ETHNICITY AND ASSIMILATION.

GERMAN POSTWAR IMMIGRANTS IN VANCOUVER, 1945-1970.

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis analyzes German immigration to Canada in the period following the Second World War and primarily focuses on the settlement of these immigrants in Vancouver. By examining residential patterns, economic experiences, the role of German churches and Saturday schools, language retention, and the secular organizations maintained by Vancouver's German population, it becomes apparent that Germans' attempt to adjust to Canadian circumstances entailed two, seemingly contradictory phenomena: speedy integration and assimilation into the mainstream of Canadian society on one hand, and support for ethnic social, economic, religious, educational, and cultural institutions on the other.

The study concludes that assimilation and ethnicity were thus not mutually exclusive. Immigration gave individuals the opportunity to weigh alternatives with regard to social form and institutions, personal values, and the role of their ethnicity in the new life offered by Canada. Consequently, involvement in the local German community may be attributed to as complex causes as the supersession of ethnic origin as a basis of association by other sources of group identification. Yet, even though German-Canadians were highly assimilated into Canadian society by the end of the postwar period, they may have preserved a sense of ethnic identity that did not manifest itself in any visible behaviour.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

INTRODUCTION

The North American tradition of immigration research was instigated by the large influx of immigrant minorities in the first decades of this century. Since then, studies in history, demography, sociology, economics, and urbanization have addressed such issues as integration, acculturation, and assimilation on one hand, and the characteristics of ethnic sub-cultures on the other. Classical theories of immigration derived from a functionalist view of society followed the assimilationist premises developed by the Chicago school of sociology under Robert Park. They predicted that the competitive nature of modern economic organizations and the democratic orientation of Western political institutions would progressively eliminate ethnic groups, that the social and economic characteristics of immigrant populations and their descendants would converge with those of the majority groups in society, and that ethnic communities represented a transitional stage in this assimilation process.[1]

Experience in both Canada and the United States has shown, however, that cultural pluralism has persisted. Thus, recent years have witnessed a proliferation of literature on specific immigrant populations, on the nature of ethnicity, and on the impact of endogeneous and exogeneous factors on ethnic group survival.[2] Contrary to the assimilationists' belief that immigrants' social integration and socio-econimic mobility depended on their dissociation from ethnic ties, ethnic pluralists envisage the integration

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[1]Cf. A. Gardon Darroch, "Another Look at Ethnicity, Stratification, and Social Mobility in Canada," *Canadian Journal of Sociology,* vol.4 No.1 (1979), p.21; Anthony H. Richmond and Ravi P. Verma, "The Economic Adaptation of Immigrants: New Theoretical Perspectives," *International Migration Review,* vol.12 No.1 (1978), p.9; Stephen Steinberg, *The Ethnic Myth: Race, Ethnicity, and Class in America,* (New York: Atheneum, 1981), p.47; Charles Hirschman, "Immigrants and Minorities: Old Questions for New Directions in Research," *International Migration Review,* vol.16 No.2 (1982), p.474.

[2]For example: Alan B. Anderson and James J. Frideres, *Ethnicity in Canada: Theoretical Perspectives* (Toronto: Butterworths, 1981); Jeffrey G. Reitz, *The Survival of Ethnic Groups* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Press, 1980); Edward N. Herberg, *Ethnic Groups in Canada: Adaptation and Transition* (Scarborough, Ont.: Nelson Canada, 1989); see also the articles collected in such specialized journals as *Canadian Ethnic Studies, Ethnicity, Ethnic and Racial Studies,* or *Journal of Ethnic Studies.*

of ethnic groups into a common political and economic system simultaneously with the maintenance of diverse immigrant cultures and traditions.[3]

Theoretical frameworks for the study of ethnic populations may help to focus analyses of particular immigrant groups. Yet, the reality of the immigrant experience in North America is best approached by discarding preconceptions of unilinear, universal patterns of development, whether ethnic pluralist or assimilationist. Ethnic populations each undergo unique evolutions and experiences, and it is through historical inquiry into immigrant settlement in specific local socio-economic and cultural contexts that this uniqueness can be exposed.[4]

This study examines German immigration to Canada in the period after World War II.[5] Analysis focuses for the most part on the settlement of these immigrants in Vancouver. This local approach was based on the fact that the majority of German postwar arrivals chose to settle in urban centres such as Vancouver, Toronto, Montreal, and Calgary, and on the consideration that an urban study would permit a close, systematic examination of settlement and the development of ethnic structures.

The first chapter examines the postwar movement of some 300,000 German immigrants to Canada. Pertinent push and pull factors, the role of voluntary agencies and government policies, and motives for emigration are isolated and the changing socio-economic characteristics of the newcomers analyzed. The next chapter is concerned with the settlement patterns of the German ethnic population in Vancouver, the impact of postwar immigrants in particular. The influences of socio-economic and ethnic

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[3]Anderson and Frideres, p.113; Gunter Baureiss, "Towards a Theory of Ethnic Organizations," *Canadian Ethnic Studies,* vol.14 No.2 (1982), p.32.
[4]Cf. Roberto Perin, "Clio as an Ethnic: The Third Force in Canadian Historiography," *Canadian Historical Review,* vol.64 No.4 (1983), p.442 and 466.
[5]The thesis does not concern itself in detail with the diverse national origins and the presence of religious sub-groups within the German immigrant cohort. As the vast majority of German postwar immigrants to Canada were born in Germany, and the overwhelming majority of German immigrants – including refugees or displaced persons from East Germany and other East European states – departed from West Germany, the term "German" is employed both in the broader ethnic as well as in the more narrow national/geographic sense.

factors on their residential concentration and dispersion are juxtaposed with social class and ethnic models about the spatial patterns of ethnic populations in urban centres.

In the following three chapters, principle German ethnic structures in Vancouver are analyzed with regard to their function in the ethnic population and their base of support, as well as their influence upon the integration and assimilation of German immigrants into Canadian mainstream institutions. Chapter III examines Germans' economic adjustment to Canadian circumstances and the establishment of a wide variety of German-owned businesses. Chapter IV addresses the development of ethnic religious and educational institutions and the effect of the Canadian environment on religious affiliation and language retention among the German newcomers. Finally, a diversity of German secular organizations, ranging from social clubs to an ethnic-oriented credit union, illustrate the many forms, causes, and degrees of participation in ethnic community life.

The presence of German postwar immigrants in Vancouver was most clearly manifested in such ethnic structures as the ethnic neighbourhood, ethnic businesses, German parishes, Saturday schools, and a broad range of voluntary organizations. Yet, as this essay reveals, the organized German ethnic community was neither static nor monolithic, and it did not include more than a small portion of the local ethnic population. As German postwar arrivals integrated easily and speedily into Canadian society at large, their limited participation in ethnic community life, and thus the survival of the community, depended upon the ability of the ethnic structures to perform specific economic, social, psychological, and cultural functions.

Unfortunately, the study of German immigrants and the German community in Vancouver lacks a rich historiographical context. There are few scholarly investigations into the German ethnics in Canadian society during the postwar period. Among the few useful studies are Rudolf Helling's *Socio-Economic History of German-Canadians*,[6]

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[6]Rudolf Helling, *A Socio-Economic History of German-Canadians* (Wiesbaden: Franz

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Gerhard Bassler's short essay "Canadian Immigration Policy and the Admission of German Enemy Aliens,"[7] Fritz Wieden's study of *The Trans-Canada Alliance of German-Canadians*,[8] Bernd Laengins' brief history of the German group in Canada,[9] and Beatrice Stadler's sociological inquiry into language retention and assimilation among the German-speaking population of Vancouver.[10]

In part, the absence of studies on the German population in Vancouver derives from a general problem of German-Canadian historiography: for many years, there was a noticeable lack of interest in Germany in emigration and German minorities abroad, stemming largely from scholars' reluctance to concern themselves with issues that had been politicized during the Third Reich.[11] In the last twenty years, the tradition of German emigration research has been revitalized. Yet, inquiry has concentrated so far on emigration to the United States in the 19th and early 20th centuries, and now is becoming increasingly overshadowed by interest in the assimilation of ethnic minorities into the society of the Federal Republic of Germany.[12]

On the German-Canadian side, a range of studies on specific denominational,

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[6](cont'd) Steiner Verlag, 1982).

[7]Gerhard Bassler, "Canadian Immigration Policy and the Admission of German Enemy Aliens," *Yearbook of German-American Studies*, vol.12 (1987), pp.183-197.

[8]Fritz Wieden, *The Trans-Canada Alliance of German-Canadians. A Study in Culture* (Windsor, Ont.: Tolle Lege Enterprise, 1985). Wieden served extensively on the executive board of the Alliance.

[9]Bernd Laengin, "Die Deutschen in Kanada: Eine Volksgruppe im Vakuum," Peter E. Nasarski, ed., *Wege und Wandlungen: Die Deutschen in der Welt Heute*, vol.2 (Berlin and Bonn: Westkreuz Verlag, 1983), pp.29-50. Laengin has been very influential in the development of the German ethnic press in Canada.

[10]Beatrice Stadler, *Language Maintenance and Assimilation: The Case of Selected German-Speaking Immigrants in Vancouver, Canada* (Vancouver: Canadian University Teachers of Germans, CAUTG Publication No.7), 1983.

[11]Guenther Moltmann, "German Emigration Overseas. History and Research Problems," *German-Canadian Yearbook*, vol.6 (1981), p.8; Gerhard Bassler, "Problems and Perspectives in German-Canadian Historiography," *Annals: German-Canadian Studies*, vol.5 (1985), p.6.

[12]Wolfgang J. Helbich, *'Alle Menschen sind dort gleich...': Die deutsche Amerika-Auswanderung im 19. and 20. Jahrhundert* (Duesseldorf: Schwann, 1988), pp.3 perceived his study as a timely contribution to present-day heated political discussions over ethnic minorities in Germany being less assimilative than German immigrants abroad.

local, and regional groups of immigrants have been produced in the last decades by members of University German departments across Canada, historians, and particularly by persons who have been involved in German ethnic institutions. Many of these have been collected in *The German-Canadian Yearbook*,[13] and *Annals: German-Canadian Studies*.[14] This concern with aspects of German economic, literary, religious, and local life in Canada has, however, not resulted in scholarly attempts to provide comprehensive, systematic analyses of the settlement experiences of German immigrants in Canada.

In a recent essay on the state of German-Canadian historiography, the Canadian historian Gerhard Bassler isolated two interdependent reasons for this lack of historical accounts: on one hand, the cultural dominance of the French and the British has resulted in the contributions made by Germans and other minority groups in Canadian society being neglected. On the other hand, "the educated ... German-speaking immigrants, from among whose ranks would have come the potential German-Canadian historians, either strove for rapid assimilation ... or preferred to remigrate to the United States."[15] Much of the revival in German-Canadian historiography in recent years may have been stimulated by presentist objectives of the German group. Thus, Bassler also seems to envisage as one purpose of historical accounts of German ethnic life in Canada the substantiation of German-Canadians' demand for "recognition as one of Canada's oldest and largest ... ethnic groups."[16]

The German ethnic population has indeed constituted a considerable portion of the Canadian nation. Their settlement was characterized by rapid assimilation into the mainstream of Canadian society as well as by the evolution of German institutions and

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[13] *German-Canadian Yearbook*, published since 1973 by the German-Historical Society of Mecklenburg, edited by Hartmut Froeschle.
[14] *Annals: German-Canadian Studies*, since 1976. Collections of papers held at symposiums of German-Canadian Studies, edited by Karin R. Guerttler.
[15] Bassler, "Problems and Perspectives in German-Canadian Historiography," pp.2.
[16] Ibid, p.15.

local ethnic communities. As this essay shows, both aspects of the German–Canadian experience offer fruitful fields of historical inquiry and illustrate the manifold processes of immigrants' transition and adaptation to a new life.

Due to the multitude of concepts and definitions used by students of immigrant populations, it is advisable to expain the terminology used in this essay. The terms "German–Canadians," "ethnic population," "German ethnics," and simply "Germans" are employed interchangeably, following the pre–1981 Canada Census definition of "ethnic groups", as the national or linguistic group to which the respondent or his or her paternal ancestor belonged upon landing in Canada. Though this concept poses many analytical problems[17], its usage is necessitated by frequent reliance on statistical information derived from the Canada Census, as well as providing a broad category under which to include all those of German ethnic origin.

