistics Canada Custom Tabulation, 20% sample.
Note: (1) East and Southeast Asian includes Chinese, Korean, Filipino, and Japanese.

A further example, shown in Figure 8, was that African and Maghrebi men who were married to British women had a greater percentage of higher education levels (36.8 per cent) than British men who were married to British women (27.3 per cent, as shown earlier in Figure 7). Significantly, although British-British couples had a higher percentage of equal education levels, thus corroborating the overall trend of educational homogamy, the higher/lower percentages were the ones that indicated status exchange.
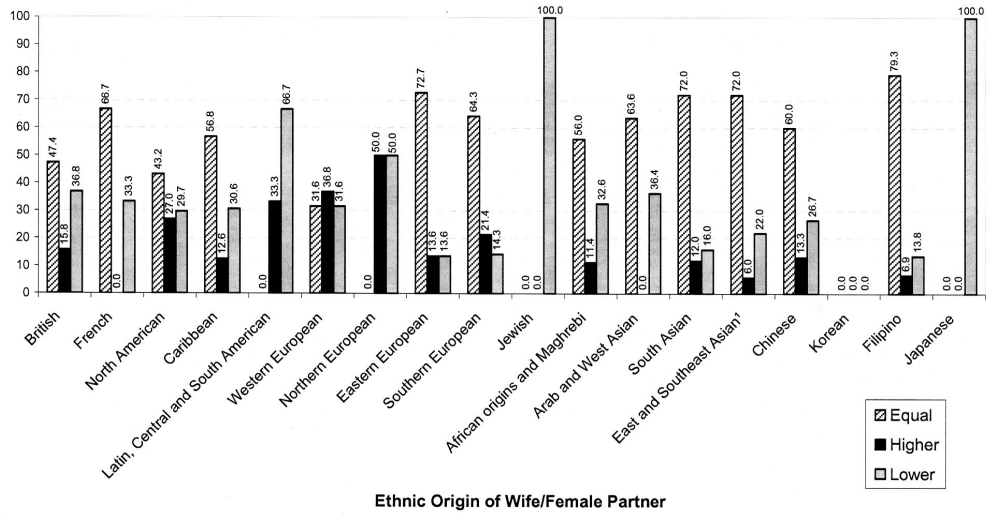
Figure 8. Proportion of Married or Common-law Couples in Census Families with a Male Partner of African and Maghrebi Ethnic Origin, by Selected Ethnic Origin of the Female Partner and by the Relative Education Level of the Female Partner

Source: 2001 Census, Statistics Canada Custom Tabulation, 20% sample.
Note: (1) East and Southeast Asian includes Chinese, Korean, Filipino, and Japanese.

Similarly, Figure 9 shows that Caribbean males who were married to North American or British women tended to be more educated in relation to their spouses than was the case with Caribbean males who were married Caribbean females: The percentages of men having a higher education level in these three types of unions were 22 per cent, 19.6 per cent, and 15.4 per cent, respectively.
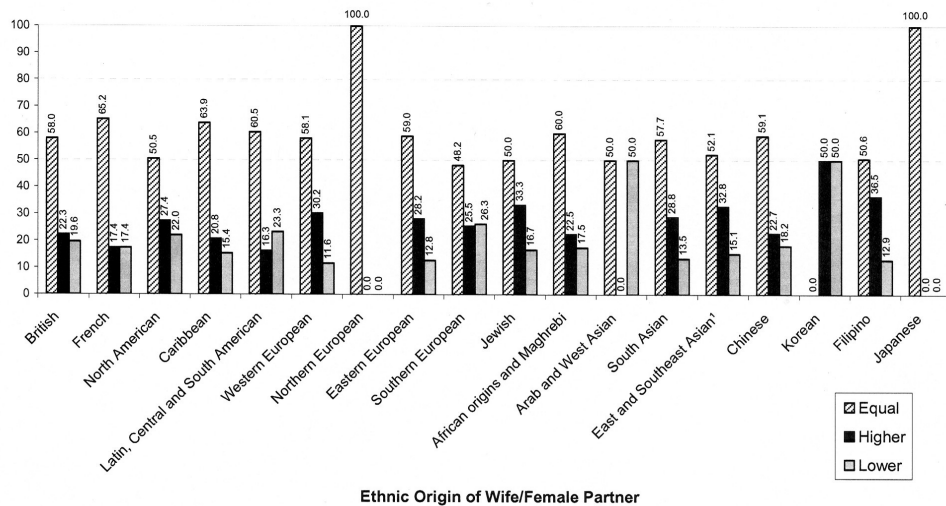
Figure 9. Proportion of Married or Common-law Couples in Census Families with a Male Partner of Caribbean Ethnic Origin, by Selected Ethnic Origin of the Female Partner and by the Relative Education Level of the Female Partner

Source: 2001 Census, Statistics Canada Custom Tabulation, 20% sample.
Note: (1) East and Southeast Asian includes Chinese, Korean, Filipino, and Japanese.