The definition of "ethnic groups" has occupied many students of the subject.[18] Here it is used in the sense of "a segment of a larger society whose members are thought, by themselves and/or by others, to have a common origin and to share important aspects of a common culture and who participate in shared activities in which common origin and common culture are significant ingredients."[19] The term "ethnic community" refers primarily to the network of ethnic institutions, the ethnic neighbourhood, and the individuals who interact within the framework of these ethnic structures.[20] "Ethnic identity" does not signify membership in an ethnic group or

[17]N. B. Ryder, "The Interpretation of Origin Statistics," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, vol.21 No.4 (1955); John de Vries and Frank G. Vallee, *Language Use in Canada* (Ottawa: Minister of Supplies and Demands, 1980), p.142.
[18]Cf. Wsevolov W. Isajiw, *Definitions of Ethnicity* (Toronto: The Multicultural Society of Ontario, 1979); Anderson and Frideres, pp.45. James H. Dormon, "Ethnic Groups and 'Ethnicity': Some Theoretical Considerations," *Journal of Ethnic Studies,* vol.7 No.4 (1980). pp.24.
[19]J. Milton Yinger, "Toward a Theory of Assimilation and Dissimilation," *Ethnic and Racial Studies,* vol.4 No.3 (1979), p.250.
[20]For a comprehensive analysis of the various meaning of 'community' in general, see Dennis E. Poplin, *Communities: A Survey of Theories and Methods of Research* (New York: Macmillan, 1972).

community, but rather refers to that part of an individual's personality that has been shaped by his or her national origin, history, and culture and that may or may not manifest itself in visible behaviour.

"Acculturation" refers to the process of change toward greater cultural similarity brought about by contact between populations of different cultures.[21] The term "integration" describes the minority population and the society at large entering into interactive situations, ranging from non–discriminatory contact within political and economic institutions to personal contacts within neighbourhoods, friendship circles, or other formal and informal groups.[22] Finally, "assimilation" denotes the disappearance of members of an ethnic population into society at large, and includes the effect of such processes as acculturation, integration, identification with the new land, and biological amalgamation. These concepts serve as a working terminology in the analysis of immigrant settlement and ethnic structures, not as preconceptions of the experiences observed among the German population in Vancouver.

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[21]Yinger, p.252.
[22]Anthony H. Richmond, *Postwar Immigrants in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), p.138; Yinger, p.258; Tomatsu Shibutani and Kian M. Kiwan, *Ethnic Stratification: A Comparative Approach* (New York: Macmillan, 1965), p.479.

I. IN SEARCH OF A NEW FUTURE: GERMAN POSTWAR IMMIGRATION

Some 30,000 German immigrants settled in Greater Vancouver between 1945 and 1970. They formed part of a wave of well over three million immigrants who landed in Canada during these years, 340,000 of whom were of German ethnic origin. Before exploring the experiences of the German newcomers in Vancouver, however, the German inflow into Canada as a whole must be considered. This chapter examines the many factors which influenced German migration to Canada during the quarter century after the Second World War. It reveals that the newcomers' political, economic, and social characteristics, their motives, and their expectations when coming to Canada determined much of their experience in the new land.

German postwar immigration to Canada fell into three distinct phases. Until 1950, Canadian immigration regulations restricted entry to certain categories of German ethnic refugees and displaced persons. Later, Canadian authorities removed the immigration restrictions and began to encourage a German influx both through its immigration policy and financial assistance. The years between 1951 and 1957 brought up to 36,000 Germans annually into the country (Figure 1.1). This migration consisted of farmers and farm labourers, miners, skilled and unskilled industrial workers, service workers, clerks, and a small percentage of professional and technical personnel. A considerable portion of German immigrants were sponsored by their Canadian relatives. From the late 1950s onward, changing push and pull factors, and the high educational and professional admission criteria applied by the Canadian government, reduced the scope of the German inflow gradually to some 4,000 per year by 1970. Then, many of the arrivals belonged to highly trained professions, and a decreasing number came as sponsored immigrants.

Not only did the German influx undergo phases of change, but so did the causes of Germans' movement to Canada. Most voluntary migration movements occur

FIGURE 1.1.   GERMAN IMMIGRANT ARRIVALS IN CANADA, 1946- 1970.
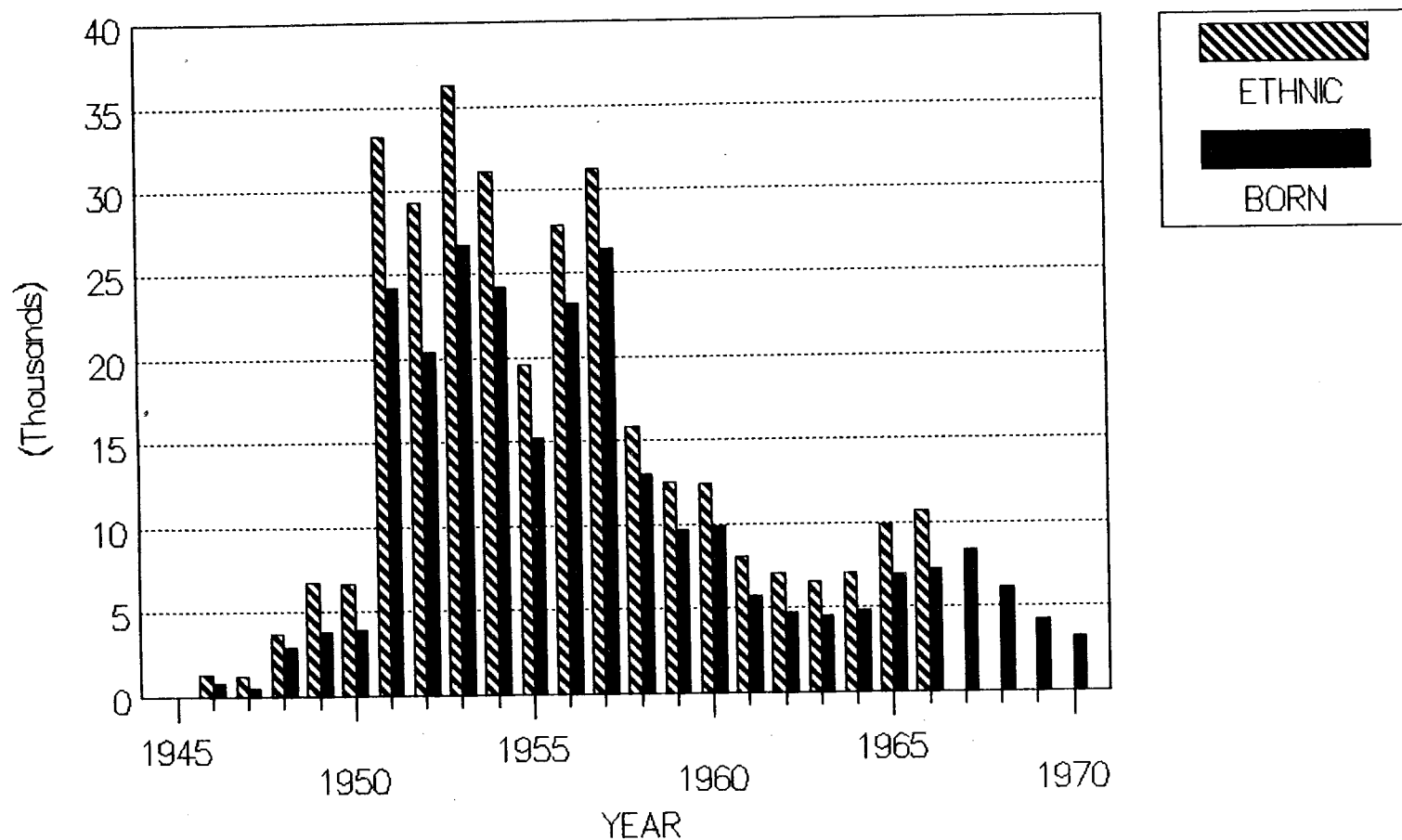
SOURCE: Canada Year Book, 1947-1972 (Ottawa: King's Printer).

when people's urge to improve their life-style through a change in location becomes stronger than the existing bonds to their frame of social, cultural, economic, and geographic reference.[1] In the immediate postwar years, fear of international armed conflict and occupation, and the political disruption of Europe in general, acted as incentives to leave for many Germans. Even more important were the concrete problems of survival: shortages of land, demographic pressures caused by the reception of millions of refugees in West Germany, high unemployment (Figure 1.2), and lack of housing and food. Canada, on the other hand, opened its doors to German immigrants and appeared to them as the land of opportunity, with its expanding economy, rapid industrialization, a seeming abundance of land, political tranquility, and a high degree of individual freedom. The occupational intentions of German arrivals in Canada in the the mid-1950s (Figure 1.3.) confirm that almost all levels of society were affected by these push factors and that a cross-section of the German population wished to make a new start in Canada.

By the late 1950s, economic conditions and living standards in Germany had improved markedly, yet still tens of thousands of emigrants left the country every year to seek a new future in Canada, the United States, Australia, or South Africa.[2] For these migrants, the reasons for their decision to move lay less in the immediate economic, social, and political disruption of Europe than in a combination of individual reasons. Investigations of the motivations of German emigrants in these years found that only one third hoped to find better economic opportunities overseas. Every eighth emigrant wanted to join close relatives and friends who had left Germany in the early 1950s and were by then sufficiently established to continue the chain migration that

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[1]Cf. Guenther Moltmann, "German Emigration Overseas: History and Research Problems," *German-Canadian Yearbook,* vol.6 (1981), p.6. For a theory on emigrants being characterized by weak bonding, see Gert Raiethel, *'Go West': Ein psychohistorischer Versuch ueber die Amerikaner* (Frankfurt am Main: Classen, 1981.).
[2]*Torontoer Zeitung,* "Canada von Deutschen bevorzugt," 29 July 1960, p.2.
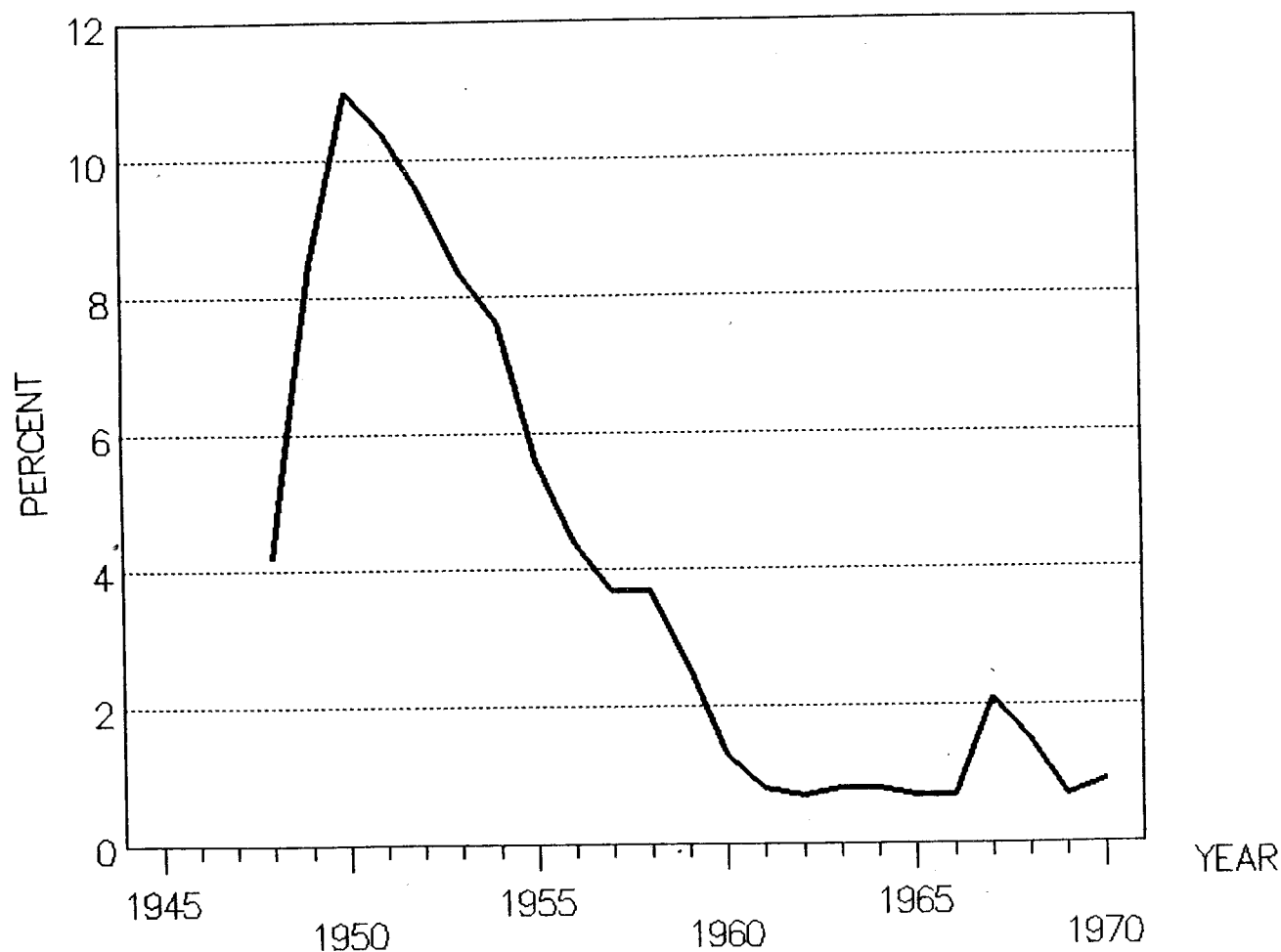
had allowed many of them to come to Canada after the war.[3] Political reasons were also important. The German-Canadian newspaper *Courier* noted:

> Well over ten percent of those asked said that they were fed up with the political situation. Their number, however, is estimated to be much higher... The reasons for emigration for this group are political in the broadest sense of the term: disappointed expelled farmers from the East without new land in the West; people who are driven into the wide spaces of Australia out of fear of military confrontation in the densely populated Europe; aversion against compulsory military service, and similar reasons.[4]

A similar combination of motivating factors was detected in a 1961 survey of immigrants in Canada conducted by the Canadian sociologist Anthony H. Richmond. Among German immigrants, political factors were named by 34%, and economic hopes by 39%, a sense of adventure by 21%, and family and private reasons by 6%.[5]

During the 1960s, Germans' motivation for immigration differed considerably from the arrivals of the earlier postwar period and so did their socio-economic characteristics. The number of unskilled labourers and agriculturalists became almost negligible by 1970, while the proportion of technical and professional personnel rose markedly, and every second German continued to expect work in manufacturing, construction, and processing (Figure 1.3.). For these qualified workers, whose skills were in high demand in Germany itself, the decision to leave was hardly a response to unemployment, but rather derived from the expectation of more advantageous economic opportunitites abroad or from non-economic reasons.

In the 1960s, the influx of Germans ranged from 13,000 to 4,000, thus

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[3]Under the term 'chain migration' one usually understands the movement, in which the prospective migrant learns of favourable opportunities and receives assistance by means of primary, communal relations with previous migrants. On the role of chain migration in German immigration to North America, see Walter D. Kamphoefner, "'Entwurzelt' oder 'verpflanzt'? Zur Bedeutung der Kettenwanderung fuer die Einwanderakkulturation in Amerika," K. J. Bade, ed. *Auswanderer, Wanderarbeiter, Gastarbeiter: Bevoelkerung, Arbeitsmarkt und Wanderung in Deutschland seit der Mitte des 19. Jahrhundert,* vol.I (Ostfildern: Scripta Mercaturae Verlag, 1984), pp.322.
[4]*Courier,* "Trotz Wohlstand wirkt das Fernweh weiter," 11 September 1958, p.4.
[5]Anthony H. Richmond, *Postwar Immigrants in Canada* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1967), p.32.

FIGURE 1.3.   INTENDED OCCUPATION OF GERMAN ETHNIC ARRIVALS IN CANADA, 1946-1965;
AND OF IMMIGRANTS WITH GERMANY AS COUNTRY OF LAST PERMANENT RESIDENCE,
1966 - 1970.
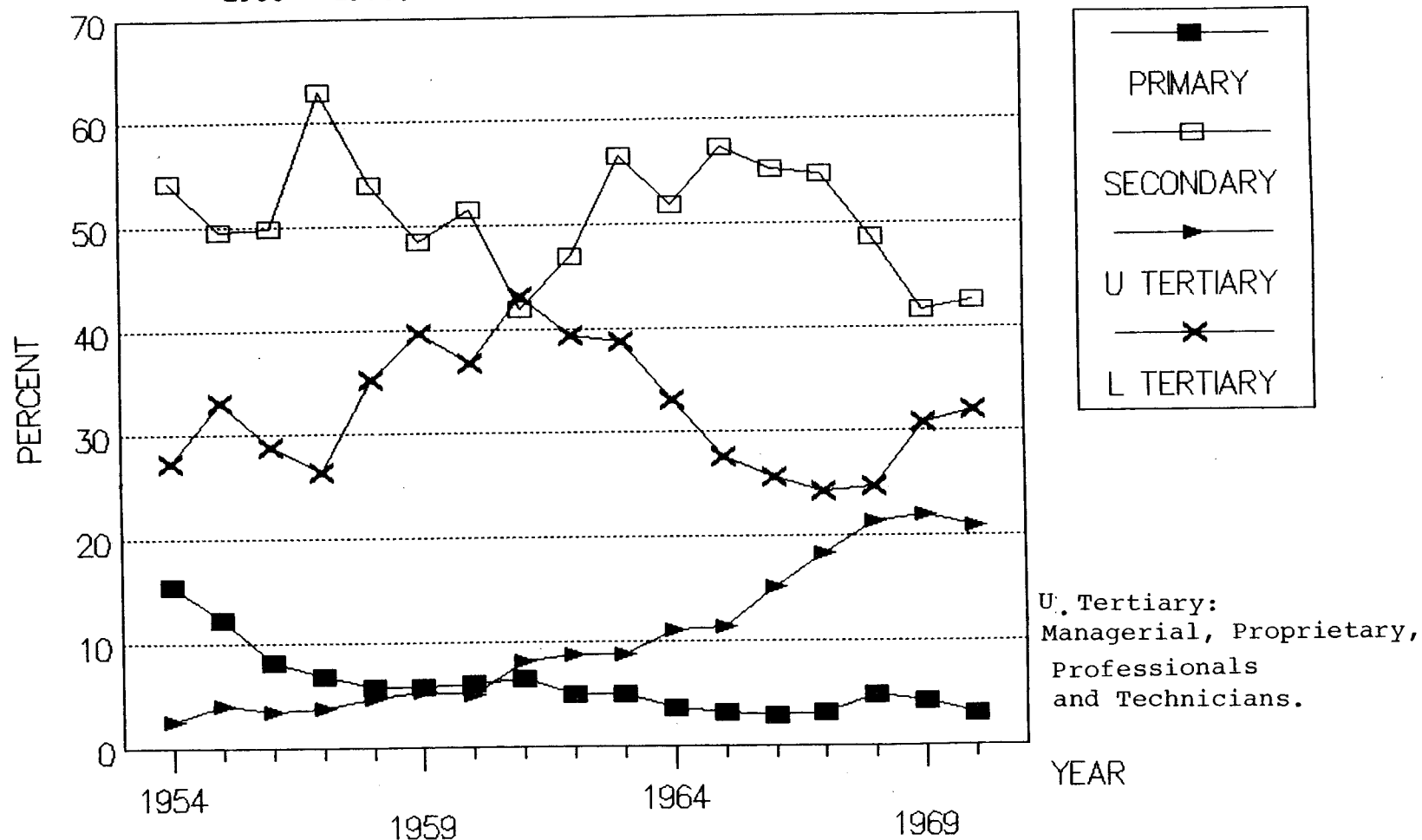
Legend:
- PRIMARY
- SECONDARY
- U TERTIARY
- L TERTIARY

U. Tertiary: Managerial, Proprietary, Professionals and Technicians.

SOURCE: Intended Occupation and Province of Intended Destination, 1946-1955 (Ottawa: Kings' Printer, Department of Citizenship and Immigration); ImmigrationStatistics, 1956-1974 (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, Department of Citizenship and Immigration / Department of Manpower and Immigration).

indicating that the popular notion of Canada as the "land of opportunity" persisted. Yet, among the skilled manual and professional arrivals, the committment to Canada appears to have been less strong now. At a 1961 survey, German-speaking immigrants in the country, more than other immigrant nationality, considered their move to Canada conditional: only 32.8% expected to remain even if not all their hopes came true.[6] "Conditional immigration" was unquestionably related to West Germany's own economic prosperity. Comments and letters published in the German-Canadian press in these years reflected the fact that remigration and return migration were frequent phenomena among German postwar newcomers in Canada and evidenced the desire of many German immigrants to re-evaluate economic opportunities and non-material aspects of life in Canada.[7]

To a certain extent, the frequency of remigration to the United States or of return to the old homeland was a direct function of the socio-economic characteristics of many arrivals in Canada from the late 1950s onward. As Richmond has pointed out, a high proportion of the professional and skilled manual manpower from Germany, as from other Western and Northern European countries, were transient migrants. They had a high rate of leaving Canada again not due to dissatisfaction or failure to adjust economically or socially, but because they were part of a growing, internationally mobile labour force with readily saleable skills and qualifications.[8]

In addition, modern technological developments altered the very implications of emigration in the course of the postwar period for non-transient manpower as well. The further growth and affordability of overseas transportations and modern communication tended to make it easier for prospective migrants to visit the new land prior to making far-reaching decisions for themselves and their families or to return

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[6]Ibid., p.33.
[7]See *Courier*, letters to the editor under the topic "Should one stay in Canada?" May-July 1958 and spring 1961.
[8]Anthony H. Richmond, "Immigration and Pluralism in Canada," *International Migration Review*, vol.4 No.1 (1969), p.11.

to the old country if they so desired. Thus, while people were obviously still prepared to leave home for the purpose of trying out life in a new land, they were generally less committed to staying there.

The scope of the German influx into Canada and the changing motives of Germans for leaving their homeland were inextricably intertwined with the economic, political, social, demographic, and personal push factors acting upon the West German population. After the Second World War, over eleven million refugees and displaced persons streamed into Western occupation zones.[9] Germany itself lay in ruins. Severe shortages of food, clothing, housing, and medication, a largely destroyed infrastructure, the pressures of denazification, international condemnation of the atrocities committed during the Hitler regime, and national fragmentation caused by occupation were among the major problems faced in the late 1940s and early 1950s. It was a climate of general suffering, uncertainty, and depression in which tens of thousands of Germans longed to seek a better future abroad.

High unemployment, shortage of housing and land, political uncertainly, and fear of war continued to act as push factors throughout the 1950s, whereas Canada appeared commended by economic opportunities in both rural and urban settings, a seeming abundance of land, high living standards, and a political and geographical position far removed from any future scenario of war. Toward the end of he decade, however, West Germany commenced on a path toward prosperity – commonly referred to as its "economic miracle" – which brought the country full employment and markedly rising living standards. During this industrial boom, even the wave of refugees from East Germany were absorbed.[10] Although Canada remained a preferred

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[9]A. T. Bouscaren, *International Migrations since 1945* (New York: F. A. Praeger Publ., 1963), p.41.
[10]*Courier*, Hochkonjunktur daempft Auswanderungslust," 15 October 1959, p.11.

destination among many of those Germans who still left the country every year,[11] and the German influx was marked by a increase in 1967 due to temporarily rising unemployment,[12] the number of Germans immigrating to Canada in 1970 reached its lowest level since 1947.

Almost full employment in the Federal Republic, relaxation of international tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union and thus sinkling fears of war in Europe, rising living standards, and the stablizations of the internal political situation had contributed to the decline of traditional push factors. A the same time, pull factors drawing Germans to Canada declined in part as a result of Canada's economic development and the modification of its postwar immigration policy.

During the first postwar years, Canada's immigration policy toward prospective immigrants of German ethnic origin was characterized by a curious paradox. As enemy aliens, Germans were supposed to be barred from admission to Canada until the official termination of the state of war with Germany in 1951 and, moreover, anti-immigrant and anti-German feelings ran high in the Canadian public after the war.[13] Yet, Germans constituted the second largest, non-British immigrant nationality arriving between 1947 and 1951."[14] The explanation for this apparent paradox lies in

[11]*Vancouver Sun*, "Canada Still First on German Emigrant List," 12 July 1957, p.25; *Torontoer Zeitung*, "Deutsche Auswanderer bevorzugen Canada," 27 January 1967, p.2.
[12]*Courier*, "Einwanderung aus Deutschland nimmt wieder zu," 28 June 1966, p.11; *Torontoer Zeitung*, "Deutsche Einwanderer bevorzugen Kanada," 27 January 1967, p.5; *Courier*, "Kann man wirklich von einer neuen Einwanderungswelle sprechen?", 1 September 1966, p.11 quotes the director of the emigration office in Cologne who claimed that the majority of emigrants were leaving "temporarily."
[13]A Gallup Poll of October 1946 permitted· multiple answers to the question who Canadians regarded as the most undesirable newcomers: Germans ranked third with a hostility rate of 34%, following to the Japanese with 60% and Jews with 49% and preceding the Russians with 33% and Blacks with 31%. – Nancy Tienhara, *Canadian Views on Immigration and Population: An Analysis of Postwar Gallup Polls* (Ottawa: Department of Manpower and Immigration, 1974), p.59.
[14]Gerhard P. Bassler, "Canadian Immigration Policy and the Admission of German Enemy Aliens," *Yearbook of German-American Studies* vol.22 (1987), p.184.

the way economic, political, and ethnic considerations shaped the nature of Canadian immigration legislation after the war.