All of these examples, once again, seem to demonstrate that when people who belong to ethnic groups that occupy a lower status in the Canadian socio-ethnic stratification married with persons of ethnic groups that were socially and economically "above" them, they were more likely to compensate with higher education levels and/or incomes.[12]

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This study has examined patterns of marriage and socio-ethnic stratification among ethnic groups in Toronto, Canada, focusing on the intersections between race/ethnicity, class, and gender. By using approaches that link structural social differentiation with unequal social association (developed by Merton 1941; Davis 1941; Breton 1964; Leach 1967; Glass 1954; Blau 1977, 1984;

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[12] Admittedly, some data from this research do not show this pattern as clearly, as in the case of African and Maghrebi women married to British men, who have a greater percentage of lower education levels than their British husbands (29.6 per cent) in relation to females from many of the other ethnic groups (see Figure 7). Notably, however, the percentage of equal education level in these same African/Maghrebi–British unions is quite high. Further, the absolute numbers are much smaller for the aforementioned unions (120) than they are for couples, say, formed by British males and Filipina females (580). See Appendix 1.

Kalmijn 1993, 1998; Qian 1999; Rytina et al. 1988; among others), I have argued that patterns of endogamy and exogamy are a crucial test for analyzing social structure and for evaluating how relevant racial, ethnic, and social boundaries are in a given society.

The results from a customized 20 per cent data sample from Statistics Canada's 2001 Census demonstrate that the general trend in Toronto, Canada, is endogamy; that is, people tend to marry within the same ethnic group, although some groups (for example, Asian ethnic origins) were found to be more endogamous than others (for example, Northern European ethnic origins). The higher rates of endogamy among certain ethnic groups can partially be explained by the size and the "institutional completeness" of the ethnic group, but these patterns also can be attributed to other socio-cultural factors (for example, religion, language, or historical conflicts).

The findings also demonstrated that rates of intermarriage generally increase with the duration of residence and with the immigrant generation status, particularly between the first and the second generations, and that minority men tend to marry out more often than minority women, with the exception of those from Asian ethnic origins.

The analysis further revealed that social class variables always were relevant. For example, educational homogamy and income heterogamy were found to be favourable to men, with the latter suggesting that economic discrimination towards women remains a realtity in present in modern-day Toronto society. In this study, these results can be said to be general trends both in ethnically mixed and non-mixed couples.

In addition, and most importantly, the results of this study suggest the presence of status exchange in intermarriages in Toronto, whereby marriage market participants exchange socio-ethnic status for education and income in their spouses, a consequence of socio-ethnic stratification. That is, in ethnically mixed couples with different educational or income attainments, partners from lower socio-ethnic status groups who marry spouses from higher ethno-racial status groups tended to have relatively higher education and income levels than their partners in relation to couples in which both members had high ethno-racial status. In other words, minority members have to "compensate," or bring more educational and economic resources to the marriage market, when they marry someone from an ethnic group of higher social standing. The aggregated research results, used for the Chi-square tests, also showed that this pattern may be more pronounced among women than men. Women from lower ethno-racial status groups who intermarried may have to contribute greater educational and income assets than their male counterparts as a result of the triple discrimination that they experience in terms of ethnic status, gender, and class.

In summary, consistent with the literature on intermarriage, the results of this research largely show that, even in a city like Toronto, a place whose unparalled ethnic diversity has been supported by official multicultural and equity policies, thus making it one of the least segmented Western societies in the world, people tend to marry partners within their own ethno-racial and socio-economic groups. Notably, endogamy, in and of itself, does not necessarily imply social inequality. Traditional views and judgments regarding practices of exogamy and endogamy have usually been

too simplistic, portraying intermarriage as the recipe for social harmony, equality, or cohesion, and endogamy as a sign of ghettoization and a lack of integration. Unlike the classical assimilation theory (Gordon 1964), which assumes that intermarriage is the final step in immigrants' gradual and inevitable conformity to the mainstream values and norms, the new segmented assimilation theory (Alba and Nee 2003) has highlighted the complex and varied nature of the integration and assimilation processes. Indeed, marriage outcomes are the result of both individual and contextual factors, of choices and constraints, and endogamy may be a beneficial choice for cultural, social, or economic reasons. Furthermore, segregation and assimilation patterns likely have different meanings in different contexts. Being endogamous in Canada may not have exactly the same meaning as being endogamous, for instance, in France, Ireland, or the United States (see Rodriguez-Garcia 2004 and 2006a).