Until the fall of 1950, German immigration to Canada was severely restricted. Immigration regulations had been tightened during the high unemployment years in the 1930s, and further restrictions were added during the war years, especially with regard to admission of immigrants from countries at war with Canada.[15] Moreover, Canada, as a charter member of the United Nations' Relief and Rehabilitation Administration and its successor agency, the International Refugee Organization, had agreed on the exclusion of displaced persons and refugees of German background – whether *Volksdeutsche* (ethnic Germans) or *Reichsdeutsche* (German nationals) – from the forms of international relief and legal protection available to other *bona fide* displaced persons.[16]

German–Canadians soon lodged protests against this discrimination and vigorously pursued the goal of achieving a re–opening of Canada's doors to their fellow ethnics. The German ethnic media, ethnic associations, and the churches argued in particular that the admission of homeless *Volksdeutsche* constituted a moral obligation for Canada. Moreover, they stressed that German–Canadians had a right to sponsor their European family members, and that the entry of German manpower served the economic self–interest of the country.[17]

When the Canadian government started to modify its immigration policy in 1947, it advanced economic, humanitarian, and ethnic explanations. Contrary to worries over high unemployment resulting from demobilization and over a general continuance

[15]Warren E. Kalbach, *The Impact of Immigration on Canada's Population,* 1961 Census Monograph (Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1970), pp.12; Alan G. Green, *Immigration and the Postwar Economy* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1976), pp.14.
[16]Bassler, "Immigration Policy," p.183.
[17]The press advocated the admission of large numbers of immigrants, emphasizing the economic contribution to be made by the many skilled workers, farmers, and professionals among the German ethnic homeless, who would show themselves grateful and worth of a new opportunity in Canada. *Courier,* 27 November 1946, p.2 and 6 January 1947, p.2.

of the prewar depression, the period of the late 1940s and early 1950s proved as one of rapid economic expansion. The ensuing tight labour market, exacerbated by the low birthrate and limited immigration of the 1930s, forced the government to reappraise its immigration policy. Thus, in May of 1947, Prime Minister Mackenzie King explained to Parliament that Canada would now encourage immigration to the limits of its "absorptive capacity" and in compliance with the existing character of its population. He also acknowledged Canada's moral obligation to help resolve the urgent problem of the resettlement of persons who were displaced and homeless.[18]

In the following years, a new set of Orders-in-Council were designed to ease admission requirements and allow for a greater inflow. As the majority of the capital formation in Canada in the first postwar decade went into constructing pipelines, highways, new resource facilities, and housing, a considerable demand existed for semi-skilled and unskilled labour in addition to skilled manpower,[19] of which major supplies were found in western Europe. Canada thus moved to meet its labour needs from traditionally preferred sources, and between 1947 and 1950, sponsorship rights, occupational categories, and status of admissability of residents from countries who had been at war with Canada were significantly expanded. This opened an opportunity for German-Canadians to apply for the admission of their displaced German relatives, and *Volksdeutsche* were included among the first groups to benefit from Canada's new policy.[20]

Between 1947 and 1950, some 20,000 German ethnics were admitted through

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[18]Green, p.21; Freda Hawkins, *Canada and Immigration: Public Policy and Public Concern*, 2.ed. (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989), p.92. Irving Abella and Harold Troper, in *None Is Too Many: Canada and the Jews of Europe, 1933-1948* (Toronto: Lester & Orpen Dennys Ltd., 1982) attribute the gradual opening of Canada's doors to Jewish refugees after 1947 to international pressure and, more importantly, to Canada's economic self-interest in admitting highly trained immigrants.

[19]Green, p.133.

[20]See also Geralde E. Dirk, *Canada's Refugee Policy: Indifference of Opportunism?* (Montreal and London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1977), pp.150.

the efforts of their Canadian relatives and the liaison work and financial assistance of secular and religious organizations.[21] But, while the immigration restrictions against nationals of Finland, Hungary, Italy, and Roumania had been lifted in July 1947, *Reichsdeutsche* were still not admitted unless able to prove that they had been opposed to the Nazi regime.[22] For years, German–Canadian representatives had been demanding the removal of the prohibition law against German nationals, denouncing it as a matter of discrimination against German–Canadians who were not allowed to sponsor their relatives, and as a denial of the economic benefit that could derive from skilled and professional German manpower. Ethnic organizations wrote petitions and lobbied with politicians in support of this demand.[23] The German ethnic newspaper *Courier* was one of the most vigorous and articulate of advocates for the removal of the immigration restrictions against German nationals.[24]

The Canadian Christian Council for the Resettlement of Refugees, whose humanitarian concern with helping displaced persons and refugees was widely respected, also advocated a reconsideration of Canada's existing immigration regulations. For example, the Council questioned the validity of the concept German national, and pointed out to the Canadian government that every German–speaker who was resettled during the Third Reich had German citizenship automatically conferred upon him or her.[25]

The Minister of the newly created Department of Citizenship and Immigration,

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[21]See *Courier*, 11 January 1950, p.3; also Gottlieb Leibbrandt, *Little Paradise: Aus Geschichte und leben der Deutschkanadier in der County Waterloo, Ontario 1800–1975* (Kitchener: Allprint Company Ltd., 1977), p. 362.
[22]Kalbach, pp.21; see Order–in–Council 4870 of November 1947.
[23]For example, H. Gummel, head of the Osoyoos branch of the Canadian Society for German Relief, in a a letter to the Member of Parliament for the Kelowna riding, O. L. Jones, on 15 December 1948. Canadian Society for German Relief. Public Archives of Canada. MG 20 V 28 vol. I file: "Osoyoos: Correspondence".
[24]*Courier,* 18 May 1949, p.1 and 25 May 1949, p.3.
[25]William H. J. Sturhahn, "The Canadian Christian Council for the Resettlement of Refugees: Its Contribution to German Postwar Immigration to Canada," *Annals: German–Canadian Studies,* vol.3 (1980), p.46.

Walter E. Harris, soon responded to this legal argument as well as to the demand by Canadians for family reunification with their German relatives. Restrictions were eased in March of 1950 to allow for the admission of German nationals who were close relatives or spouses of Canadian residents and of those who had not been citizens of the Third Reich on 1 September 1939 – excepting those who had voluntarily supported the Nazi regime.[26] This policy change permitted thousands of German nationals to apply for admission.

But German–Canadians continued to press for a complete removal of remaining restrictions, employing a new, political point borne of the Cold War: in Canada, German immigrants would strengthen the Western, anti–Communist position, whereas in Europe this valuable manpower could fall into the hands of the Soviet Union and might be used against the West.[27] Indeed, in the changing political climate of the postwar years, those suspected as supporters of the Nazi regimes were rarely barred from admission. By contrast, as historian Alvin Finkel recently observed, "leftists" were "deemed harmful to Canada's national aims as interpreted by the federal Government."[28]

Moreover, Canada's economic interests seemed to command the admission of German manpower. Thus, the government decided that the restriction of German nationals from entry deprived Canada of immigrants whose professional, technical, and industrial skills would be an asset to the Canadian economy. On 14 September 1950,

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[26]Kalbach, p.27. As the restrictive clause regarding "voluntary support" for the National Socialist regime was generally identified with membership in the Nazi party or of the SS, the CCCRR also investigated this issue with respect to "Volksdeutsche", and could then prove to the satisfaction of the Minister in the summer of 1950 that the question of joining these Nazi organizations had frequently been a matter of survival in all the countries overrun by the Wehrmacht. Sturhahn, p.49.

[27]For a vivid example for this line of argument, see Theo Schaffer, vice–president of the Canadian Society for German Relief, to Minister W. E. Harris, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, on 14 August 1950. Canadian Society of German Relief. Public Archives of Canada. MG 20 V 28 vol.I file: "General Correspondence".

[28]Alvin Finkel, "Canadian Immigration Policy and the Cold War, 1945–1980," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, vol.12 No.3 (Fall 1986), p.53.

an Order-in-Council removed the restriction and brought German nationals within the generally admissable classes applicable to other Europeans, excepting only those who had been members of the *Waffen-SS*".[29]

Thus, the development of Canadian immigration policy vis-a-vis Germans until 1950 was influenced by a combination of economic, humanitarian, ideological, political, and social factors which gradually outbalanced anti-immigrant and anti-German positions[30] and resulted in Germans being once again regarded as desirable newcomers to Canada. This renewed, positive perception of Germans was also manifested in Canadian authorities' efforts to stimulate a substantial German immigration movement after 1950. An Order-in-Council of June 1950 stated the government's principal view on immigration: a person was seen fit to enter Canada provided he could satisfy the Minister that

> he is a suitable immigrant having regard to the climate, social, education, industrial, labour, and other conditions and requirements in Canada, and is not undesirable owing to his peculiar customs, modes of life, methods of holding property, or because of his inability to become readily adapted and integrated into the life of a Canadian community and to asume the duties of Canadian citizenship within a reasonable time after entry.[31]

Effective June 1953, the Canadian Immigration Act of 1952 made provisons for the flexible regulation of the actual flow of immigration and the classes of persons admissable. Among the countries which immigration regulations defined as desirable sources of immigrants was Germany.[32]

German immigrants generally fulfilled the ethnic and occupational requirements of Canada's postwar immigration policy to a high degree. Moreover, the Canadian government found the German authorities willing to cooperate in a large-scale

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[29]Kalbach, p.28. The *Courier* claimed that "the end of discrimination" was primarily attributable to its sustained struggle for equality of rights. 5 April 1951, p.1.
[30]For a comparative view, see Bassler, "Canadian Immigration Policy," p.184.
[31]Kalbach, p.28.
[32]See *Canada Year Book* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1954).

movement of Germans to Canada[33], especially as Canada successfully met one of prospective immigrants' major problems by inaugurating the "Assisted Passage Loan Scheme" in February 1951.[34] It provided interest-free loans for immigrants whose skills were in demand in Canada and who needed financial assistance.[35] The West German government cooperated with Canada as with other receiving countries in the selection of suitable emigrants, in the hope of alleviating its refugee and unemployment problem. While tens of thousands of applications were submitted by prospective emigrants to the Canadian visa offices[36] as well as to the missions of other countries who permitted their entry, a Federal Office for Emigration was established in Cologne in 1952 and subordinate counselling offices in most major cities of the Federal Republic followed. These offices advised prospective emigrants and cooperated with foreign consulates in their selection.[37]

The backlog of demand for admission to Canada in 1950 was considerable. To many young Germans in particular, Canada offered wide opportunities for socio-economic advancement, for home-ownership, and for a better future for their children in a free and independent country.[38] At the same time, the flow of German

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[33]In October 1950, the Canadian Director of Immigration visited the Federal Republic and in discussions with German officials clarified the Canadian policy and programme. Kalbach, p.23.

[34]By 1952 it was still prohibited fro Germans in Germany to possess American or Canadian Dollars or to trade with them in order to establish the new West German currency, see *Nordwesten*, 9 January 1953, p.3; also Department of Citizenship and Immigration. Public Archives of Canada. RG 76 vol.821 file: "Immigration from Germany"; Confidential Briefing Paper 1957.

[35]Refer to *Immigration and Population Statistics* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, Department of Manpower and Immigration, 1974): in total 32,788 immigrants came to Canada under the scheme between 1951 and 1955, and then again 96,224 in 1956-60, 73,728 in 1961-65, and 116,254 in 1966-70.

[36]In Germany, Canadian immigration headquarters were located in Karlsruhe until they were moved to Cologne in 1956; visa offices were opend during the 1950s in Hannover, Bremem, Hamburg, Munich, West Berlin, and Stuttgart. Hawkins, p.237.

[37]Department of Citizenship and Immigration. RG 76 vol. 832 file 552-11-551: "Pomotional Activities".

[38]*Nordwesten,* "Auswanderungsgeist der jungen Generation Deutschlands," 7 November 1951, p.5; compare Louis Parai, *Immigration and Emigration of Professional and Skilled Manpower during the Postwar Period* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1975), p.90.

immigrants was sensitive to economic activities in Canada. Thus, the first setback in the German as well as the overall inflow was experienced in 1954/55 as a result of a temporary recession and rising unemployment in Canada (Figures 1.1., 1.4 and 1.5). Simultaneously, the German-Canadian media noted for the first time that a marked number of German postwar immigrants preferred to return to their homeland.[39]

Meanwhile, attitudes toward emigration were beginning to change within the West German government as well. Although German and Allied authorities welcomed emigration as a partial solution to demographic and economic problems, the loss of German labour also began to arouse concerns.[40] For example, as the Adenauer government planned to reestablish armed forces, the emigration of young men came to be looked upon increasingly unfavourably.[41] Then, when the Federal Republic started to experience its "economic miracle," politicians and economists perceived no longer any real surplus of manpower. Yet, although the German government largely ceased to cooperate in recruiting and selecting prospective emigrants, and a German law of 1874 prohibited the direct solicitation of immigrants through advertisement, motives for emigration and the attraction of Canada were still so strong that spontaneous applications to the Canadian missions in the Federal Republic reached a new peak in 1957. The extension of the Assisted Passage Loan Scheme in 1956 to include the transportation costs of the dependents of immigrants to Canada certainly encouraged this development.[42]

In the same year, however, a slowdown in the Canadian economy and heavy unemployment (Figure 1.5.) moved the recently elected Conservative government to

[39]*Nordwesten,* "Die Frage der Rueckwanderer kritisch beleuchtet," 19 June 1954, p.6; *Courier,* "The Incapable Ones Return Home," 16 September 1954, p.21.

[40]*Nordwesten,* "Deutschland beliefert internationalen Arbeitsmarkt." 4 June 1952, p.2; and "202,000 Deutsche sind seit Kriegsende ausgewandert." 1 September 1954, p.2.

[41]*Nordwesten,* "Wehrpflicht beschneidet Auswanderung Jugendlicher," 1 September 1954, p.1.

[42]Department of Citizenship and Immigration. RG 76 vol.821 file 552-1-551: "Immigration from Germany". Confidential Briefing Paper. 30 June 1957. This extension met an old objection of German officials.

FIGURE 1.4.   TOTAL IMMIGRANT ARRIVALS IN CANADA, 1945 - 1970.
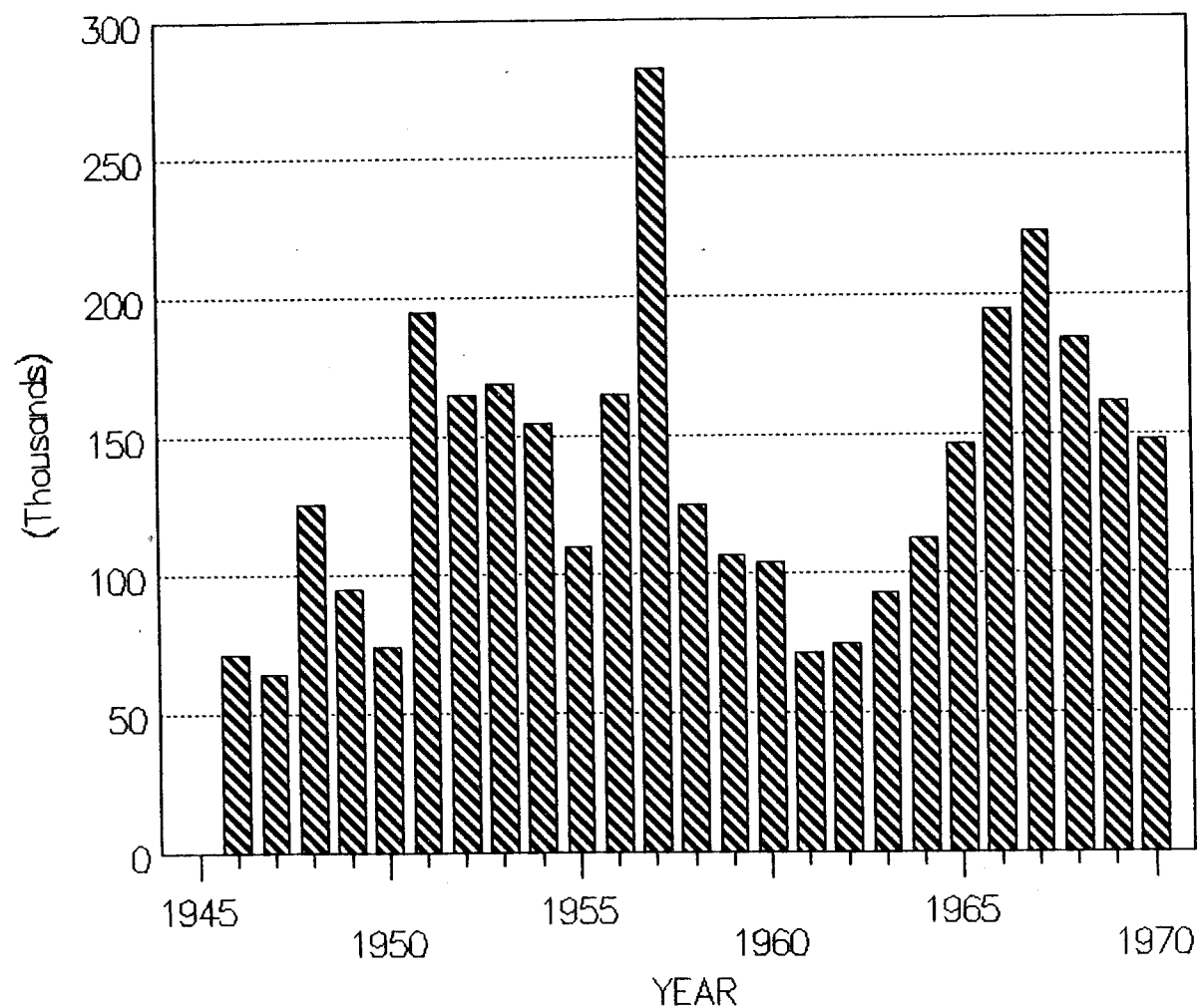
FIGURE 1.5.   UNEMPLOYMENT RATE IN CANADA, 1945 - 1970.
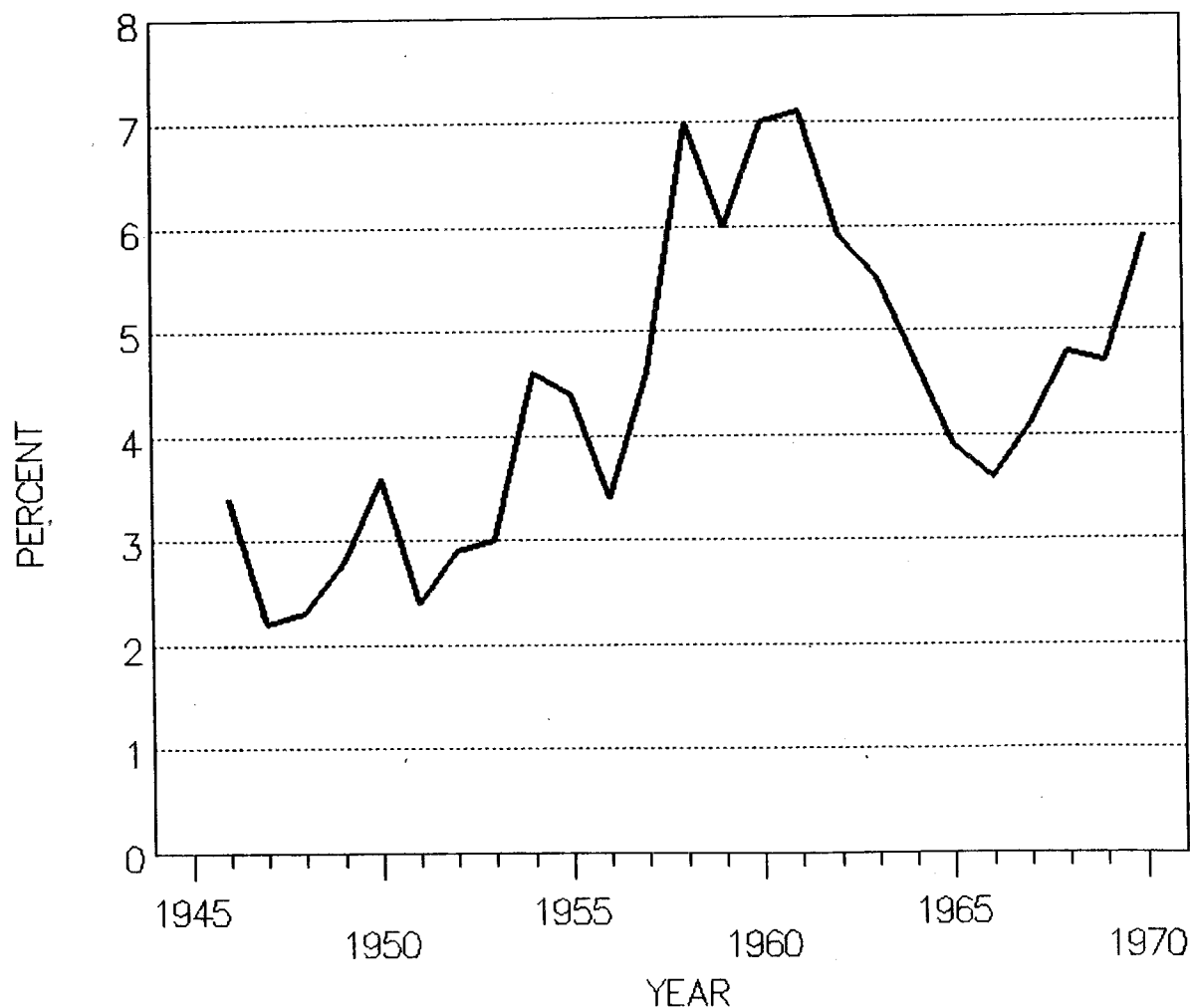
SOURCE: Historical Statistics of Canada, ed. F. H. Leacy (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, Minister of Supply and Services, 1983),

restrict the admission of immigrants to Canada to all but British subjects. The downward trend in the Canadian economy from 1957 to 1961 not only diminished the country's attractiveness for German immigrants and prospective German emigrants, but it also encouraged many German postwar immigrants already in Canada to consider remigrating to the United States or to return to Germany. Correspondents of the German ethnic press in Germany found that the perception of limited economic opportunities, the high cost of living, lack of social security, and a general disappointment in Canada were most often named reasons by those returning to the homeland.[43] The West German Department of Manpower and other ministries also observed with great interest the apparent discrepancy between the increasing shortage of skilled labour in the Federal Republic and the rising unemployment in Canada, and German authorities made efforts to help returning Germans on an individual basis.[44]

The Canadian Department of Citizenship and Immigration carefully observed the decline of the German influx and the development of the West German economy. In a confidential briefing paper, the Canadian Embassy in Bonn reviewed the effect of the economic miracle:

> The German people enjoyed a high standard of living and full employment. Germany itself was recruiting workers from other European countries. High quality goods, reasonable in price, were plentiful. German currency was stable and the demand for high quality German manufactures in world markets was being sustained. In the circumstances it is surprising that any German wanted to emigrate.[45]

Canadian immigration personnel felt that Germans' motives for emigration now lay

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[43]*Courier*, "Arbeitslosigkeit foerdert Rueckwanderung," 29 May 1958, p.13; "Verstaerkte Abwanderung in die USA," 17 March 1960, p.11; *Vancouver Province*, "'Most B.C. Germans will stay'," 4 July 1960, p.28.

[44]In 1959, the German Department of Manpower requested the Foreign Office to distribute a circular to its consular offices which addressed disappointed emigrants as long as they were still German citizens: a questionaire by the Central Employment Office in Germany allowed for specifications of desired time of return, employment expectations, family situation, and financial resources. Alfred Schulze, "Rueckkehr in die alte Heimat," *Nordwesten*, 22 December 1960, p.5.

[45]Department of Citizenship and Immigration. RG 76 vol. 821 file 552-1-551: "Immigration from Germany". Confidential Briefing Paper. 1964.

particularly in personal, political, military, and demographic considerations.[46] As they were aware of German authorities' sensitivity toward any obvious activity designed to encourage large-scale emigration, the visa office in Cologne proposed a more cautious policy of enhanced personal attention to individual Germans seeking advice on immigration to Canada and of increased indirect promotional activities.[47]

Faced with declining immigration on one hand and considerable unemployment among its unskilled and semi-skilled manpower on the other, the Department of Citizenship and Immigration embarked an a reexamination of the concepts underlying the country's immigration policy.[48] In 1960/61, a recession forced the Canadian government to refrain from active recruitment of immigrants.[49] Yet, following its economic recovery, Canadian immigration officers in Germany started to intensify their promotional activities and continued to do so throughout most of the decade. As Germans exhibited a declining willingness to seek their fortunes abroad[50] the Department encouraged transportation companies and travel agencies to promote Canada – ostensibly for the sole purpose of publicizing tourist travel. Immigration officers themselves often toured the country with films, lectures, and press conferences about Canada.[51]

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[46]Department of Cititzenship and Immigration. RG 76 vol.821 file 552-1-551: "Immigration from Germany". Letter from the Attache, Visa Office Cologne, to the Chief of Operations, Immigration Branch. 3 May 1960.

[47]Ibid. See also Department of Citizenship and Immigration. RG 76 vol.821 file 552-1-551: "Immigration from Germany". Memorandum on Berlin and East German Refugees. 10 June 1955.

[48]For example, as 1960 was World Refugee Year, this source of potential immigrants was discussed, for example with regard to refugee farmers from East Germany. See *Globe and Mail*, "Revamping of Immigration Policy Poses 1961 Challenge." 3 January 1960, p.3.

[49]This decision resulted in an engaged commentary from leaders of ethnic groups in Toronto, see *Globe and Mail*, "Ethnic Groups Criticize Policy on Recruiting of Immigrants." 19 August 1961, p.5.

[50]See an investigation by the EMNID Institute for Public Opinion Research in Bielefeld of 1962. Translated for the Department of Citizenship and Immigration. RG 76 vol. 821 file: 552-2-551: "Immigration from Germany."