Nonetheless, the finding that status exchange was occurring within certain types of intermarriages in Toronto, Canada in 2001, can be considered to be a very significant result of this study. Indeed, it can be taken to suggest that, at some level, social and structural inequalities are underlying the segregation of different groups. Based on the city's patterns of intermarriage, Toronto, in fact, appears to be more of a "vertical" than a "horizontal" mosaic in terms of its social structure, a reality that policy makers will need to address.

I believe that this analysis has important implications for future research on intermarriage and interethnic relations, particularly because of the study's elucidation of the intersections between race/ethnicity, class, and gender. The results convey the greater-than-expected complexity of the dynamics of interethnic relations in plural contexts that are assumed to be horizontal.

Much research remains to be done in order better to understand the complex nature of the processes of social interaction at intimate levels. Multimethod investigations that combine large-scale data with fieldwork, which will avoid bias at macro (structural), meso (community), and micro (individual) levels of analysis, in addition to analyses using different variables and groupings, are needed both to test further the validity of the stratification and status-exchange theories and also to evaluate more effectively the connections between the various race/ethnicity, class, and gender factors. The present study was limited by the nature of the customized data set, which did not allow for the application of log-linear models or multivariate or regression analysis, which would have allowed the hypotheses to be tested more precisely. Still, the findings presented here show interesting associations between variables and provide a starting point for future research. Certainly, the results of this study demonstrate that further investigation is worthwhile. As researchers in the field have been claiming for over a century, patterns of intermarriage do appear to be one of the most important tests for determining societal structure and for exposing social boundaries.

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APPENDIX 1
Numbers and Proportions of Married or Common-law Opposite Sex Couples in Census Families, by Selected Ethnic Origins of Husband/Male and Wife/Female [a]