[51]See Department of Citizenship and Immigration. RG 76 vol.821 file: 552-2-551 "Immigration from Germany". Confidential Briefing Paper 1964.

After 1961, total immigration to Canada gradually recovered and reached a new peak in 1967 with some 220,000 arrivals. This development was due to Canada's renewed economic prosperity and low unemployment rates, and to the new recruitment strategies developed along with the government's return to an expansionary, positive attitude toward immigration. In 1962, immigration regulations started to remove racial discrimination as one of the most prominent features of Canada's immigration policy, retaining a preference for the tradionally preferred European newcomers mainly by permitting them to sponsor a wider range of relatives and through the denser concentration of Canadian visa offices in Europe.[52]

This expansion of admissable classes of immigrants was directly related to the growth of Canadian manufacturing and service industries, educational facilities, and social services and technology, which precipitated an increasing demand for highly skilled manual and professional manpower.[53] This demand could not be satisfied by domestic supply nor by imported manpower from traditionally preferred sources of immigrants. Following a major review of immigration and the publication of a White Paper in March of 1966, independent immigrants were now to be admitted to Canada according to an assessment system that focused on immigrants' skills and educational attainment coupled with occupational need in Canada rather than ethnic origin.[54]

German immigrants to Canada reflected these new Canadian immigration objectives as well as their perception that Canada offered attractive economic opportunities for highly trained manpower: by the late 1960s, over 20% of the German newcomers were professionals and technicians (Figure 1.3.). While push and pull factors were still potent enough to draw thousands of Germans to Canada every year, they no longer ranged among the top nationalities entering the country nor had Canada remained the primary destination of those tens of thousands of Germans who still

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[52]Hawkins, p.125.
[53]Green, p.134.
[54]Green, pp.36; Richmond and Kalbach, p.61; Canada Year Book 1969.

sought their fortunes aborad.

The phases of German postwar immigration to Canada reflected both Germany's and Canada's postwar development and the attitudes and actions of their respective governments. Yet, the transatlantic movement of Germans was also shaped by the German population in Canada. Soon after the war's end, German-Canadians began to express deep concern for the plight of fellow ethnics in Europe, and they almost immediately organized humanitarian assistance. At first, money and clothing were forwarded through international members of the Relief Agencies licensed for operation in Germany.[55] Then, in April of 1946, the Canadian Lutheran Relief Society for Germany commenced operations[56], and – after constant pleas from the German-Canadian public – in the winter of 1946, Ottawa permitted the formation of the Canadian Society for German Relief.[57]

The Relief Society relied on donation appeals in the German ethnic press and on fundraisers organized by its local branches.[58] While the Society collected and forwarded provisions, clothing, and medical supplies as well as considerable sums of money, German-Canadians also continued to make donations to the American CARE organization and ordered the delivery of countless "gift of love" parcels through various shipment agencies.[59] Yet, soon German-Canadians decided that the long-term

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[55]For example, the Mennonite Central Committee, the World Church Service, and the American Committee for the Relief of German Needy Inc. Rudolf A. Helling, *A Socio-Economic History of German-Canadians,* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1982), p.89.

[56]*Courier,* "Genehmigung des Canadisch-Lutherischen Hilfswerkes fuer Deutschland," 3 April 1946, p.1.

[57]Canadian Society for German Relief. Public Archives of Canada. MG 20 v 4. vol.1. Constitution of the 3 June 1947. Headquarters: Kitchener, Ontario. German-Canadians in Vancouver were among the first communities to raise the issue of aid for and solidarity with Germans in Europe. *Courier,* 20 October 1945, p.5.

[58]In B.C., the formation of branches in Vancouver and Osoyoos reflected the location of German concentrated settlement in the province; *Nordwesten,* 25 October 1950, p.5. and "Das deutsch-canadische Hilfswerk berichtet," 1 August 1951, p.4.

[59]CARE opened a branch in Ottawa in January 1947 in order to serve its many Canadian clients. *Courier,* 8 January 1947, p.1; private parcels directly from Canada to

improvement of the condition of their fellow ethnics in Europe lay in immigration. They promoted a considerable portion of the subsequent immigration movement by lobbying for changes in Canada's immigration policy, by sponsoring their German relatives, and by financing and working in secular and religious organizations that carried much of the immigrant processing responsibility until the early 1950s.

After the alteration of Canadian immigration policy in 1947 opened the way for German ethnic refugees and displaced persons to be sponsored by their Canadian relatives, more than 30,000 applications poured into the various district offices of the immigration branch of the Department of Mines and Resources. But because Germans did not fall under the mandate of the International Refugee Organization, Canadian churches became instrumental in arranging for the transfer of German ethnic immigrants. The churches enjoyed the trust of both the Canadian authorities and the German–Canadian public, they could organize the movement through already existing international networks, and they had the financial resources – supplied by German and non–German members – to extend monetary assistance to needy emigrants. Having collected and supplied aid to the homeless and hungry in Europe through the World Council of Churches, they now began to concentrate on the immigration of displaced persons to Canada.

The Canadian Christian Council for the Resettlement of Refugees (CCCRR) was formed in June of 1947.[60] It established facilities in Germany, processed applications by Canadians for the entry of their German ethnic relatives, and extended loans to cover transportation costs.[61] In 1950, the Council began to concentrate its

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[59](cont'd) Germany started to be permitted again in September 1946. –

[60]The charter members of the CCCRR were Canadian Lutheran World Relief, German Baptist Immigration and Colonization Society, Catholic Immigration Aid, Canadian Mennonite Board of Colonization, joined by the Latvian Relief Fund of Canada and the Sudeten Committee. Hawkins, p.302; Bassler, pp.186 offers a more detailed description of their early immigration work.

[61]The individual member organizations of the CCCRR each maintained their own networks and took care of refugees belonging to their respective faiths. Thus the Canadian Lutheran World Relief alone assisted over 20,000 Germans in coming to

efforts on the immigration of refugees who did not fall under the "close relative" category. It successfully explored ways of employing Canadian programmes such as the Farm Labour Scheme, the Sugar Beet Worker Plan, and the Domestic Scheme, to forward immigration and it continued to offer financial help with favourable credit arrangements.[62] Between 1947 and 1954 some 20,000 CCCRR assisted immigrants of German ethnic origin landed in Canada,[63] justifying the image of the Council as the *Wegbereiter* (pathfinder) of German postwar immigration to Canada.[64]

The majority of German arrivals between 1945 and 1970, however, came on an individual basis, without the assistance of government or non-government agencies. The extent of their yearly influx and their preference for Canada over any other country throughout most of the postwar period points at the ease with which Germans entered the country and gives an indication of the extent to which the image of "the land of the future" or "the land of opportunity" had permeated the minds of prospective German emigrants. The image, and thus German expectations of life in Canada, were shaped by the kinds of information they were exposed to prior to departure from their homeland.[65] Throughout the 1950s in particular, Canada's image

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[61](cont'd)· Canada (Canadian Lutheran World Relief. Public Archives of Canada. MG 38 V 20) and German Baptist Immigration agencies assisted at least 7,000 and played an important role in matching Canadian farmers, forestry companies etc. with German labour as well as supplying loans and accommodation (Baptist World Alliance Immigration. Public Archives of Canada. MG 28 V 18).

[62]The CCCRR showed itself very pleased with the adaptation of their immigrants to the Canadian environment, see G. M. Berkefeld (Director of CCCRR Bremen), "A Brief Review of the 'Volksdeutsche' Immigration," *Canadian German Business Review.* vol.1 No.3 (October 1955), p.4; Sturhahn, p.49.

[63]Dirks, p.272.

[64]This term was used in *Nordwesten,* 23 July 1952, p.2. Aside from religious organizations, secular associations promoted the transfer of Germans in a simialar fashion and in cooperation with the CCCRR, most notable the Canadian Baltic Immigration Aid Society (Public Archives of Canada. MG 28 V 99). It was organized in 1948 at the initiative of Robert-Wendelin von Keyserlingk in Montreal, organized the immigration movement, established a strong network in Canada, and encouraged the preservation of Baltic customs, social gatherings, and mutual assistance. Struhahn, p.48; Matthias Kuester, "Die Baltendeutschen in Kanada," *German-Canadian Yearbook.* vol.4 (1979), pp.56.

[65]Richmond, *Postwar Immigrants in Canada,* p.157.

among prospective emigrants in Germany was formed through official information produced by the Department of Citizenship and Immigration,[66] counselling by the West German Emigration Offices, sporadic articles in the German press,[67] and private letters and reports from Germans in Canada who sponsored relatives or encouraged friends to follow them.[68]

Moreover, the rich variety of reports, personal stories, and commentary contained in the German-Canadian newspapers was an important source of information for prospective emigrants, recent arrivals, and established residents of German origin.[69] These newspapers, which had lobbied so energetically for the removal of the exemption laws, were determined to further immigration and assist in Germans' settlement process. For the ethnic press and the Trans-Canada Alliance of German-Canadians, the integration of immigrants and their perception of the new environment ultimately depended upon their "proper" introduction to Canadian realities.[70]

The German ethnic press informed newcomers about the economic, social, and legal aspects of life in Canada. It tried to familiarize them with the conditions for acquiring Canadian citizenship, social services, the educational system, and political structures, thus assisting the newcomer in gaining an initial understanding of Canadian society in the ethnic tongue. The press also included guidelines for settlement decisions in reports about regional climatic and economic differences, levels of employment, wages, the cost of living, and job opportunities. Overall, the German-Canadian newspapers presented a positive image of Canada, economic opportunities in particular, and thus gave newcomers and prospective emigrants the impression that life in Canada

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[66]Department of Citizenship and Immigration. Public Archives of Canada. RG 76 vol.833 file 552-11-551: "Promotional Activities in Germany".

[67]For example, H.R. Berndorff, "Ich wandere aus!" *Revue*, 29 April 1950, pp.1-9.

[68]*Courier*, "Falsche Vorstellungen?" 16 July 1952, p.3 editorial.

[69]Many German-Canadian newspapers, such as the *Courier, Nordwesten,* or the *Pazifische Rundschau,* had sizeable overseas circulations, ranging between 5% to 10% of their total editions.

[70]*Courier,* 25 November 1957, p.9. or 14 August 1958, p.10.

offered a better future for every hard-working newcomer.[71] Rarely did newspaper editors discuss the common problems encountered by newcomers or prepare emigrants for the economic, social, and psychological implications of starting a new life.

The German press not only praised Canada and thus assisted in confirming in European minds the image of the new "land of opportunity", but it also presented a positive image of German-Canadians and German immigrants to the Canadian public. Having lobbied so strongly for the opening of Canada's doors to both ethnic and national Germans after the war, praising them as eager and grateful for a new chance to prove themselves through hard work, the newspapers obviously dreaded the thought of German immigrants now appearing as 'trouble-makers'.[72] This concern was rooted in the two conflicting images of Germans in the Canadian mind and the historical experiences of Germans in Canada. Traditionally, Germans have enjoyed the reputation of being honest, hard-working, easily assimilated, and thus desirable immigrants. In both world wars, however, this image was challenged, and in some sections of the population displaced, by the picture of the militaristic, aggressive, sadistic German, unfit for a liberal democracy. Consequently, in their own interest, German-Canadians of the post-World War II period were eager to replace the negative, political stereotype with the positive, economic image of the good immigrant and fellow Canadian.

Efforts to improve the standing of Germans in Canadian public opinion and to promote German postwar immigration were also related to other German-Canadian hopes and aspirations. The struggle for the removal of immigration restrictions formed part of a public assertion of their equal rights – an argument often employed in petitions to the Canadian government – and also derived from German-Canadians' belief in the benefit of German manpower to Canada's economic development. At the

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[71]Examples can be found in about every issue of the *Courier*, especially 8 July 1949, p.4; 21 January 1954, p.12; 12 May 1955, p.10, and in numerous *Courier* editorials.
[72]See *Courier*, "Um des guten Namens willen," 28 January 1954, p.3 (ed); "Die Einfachste Art, sich unbeliebt zu machen," 21 August 1958, p.9.

same time, a massive German postwar immigration movement was expected to revitalize German ethnic community life in Canada and to strengthen the position of the ethnic culture within the society at large.

By the late 1960s, however, the concern of most German–Canadians with immigration had subsided. German arrivals were neither subjected to special restrictions nor did they range any more prominently among the immigrant cohort. German ethnic life had indeed revived with the postwar influx, yet the German immigrants adjusted quickly to their new environment and did not depend on representation on their interests through the ethnic media or ethnic organizations. Thus, in the German press in Canada, the issue of immigration had been replaced by reports about German ethnic life and domestic economic and political matters.

In many respects, established German–Canadians functioned as intermediaries between German immigrants and the new land, in so doing reflecting their ethnic identity and solidarity but also their conviction that life in Canada was preferable. They lobbied for the removal of exemption laws and organized relief, thereby reinforcing the traditional image of wealth and security overseas giving the impression of a strong German ethnic community system in Canada. They promoted a favourable image of Canada in their personal contacts and in the German ethnic press, and at the same time gave practical and ethical advice designed to assist in the successful settlement of German newcomers. Moreover, they sponsored their German ethnic and national relatives – particularly during the late 1940s and early 1950s, but also throughout the succeeding decades.

Despite fluctuations in German emigrants' evaluation of their prospects abroad and their changing motives for leaving the homeland, their continuous influx shows that Canada represented a "land of the future" throughout the postwar period for German ethnic refugees, unemployed skilled workers, those resenting compulsory military

conscription, those disillusioned in the West German political system, persons in search of an alternative life, for adventurers, and for professionals and entrepreneurs seeking better economic opportunities. An apparent abundance of land resources, an expanding economy, a high degree of individual freedom, and the chance to start anew and perhaps advance further than in the more rigidly structured West German economic and social system, contrasted favourably with demographic pressures, land shortages, wartime destruction and fear of war as well as the moral and political burden of the National Socialist past in the old country.

These recent immigrants were a highly heterogeneous group, in terms of their regional and even national origins, their economic characteristics, their educational levels, and their motives for emigration. Yet, the majority of them had in common the wish to build a better future for themselves and their children in Canada and to regain respect and prosperity as individuals. Their influx was encouraged by Canadian immigration authorities, and they arrived in Canada at a time of rapid economic and demographic growth and urban development. Like other immigrant nationalities, German newcomers predominantly settled in metropolitan areas such as Vancouver, where they struggled to adjust to a new economic and social environment, to be accepted by other Canadians and to acquire their own homes, while at the same time seeking expressions of their ethnic identity in their own private sphere and their relations with other Germans.

II. GERMAN RESIDENTIAL PATTERNS IN VANCOUVER

In 1971, the Canada Census recorded some 90,000 Germans living in Greater Vancouver, approximately a quarter of whom had come to Canada after the Second World War. They were found widely distributed over the metropolitan area, with a pronounced residential concentration being located in the Vancouver South district. This chapter analyzes the evolution of German ethnic Vancouverites' residential patterns from 1941 to 1981. Particular attention will be paid to such spatial phenomena as the concentration of German ethnic residents and institutions in Vancouver South, the development and decline of a German shopping centre on Robson Street, and Germans' marked attraction to the suburbs. Moreover, implications of Germans' wide residential distribution will be assessed.

The persistence and viability of ethnic communities has traditionally been related to the residential segregation of an ethnic origin group from majority groups in society and the formation of dense ethnic enclaves.[1] At the same time, the wide spatial distribution of a minority population has often been interpreted as a sign of structural integration into the society at large.[2] As the analysis of socio-economic and ethnic factors in Germans' residential patterns and the simultaneous existence of residential integration and ethnic community survival will show, however, monocausal theories offer no satisfactory explanations for the spatial features that characterized the German population in Vancouver. Rather, their residential patterns present themselves as shaped by a wide range of factors, including urban development, residents'

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[1] For example Stanley Lieberson, "The Impact of Residential Segregation on Ethnic Assimilation," *Social Forces,* vol.40 no.1 (March 1961), pp.52.; W. Lloyd Warner and Leo Srole, *The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945); Leo Driedger and Glenn Church, "Residential Segregation and Institutional Completeness: A Comparison of Ethnic Minorities," *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology,* vol.11 no.1 (February 1974), pp.30-52.

[2] For example, A. Gordon Darroch and Wilfred G. Marston, "The Social Class Basis of Ethnic Residential Segregation," *American Journal of Sociology,* vol.77 no.3 (1976), pp.498. Francis A. Ianni, "Residential and Occupational Mobility as Indices of the Acculturation of an Ethnic Group," *Social Forces,* vol.36 no.3 (October 1957), pp.65.

socio-economic characteristics and desire for home-ownership, the availability of communication and transportation means, and the continued importance of the ethnic neighbourhood as an economic and cultural centre for immigrants and Canadian-born Germans.

Figures 2.1 to 2.5 reflect the location and the degree of German ethnic residential concentration in the Greater Vancouver area over a period of forty years. In 1941 (Figure 2.1.) German ethnics constituted 1.8% of the Vancouver population (city only).[3] Germans displayed a mild concentration in the West End (2.6%) and in the Vancouver South district (3.6%), though the latter was perceived as the city's "German area."[4] Both districts had lower than average incomes per male resident and offered affordable accommodation to German post-World War I immigrants who for the most part were labourers and craftsmen. In Vancouver South, the German-oriented Martin Luther Church at Fraser St. and 41. Avenue and a few shops, attested to the presence of a small German community. In the West End, along Robson Street, German business-people had also opened a few shops and restaurants.

By 1951, the German element in the Vancouver metropolitan area had grown to 3.6% or 19,328. Figure 2.2 reveals signs of what were to become two persistent developments in the spatial patterns of the ethnic population. Germans increasingly clustered in the Vancouver South area while producing lower concentrations in adjacent neighbourhoods, and they were overrepresented in some parts of newly incorporated southern and southeastern suburbs, particularly Richmond and Surrey. In Vancouver South, the increasing concentration of Germans was complemented by developments in

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[3] There is a common agreement that a considerable proportion of Germans in Canada actually preferred to report themselves as of Dutch or Swiss origin due to the wartime atmosphere.

[4] See Ruth Gumpp, *The Germans in British Columbia, 1930-1945: Perceptions and Reality of an Ethnic Group* (B. A. Honours Essay, University of British Columbia, 1986).

FIGURE 2.1. 1941 VANCOUVER CENSUS TRACTS. PROPORTION OF GERMAN ETHNIC RESIDENTS
(VANCOUVER AVERAGE: 1.8%).
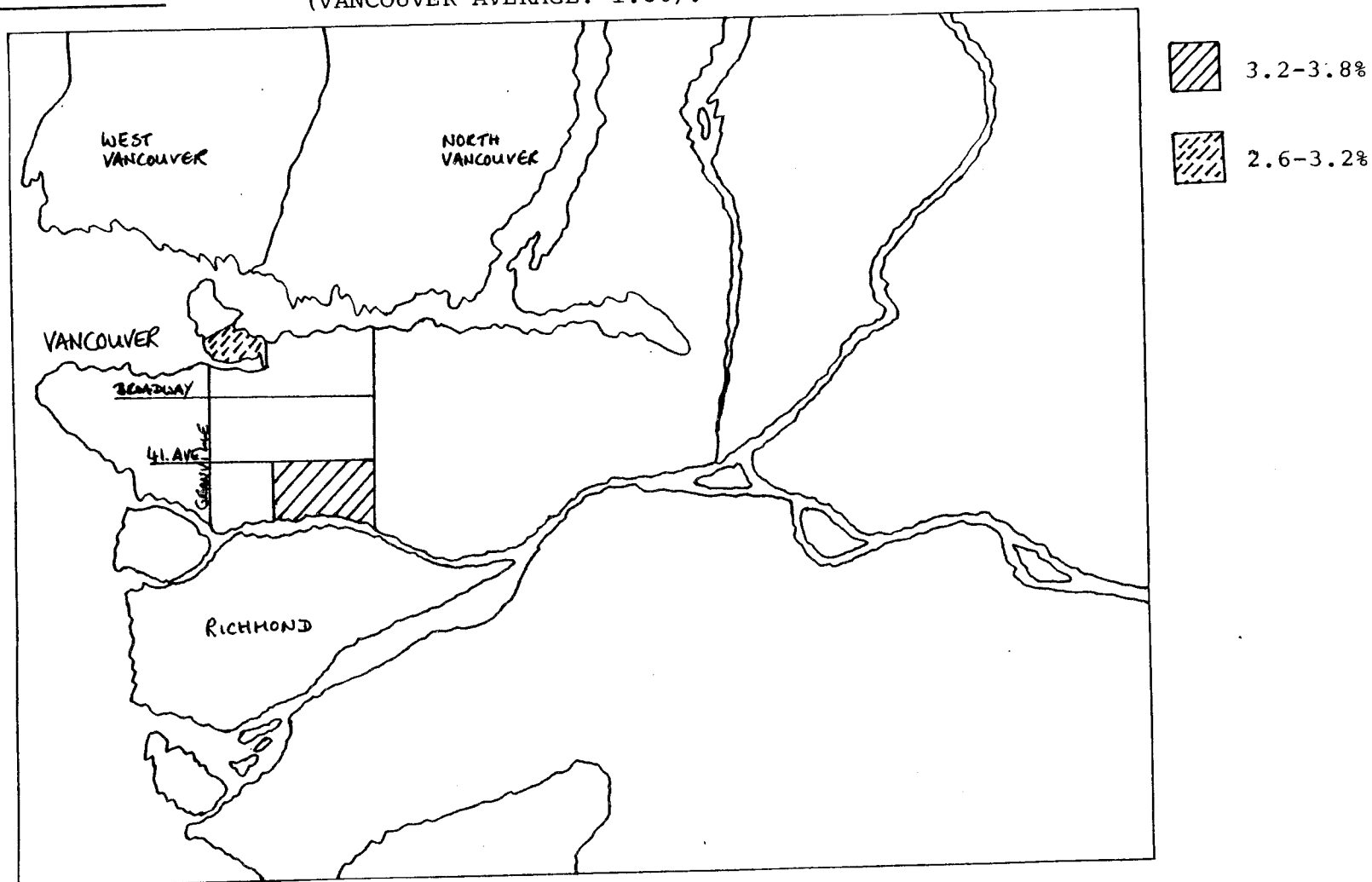
SOURCE: CENSUS OF CANADA, 1941.

FIGURE 2.2.   1951 VANCOUVER CENSUS TRACTS. PROPORTION OF GERMAN ETHNIC RESIDENTS
(VANCOUVER AVERAGE: 3.6%).
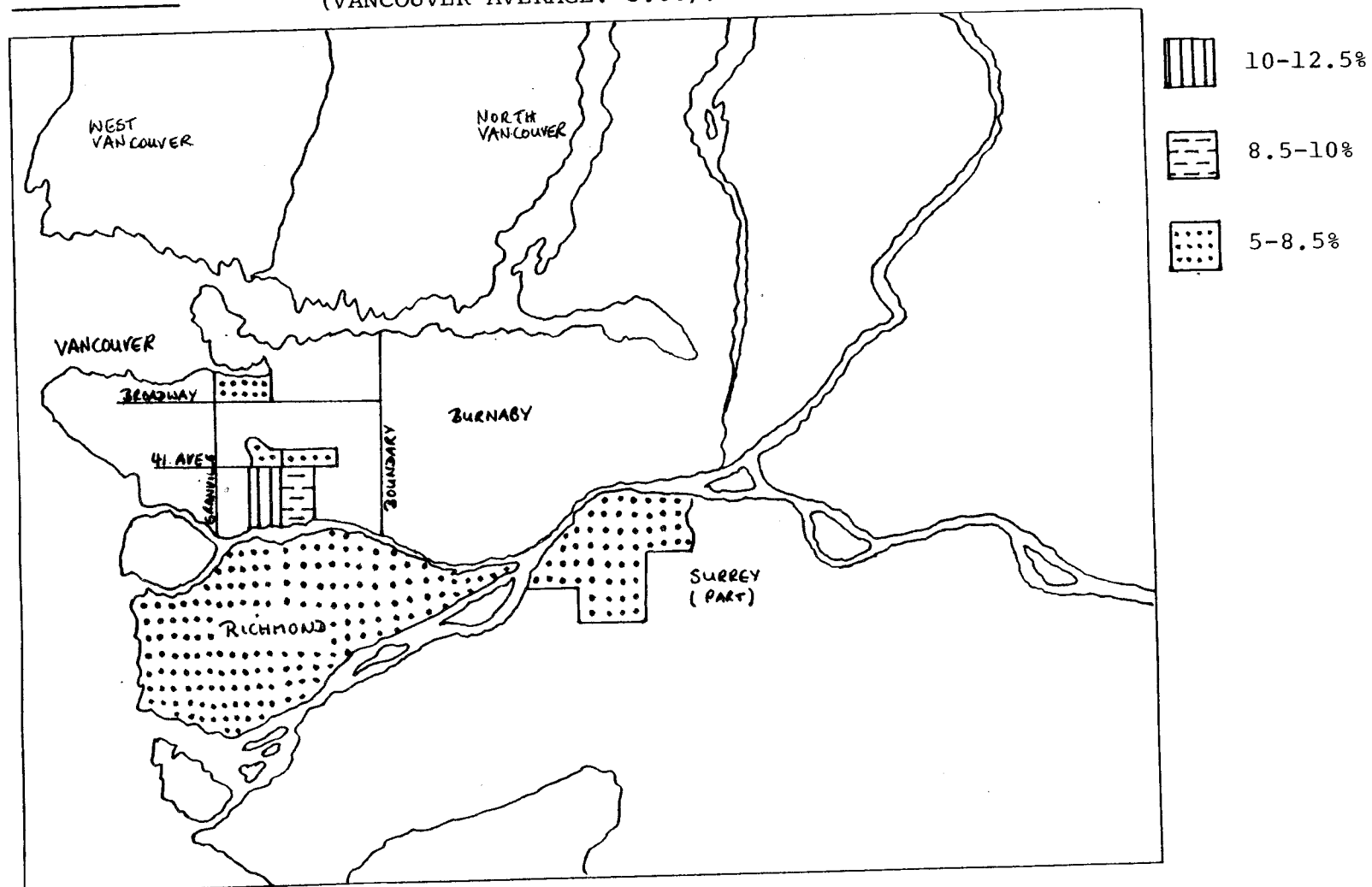
SOURCE: CENSUS OF CANADA, 1951.