Ethnic Origin of Husband/Male Partner		Total	British	French	North American	Caribbean	Latin, Central, and South American	Western European	Northern European	Eastern European	Southern European	Jewish	African origins and Maghrebi	Arab and West Asian	South Asian	East and Southeast Asian [b]	Chinese	Korean	Filipino	Japanese
Total	N	709,160	79,650	6,650	60,565	29,260	10,180	20,735	2,735	48,090	154,275	21,450	9,960	24,890	98,570	142,195	93,245	9,810	26,125	3,400
British	N	81,545	56,180	2,055	5,810	540	265	3,985	650	3,780	4,930	425	120	325	545	1935	830	105	580	280
	%	-	53.50	3.28	10.25	1.04	0.35	7.57	1.18	6.78	10.51	1.07	0.29	0.70	0.99	2.51	1.07	0.13	0.63	0.53
French	N	5,115	1,385	1,575	410	65	45	325	10	370	520	55	15	40	45	255	90	10	100	30
	%	-	33.91	15.52	8.03	1.58	0.79	8.38	0.74	7.69	15.13	1.33	0.44	1.13	1.92	3.40	1.23	0.20	1.08	0.54
North American	N	58,015	4,955	405	44,885	635	230	1,365	150	1,115	2,375	160	115	85	310	1,230	435	50	515	145
	%	-	14.61	1.11	60.91	2.12	0.61	4.32	0.45	3.08	8.25	0.55	0.39	0.47	0.83	2.30	0.88	0.09	0.82	0.35
Caribbean	N	29,770	555	95	930	25,705	205	225	25	195	690	45	205	50	255	590	110	15	430	20
	%	-	3.29	0.48	4.70	77.13	0.90	1.35	0.12	1.05	3.81	0.23	2.28	0.59	1.76	2.33	0.60	0.08	1.44	0.09
Latin, Central, and South American	N	9,495	105	35	220	95	7,955	45	0	130	520	20	15	35	35	285	30	25	215	10
	%	-	3.16	0.68	3.84	2.56	67.88	1.37	0.13	2.77	11.13	0.55	0.51	1.28	0.81	3.33	0.73	0.21	2.13	0.09
Western European	N	21,220	3,960	525	1,815	225	115	10,620	225	1,075	1,470	80	45	100	220	745	290	30	290	110
	%	-	25.36	2.71	10.15	1.44	0.51	33.89	1.21	7.24	10.79	0.73	0.49	0.91	1.55	3.02	1.23	0.10	1.04	0.53
Northern European	N	2,405	590	65	185	15	15	155	975	130	180	25	10	10	10	40	15	0	10	20
	%	-	29.77	1.80	8.04	0.96	0.36	9.12	23.41	7.80	10.80	2.40	0.60	1.44	1.92	1.56	0.72	0.00	0.24	0.48
Eastern European	N	46,740	3,335	410	1,155	155	195	1,195	195	37,170	1,695	295	45	195	120	580	260	20	195	65
	%	-	12.34	1.35	3.94	0.61	0.56	3.94	0.56	64.46	7.49	1.57	0.30	0.92	0.61	1.34	0.58	0.05	0.40	0.18
Southern European	N	159,090	6,110	1,015	3,705	580	785	1,910	270	2,625	139,410	315	90	385	465	1,425	480	85	670	90
	%	-	6.35	0.88	3.50	0.73	0.75	1.94	0.26	2.48	80.14	0.39	0.15	0.64	0.64	1.15	0.41	0.07	0.49	0.10
Jewish	N	22,480	695	80	245	30	45	150	75	610	355	19,905	15	35	55	185	65	15	50	35
	%	-	4.66	0.56	1.69	0.31	0.27	0.96	0.42	3.77	2.79	82.85	0.06	0.31	0.37	0.98	0.40	0.06	0.21	0.21
African origins and Maghrebi	N	10,975	185	30	170	555	45	110	15	130	165	0	9,115	50	145	260	80	0	135	20
	%	-	2.58	0.38	2.41	6.43	0.51	1.31	0.21	1.48	2.16	0.13	77.12	0.89	2.03	2.37	0.76	0.00	1.14	0.17
Arab and West Asian	N	26,650	405	75	265	145	115	185	50	335	735	40	55	23,395	235	615	125	40	340	45
	%	-	2.59	0.41	1.24	0.69	0.53	1.01	0.21	1.88	3.98	0.27	0.37	83.12	1.37	2.31	0.52	0.18	1.21	0.20
South Asian	N	99,680	490	150	305	330	60	265	70	230	655	35	95	150	95,965	880	245	10	520	20
	%	-	1.01	0.19	0.60	0.57	0.09	0.47	0.08	0.34	1.09	0.09	0.23	0.38	93.82	1.02	0.34	0.01	0.53	0.03
East and Southeast Asian [b]	N	135,980	700	90	465	185	105	200	25	195	575	50	20	35	165	133,170	90,190	9,405	22,075	2,510
	%	-	1.82	0.24	1.17	0.53	0.27	0.65	0.04	0.53	1.38	0.16	0.19	0.45	0.72	91.84	62.98	6.56	15.32	1.88
Chinese	N	91,850	295	35	210	90	55	95	15	75	240	30	10	20	105	90,575	89,445	130	310	175
	%	-	1.18	0.13	0.67	0.21	0.09	0.40	0.03	0.35	0.75	0.10	0.09	0.15	0.37	95.47	93.51		0.43	0.33
Korean	N	9,440	30	10	15	10	0	0	0	10	40	0	0	10	0	9,315	75	9,205	10	25
	%	-	1.34	0.20	0.65	0.25	0.25	0.30	0.00	0.30	1.24	0.15	0.00	0.50	0.10	94.72	2.04	91.64	0.25	0.55
Filipino	N	22,340	85	10	90	50	35	35	0	35	180	0	0	0	20	21,800	100	15	21,665	0
	%	-	2.48	0.41	2.26	1.79	0.93	1.21	0.04	0.86	3.17	0.19	0.50	1.27	2.01	82.87	1.53	0.09	80.84	0.11
Japanese	N	3,135	275	25	110	10	0	55	0	40	85	15	0	10	15	2,495	140	30	30	2,285
	%	-	13.06	1.29	6.00	0.71	0.24	3.88	0.47	2.47	4.12	1.18	0.47	1.29	0.82	64.00	7.41	1.29	0.71	53.76

Source: 2001 Census, Statistics Canada Custom Tabulation., 20% sample.

Notes: (a) Based on 20% sample, for single-ethnic response only.
(b) Includes Chinese, Korean, Filipino, and Japanese.

APPENDIX 2
Proportions of Married or Common-law Couples, by Selected Ethnic Origin of Husband/Male and Wife/Female [a]

Ethnic Origins		British	French	North American	Caribbean	Latin, Central, and South	Western European	Northern European	Eastern European	Southern European	Jewish	African origins and Maghrebi	Arab and West Asian	South Asian	East and Southeast Asian[d]	Chinese	Korean	Filipino	Japanese
British	Total[b]	53.50	3.28	10.25	1.04	0.35	7.57	1.18	6.78	10.51	1.07	0.29	0.70	0.99	2.51	1.07	0.13	0.63	0.53
	Female[c]	100.0	59.7	54.0	49.3	71.6	50.2	52.4	53.1	44.7	37.9	39.3	44.5	52.7	73.4	73.8	77.8	87.2	50.5
	Male[c]	100.0	40.3	46.0	50.7	28.4	49.8	47.6	46.9	55.3	62.1	60.7	55.5	47.3	26.6	26.2	22.2	12.8	49.5
French	Total	33.91	15.52	8.03	1.58	0.79	8.38	0.74	7.69	15.13	1.33	0.44	1.13	1.92	3.40	1.23	0.20	1.08	0.54
	Female	40.3	100.0	50.3	40.6	56.3	38.2	13.3	47.4	33.9	40.7	33.3	34.8	23.1	73.9	72.0	50.0	90.9	54.5
	Male	59.7	100.0	49.7	59.4	43.8	61.8	86.7	52.6	66.1	59.3	66.7	65.2	76.9	26.1	28.0	50.0	9.1	45.5
North American	Total	14.61	1.11	60.91	2.12	0.61	4.32	0.45	3.08	8.25	0.55	0.39	0.47	0.83	2.30	0.88	0.09	0.82	0.35
	Female	46.0	49.7	100.0	40.6	51.1	42.9	44.8	49.1	39.1	39.5	40.4	24.3	50.4	72.6	67.4	76.9	85.1	56.9
	Male	54.0	50.3	100.0	59.4	48.9	57.1	55.2	50.9	60.9	60.5	59.6	75.7	49.6	27.4	32.6	23.1	14.9	43.1
Caribbean	Total	3.29	0.48	4.70	77.13	0.90	1.35	0.12	1.05	3.81	0.23	2.28	0.59	1.76	2.33	0.60	0.08	1.44	0.09
	Female	50.7	59.4	59.4	100.0	68.3	50.0	62.5	55.7	54.3	60.0	27.0	25.6	43.6	76.1	55.0	60.0	89.6	66.7
	Male	49.3	40.6	40.6	100.0	31.7	50.0	37.5	44.3	45.7	40.0	73.0	74.4	56.4	23.9	45.0	40.0	10.4	33.3
Latin, Central, South American	Total	3.16	0.68	3.84	2.56	67.88	1.37	0.13	2.77	11.13	0.55	0.51	1.28	0.81	3.33	0.73	0.21	2.13	0.09
	Female	28.4	43.8	48.9	31.7	100.0	28.1	0.0	40.0	39.8	30.8	25.0	23.3	36.8	73.1	35.3	100.0	86.0	100.0
	Male	71.6	56.3	51.1	68.3	100.0	71.9	100.0	60.0	60.2	69.2	75.0	76.7	63.2	26.9	64.7	0.0	14.0	0.0
Western European	Total	25.36	2.71	10.15	1.44	0.51	33.89	1.21	7.24	10.79	0.73	0.49	0.91	1.55	3.02	1.23	0.10	1.04	0.53
	Female	49.8	61.8	57.1	50.0	71.9	100.0	59.2	47.4	43.5	34.8	29.0	35.1	45.4	78.8	75.3	100.0	89.2	66.7
	Male	50.2	38.2	42.9	50.0	28.1	100.0	40.8	52.6	56.5	65.2	71.0	64.9	54.6	21.2	24.7	0.0	10.8	33.3
Northern European	Total	29.77	1.80	8.04	0.96	0.36	9.12	23.41	7.80	10.80	2.40	0.60	1.44	1.92	1.56	0.72	0.00	0.24	0.48
	Female	47.6	86.7	55.2	37.5	100.0	40.8	100.0	40.0	40.0	25.0	40.0	16.7	12.5	61.5	50.0	0.0	100.0	100.0
	Male	52.4	13.3	44.8	62.5	0.0	59.2	100.0	60.0	60.0	75.0	60.0	83.3	87.5	38.5	50.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Eastern European	Total	12.34	1.35	3.94	0.61	0.56	3.94	0.56	64.46	7.49	1.57	0.30	0.92	0.61	1.34	0.58	0.05	0.40	0.18
	Female	46.9	52.6	50.9	44.3	60.0	52.6	60.0	100.0	39.2	32.6	25.7	36.8	34.3	74.8	77.6	66.7	84.8	61.9
	Male	53.1	47.4	49.1	55.7	40.0	47.4	40.0	100.0	60.8	67.4	74.3	63.2	65.7	25.2	22.4	33.3	15.2	38.1
Southern European	Total	6.35	0.88	3.50	0.73	0.75	1.94	0.26	2.48	80.14	0.39	0.15	0.64	0.64	1.15	0.41	0.07	0.49	0.10
	Female	55.3	66.1	60.9	45.7	60.2	56.5	60.0	60.8	100.0	47.0	35.3	34.4	41.5	71.3	66.7	68.0	78.8	51.4
	Male	44.7	33.9	39.1	54.3	39.8	43.5	40.0	39.2	100.0	53.0	64.7	65.6	58.5	28.8	33.3	32.0	21.2	48.6
Jewish	Total	4.66	0.56	1.69	0.31	0.27	0.96	0.42	3.77	2.79	82.85	0.06	0.31	0.37	0.98	0.40	0.06	0.21	0.21
	Female	62.1	59.3	60.5	40.0	69.2	65.2	75.0	67.4	53.0	100.0	100.0	46.7	61.1	78.7	68.4	100.0	100.0	70.0
	Male	37.9	40.7	39.5	60.0	30.8	34.8	25.0	32.6	47.0	100.0	0.0	53.3	38.9	21.3	31.6	0.0	0.0	30.0
African and Maghrebi	Total	2.58	0.38	2.41	6.43	0.51	1.31	0.21	1.48	2.16	0.13	77.12	0.89	2.03	2.37	0.76	0.00	1.14	0.17
	Female	60.7	66.7	59.6	73.0	75.0	71.0	60.0	74.3	64.7	0.0	100.0	47.6	60.4	92.9	88.9	0.0	100.0	100.0
	Male	39.3	33.3	40.4	27.0	25.0	29.0	40.0	25.7	35.3	100.0	100.0	52.4	39.6	7.1	11.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Arab and West Asian	Total	2.59	0.41	1.24	0.69	0.53	1.01	0.21	1.88	3.98	0.27	0.37	83.12	1.37	2.31	0.52	0.18	1.21	0.20
	Female	55.5	65.2	75.7	74.4	76.7	64.9	83.3	63.2	65.6	53.3	52.4	100.0	61.0	94.6	86.2	80.0	100.0	81.8
	Male	44.5	34.8	24.3	25.6	23.3	35.1	16.7	36.8	34.4	46.7	47.6	100.0	39.0	5.4	13.8	20.0	0.0	18.2
South Asian	Total	1.01	0.19	0.60	0.57	0.09	0.47	0.08	0.34	1.09	0.09	0.23	0.38	93.82	1.02	0.34	0.01	0.53	0.03
	Female	47.3	76.9	49.6	56.4	63.2	54.6	87.5	65.7	58.5	38.9	39.6	39.0	100.0	84.2	70.0	100.0	96.3	57.1
	Male	52.7	23.1	50.4	43.6	36.8	45.4	12.5	34.3	41.5	61.1	60.4	61.0	100.0	15.8	30.0	0.0	3.7	42.9
East and Southeast Asian[d]	Total	1.82	0.24	1.17	0.53	0.27	0.65	0.04	0.53	1.38	0.16	0.19	0.45	0.72	91.84	62.98	6.56	15.32	1.88
	Female	26.6	26.1	27.4	23.9	26.9	21.2	38.5	25.2	28.8	21.3	7.1	5.4	15.8	100.0	98.8	98.8	99.4	92.3
	Male	73.4	73.9	72.6	76.1	73.1	78.8	61.5	74.8	71.3	78.7	92.9	94.6	84.2	100.0	99.2	97.9	98.2	91.7
Chinese	Total	1.18	0.13	0.67	0.21	0.09	0.40	0.03	0.35	0.75	0.10	0.09	0.15	0.37	95.47	93.51	0.21	0.43	0.33
	Female	26.2	28.0	32.6	45.0	64.7	24.7	50.0	22.4	33.3	31.6	11.1	13.8	30.0	99.2	100.0	63.4	75.6	55.6
	Male	73.8	72.0	67.4	55.0	35.3	75.3	50.0	77.6	66.7	68.4	88.9	86.2	70.0	98.8	100.0	36.6	24.4	44.4
Korean	Total	1.34	0.20	0.65	0.25	0.25	0.30	0.00	0.30	1.24	0.15	0.00	0.50	0.10	94.72	2.04	91.64	0.25	0.55
	Female	22.2	50.0	23.1	40.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	33.3	32.0	0.0	0.0	20.0	0.0	97.9	36.6	100.0	40.0	45.5
	Male	77.8	50.0	76.9	60.0	100.0	100.0	0.0	66.7	68.0	100.0	0.0	80.0	100.0	98.8	63.4	100.0	60.0	54.5
Filipino	Total	2.48	0.41	2.26	1.79	0.93	1.21	0.04	0.86	3.17	0.19	0.50	1.27	2.01	82.87	1.53	0.09	80.84	0.11
	Female	12.8	9.1	14.9	10.4	14.0	10.8	0.0	15.2	21.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.7	98.2	24.4	60.0	100.0	0.0
	Male	87.2	90.9	85.1	89.6	86.0	89.2	100.0	84.8	78.8	100.0	100.0	100.0	96.3	99.4	75.6	40.0	100.0	100.0
Japanese	Total	13.06	1.29	6.00	0.71	0.24	3.88	0.47	2.47	4.12	1.18	0.47	1.29	0.82	64.00	7.41	1.29	0.71	53.76
	Female	49.5	45.5	43.1	33.3	0.0	33.3	0.0	38.1	48.6	30.0	0.0	18.2	42.9	91.7	44.4	54.5	100.0	100.0
	Male	50.5	54.5	56.9	66.7	100.0	66.7	100.0	61.9	51.4	70.0	100.0	81.8	57.1	92.3	55.6	45.5	0.0	100.0
Total Ethnic Origin	Total	15.36	1.48	8.65	3.58	1.25	4.14	0.55	6.76	18.93	2.50	1.23	2.88	10.07	14.53	9.39	0.98	2.78	0.50
	Female	64.0	59.5	74.9	81.8	83.8	59.7	60.9	76.7	82.1	84.8	79.5	84.2	94.4	96.0	95.9	96.9	95.0	75.8
	Male	70.4	50.5	73.9	85.7	76.1	64.4	55.8	75.0	87.1	90.1	90.2	92.1	95.1	90.1	93.6	90.9	78.2	66.8

Source: 2001 Census, Statistics Canada Custom Tabulation.

Notes:
(a) Based on 20% sample, for single-ethnic response only.
(b) As a proportion of all couples.
(c) Proportion relative to the total number of couples with at least one partner of the given ethnic origin.
(d) Includes Chinese, Korean, Filipino, and Japanese.

APPENDIX 3
Population Size (Ethnic Group, Single Response) and Endogamy/Exogamy Rates in Toronto (CMA), 2001

Ethnic Group	Number	% Endogamy	% Exogamy
Total Population (All Origins)	3,265,740	-	-
Southern European	609,940	80.14	19.86
East and Southeast Asian [a]	598,205	91.84	8.16
South Asian	419,105	93.82	6,18
British	386,000	53.50	46.50
Chinese	379,555	93.51	6.49
North American	379,250	60.91	39.09
Eastern European	206,600	64.46	35.54
Caribbean	186,130	77.13	22.87
Arab and West Asian	118,705	83.12	16.88
Filipino	116,910	80.84	19.16
Jewish	95,390	82.85	17.15
Western European	86,620	33.89	66.11
African origins and Maghrebi	83,730	77.12	22.88
Latin, Central, and South American	48,490	67.88	32.12
Korean	40,710	91.64	8.36
French	25,905	15.52	84.48
Japanese	13,605	53.76	46.24
Northern European	10,955	23.41	76.59

Source: 2001 Census, Statistics Canada Custom Tabulation.

Note: (a) Includes Chinese, Korean, Filipino, and Japanese.

APPENDIX 4

Numbers and Proportions of Mixed and Non-mixed Unions (Marriages and Common-law), by Ethnic Origin and Generation Status

Ethnic Origin		First Generation		1.5 Generation		Second Generation		Third-plus Generation	
		Non-mixed	Mixed	Non-mixed	Mixed	Non-mixed	Mixed	Non-mixed	Mixed
British	N	22695	10990	4720	5,325	18,400	12455	30055	20025
	%	67.4	32.6	47.0	53.0	59.6	40.4	60.0	40.0
French	N	365	1,245	35	110	150	525	1,245	6,735
	%	22.7	77.3	24.1	75.9	22.2	77.8	15.6	84.4
North American	N	2,715	1,000	985	235	8,800	3,090	41,240	24,430
	%	73.1	26.9	80.7	19.3	74.0	26.0	62.8	37.2
Caribbean	N	23,640	4,695	3,220	1,475	1,395	870	1,125	425
	%	83.4	16.6	68.6	31.4	61.6	38.4	72.6	27.4
Latin, Central, South American	N	7,390	2,945	540	550	150	105	520	180
	%	71.5	28.5	49.5	50.5	58.8	41.2	74.3	25.7
Western European	N	7,925	6,255	1,310	3,015	2,035	8,330	1,265	3,020
	%	55.9	44.1	30.3	69.7	19.6	80.4	29.5	70.5
Northern European	N	725	995	125	475	140	1,175	205	510
	%	42.2	57.8	20.8	79.2	10.6	89.4	28.7	71.3
Eastern European	N	32,250	6,700	2,660	2,480	4,765	8,110	205	510
	%	82.8	17.2	51.8	48.2	37.0	63.0	28.7	71.3
Southern European	N	101,255	9,335	29,610	7,355	37,405	0	4,200	0
	%	91.6	8.4	80.1	19.9	100.0	.0	100.0	.0
Jewish	N	9,770	1,270	2,275	325	8,885	1,145	6,370	1,315
	%	88.5	11.5	87.5	12.5	88.6	11.4	82.9	17.1
African origins and Maghrebi	N	8,590	1,845	420	300	285	195	780	370
	%	82.3	17.7	58.3	41.7	59.4	40.6	67.8	32.2
Arab, West Asian	N	22,545	3,520	840	490	450	400	795	260
	%	86.5	13.5	63.2	36.8	52.9	47.1	75.4	24.6
South Asian	N	93,115	4,750	5,460	895	1,830	440	2,410	285
	%	95.1	4.9	85.9	14.1	80.6	19.4	89.4	10.6
East and Southeast Asian [a]	N	127,340	7,540	6,490	1,465	4,250	1,740	3,585	1,075
	%	94.4	5.6	81.6	18.4	71.0	29.0	76.9	23.1
Chinese	N	86,840	3,190	4,125	810	2,370	1,170	1,355	160
	%	96.5	3.5	83.6	16.4	66.9	33.1	89.4	10.6
Korean	N	8,610	465	435	205	90	140	575	55
	%	94.9	5.1	68.0	32.0	39.1	60.9	91.3	8.7
Filipino	N	21,065	4,105	935	570	345	215	420	105
	%	83.7	16.3	62.1	37.9	61.6	38.4	80.0	20.0
Japanese	N	970	530	40	50	1,085	500	650	825
	%	64.7	35.3	44.4	55.6	68.5	31.5	44.1	55.9
Total	N	577,805	71,375	64,225	26,130	92,830	40,605	97,000	60,285
	%	89.0	11.0	71.1	28.9	69.6	30.4	61.7	38.3

Source: 2001 Census, Statistics Canada Custom Tabulation, 20% sample.
Note: (a) Includes Chinese, Korean, Filipino, and Japanese.

APPENDIX 5

Pearson's Chi-square Test of Ethnically Mixed Married or Common-law Couples, by Selected Ethnic Origin (Single Response) and Generation Status [a] [b]

Ethnic Origin	Sig.*	Chi-square
Eastern European	.000	10,912.3
Southern European	.000	9,681.1
East and Southeast Asian[c]	.000	7,519.1
Chinese	.000	7,245.6
Western European	.000	3,656.7
South Asian	.000	1,827.2
British	.000	1,446.0
Arab and West Asian	.000	1,223.1
Caribbean	.000	1,111.6
North American	.000	804.6
Filipino	.000	610.9
African origins and Maghrebi	.000	449.3
Northern European	.000	386.6
Latin, Central, and South American	.000	245.5
Japanese	.000	222.4
Jewish	.000	160.1
French	.000	64.9

Source: 2001 Census, Statistics Canada Custom Tabulation, 20% sample.

Significance: * p-value <.05 (2-tailed).

Notes: (a) First, 1.5, second, and third-plus generations.
(b) The results are based on the total variations between the generations for each given group. The highest-to-lowest order in which the results appear does not reflect a unidirectional increase from one generation to the next.
(c) Includes Chinese, Korean, Filipino, and Japanese.

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