German organizational, religious and economic life. The Vancouver Alpen Club and the Edelweiss Credit Union, the German Catholic Holy Family Church and ethnic parishes founded after the Second World War, and a wide array of shops and services located in the area which became known as the "Fraser Community."[5] In the succeeding decades, this institutional network would continue to grow and intensify as Vancouver South remained the single, most clustered German residential district in Vancouver. The German concentration in the West End, however, had disappeared by 1951.

Figure 2.3. confirms German ethnics' tendency to distribute themselves widely over the metropolitan area while forming residential concentrations in Vancouver South and adjacent northern census tracts along Main, Cambie and Fraser Streets as well as in Richmond, the closest suburb with affordable single family housing. By 1961, German ethnic businesses in Vancouver South offered their customers German special food items, imported a wide variety of products, and provided personal services that were often directed at the needs and preferences of German immigrants. While the German component in the Vancouver population stood at 51,056 (6.5%), every fifth person in the Vancouver South census tracts was of German ethnic origin, and still more German churches and businesses were being established in the district.

In the 1960s, the influx of Germans from Europe dropped significantly, and increasingly consisted of skilled craftsmen, technicians, and professionals. Among the professional and entrepreneurial classes, the newly developed North Shore of Burrard Inlet, with its view properties and proximity to recreational areas became popular.[6] In these years, a small group of German ethnics also came to Vancouver from Latin America, fleeing political unrest and seizing upon the opportunity to immigrate to Canada. They, too, bought valuable land and houses in the high prestige areas of

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[5]See *Nordwesten*, "Die Fraser-Gemeinde," 31 March 1964, p.6.
[6]Peter Juengst, "Vancouver: eine stadtgeographische Skizze," Carl Schoot, ed., *Beitraege zur Kulturgeographie von Kanada* (Marburg: Universitaet Marburg, 1983), pp.94.

FIGURE 2.3.   1961 VANCOUVER CENSUS TRACTS. PROPORTION OF GERMAN ETHNIC RESIDENTS
(VANCOUVER AVERAGE: 6.5%).
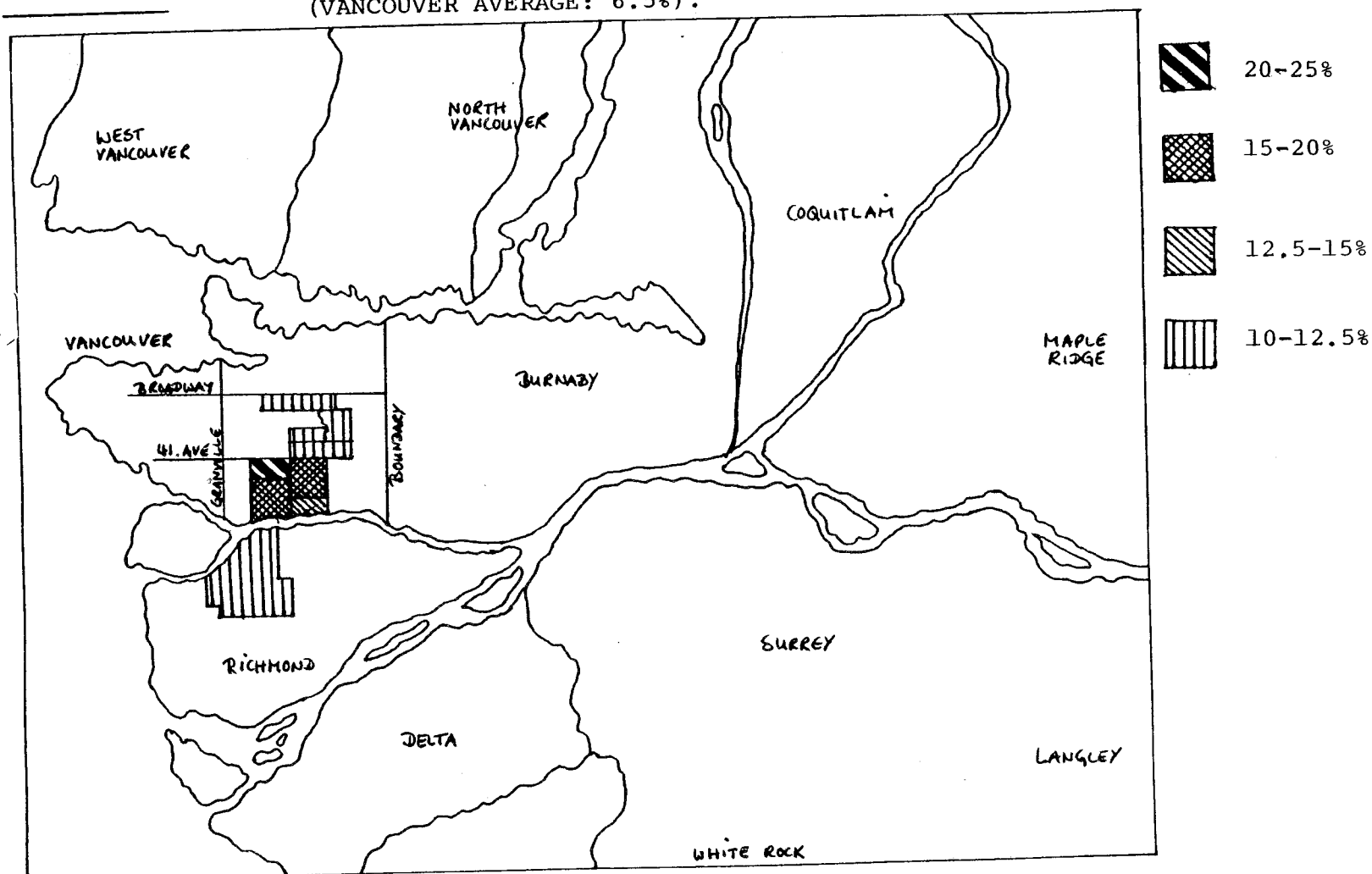
SOURCE: CENSUS OF CANADA, 1961.

North and West Vancouver.[7] The majority of German ethnics in Vancouver, however, were employed in blue collar jobs and the lower tertiary sector and continued to seek attractive settlement areas in Richmond, Surrey, and other southeastern suburbs.[8]

The German component in the Vancouver population reached an all-time high of 8.3% or 89,675 in 1971. As shown in Figure 2.4., the concentration of German ethnics in Vancouver South had intensified further so that in one census tract German composed more than a quarter of the residents. Aside from settlement in areas adjacent to the traditional neighbourhood, Germans' residential choices had also produced significantly higher than average concentrations in parts of Richmond and Surrey.

Although it lies beyond the chronological framework of this study, data of the 1981 census has been added in this chapter to provide a sense of continuity and an overview of the further residential development of the German population. By 1981, the size of the German population in Greater Vancouver had decreased to 5.8% or 73,955 – due to remigration, natural decrease, and the introduction of new standards for recording ethnic origin. The degree of concentration in Vancouver South had also declined, although the area still exhibited the highest German concentration in the metropolis (Figure 2.5). On the other hand, the northern part of Richmond, which had possessed the earliest German suburban cluster, now maintained a degree of concentration comaparable to the one in Vancouver South. Also, the settlement of German ethnics in the suburbs had led to concentrations in parts of Surrey, Langley, and Coquitlam.

Even though analysis of residential patterns indicates a persistent concentration

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[7]Compare Peter Doerrenbacher, "Acculturation, Assimilation, and Mobility of the German Ethnic Group in Vancouver," in P. L. Wagner, ed, *Ethnic Vancouver: Essays in Cultural Geography* (Burnaby, B.C.: Simon Fraser University, Department of Geography. Discussion Papers Series No.16, 1981), p.9.

[8]Juengst, p.95.

FIGURE 2.4. 1971 VANCOUVER CENSUS TRACTS. PROPORTION OF GERMAN ETHNIC RESIDENTS.
(VANCOUVER AVERAGE: 8.3%).
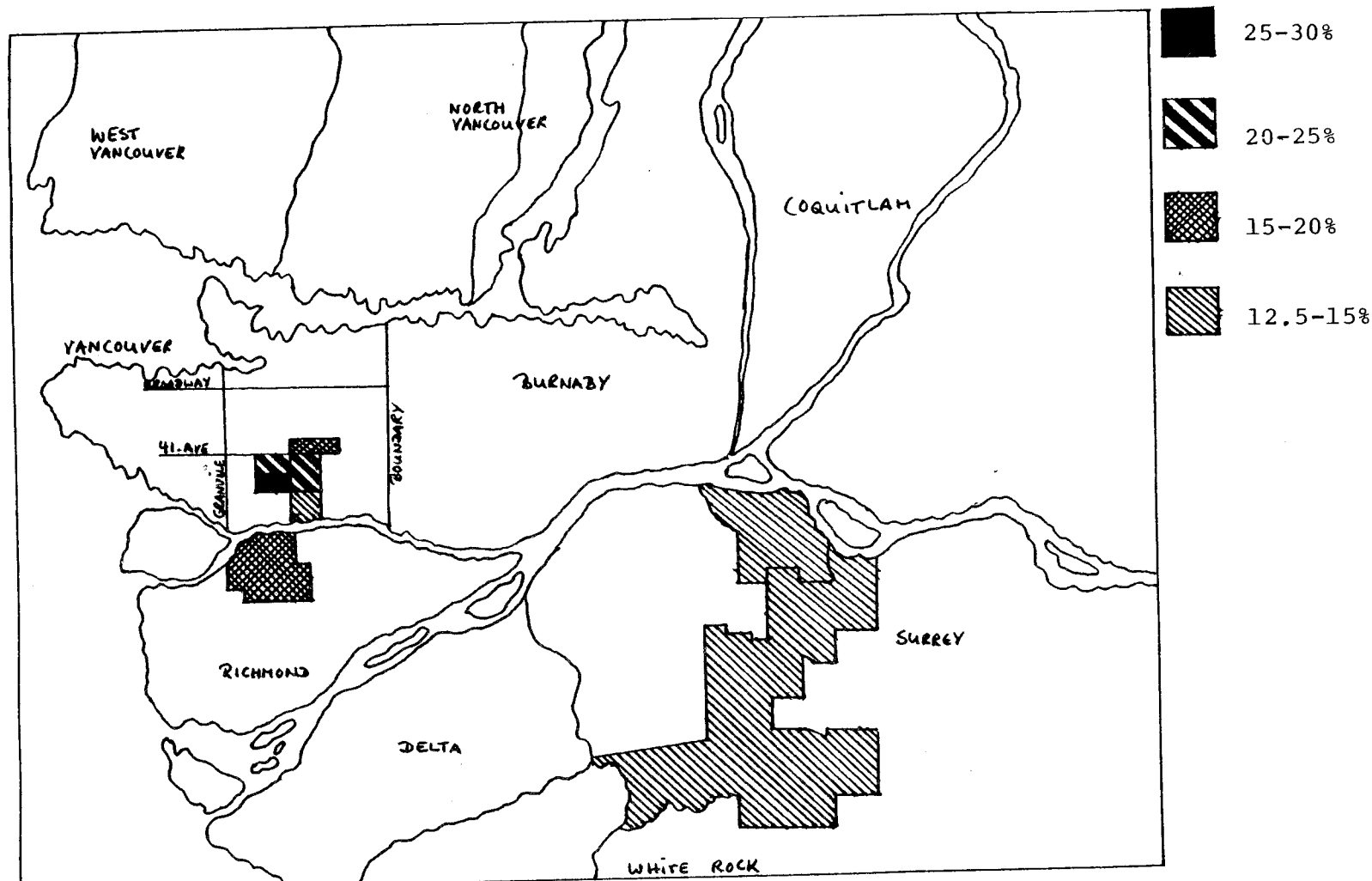
SOURCE: CENSUS OF CANADA, 1971.

FIGURE 2.5.   1981 VANCOUVER CENSUS TRACTS. PROPORTION OF GERMAN ETHNIC RESIDENTS
(VANCOUVER AVERAGE: 5.8%).
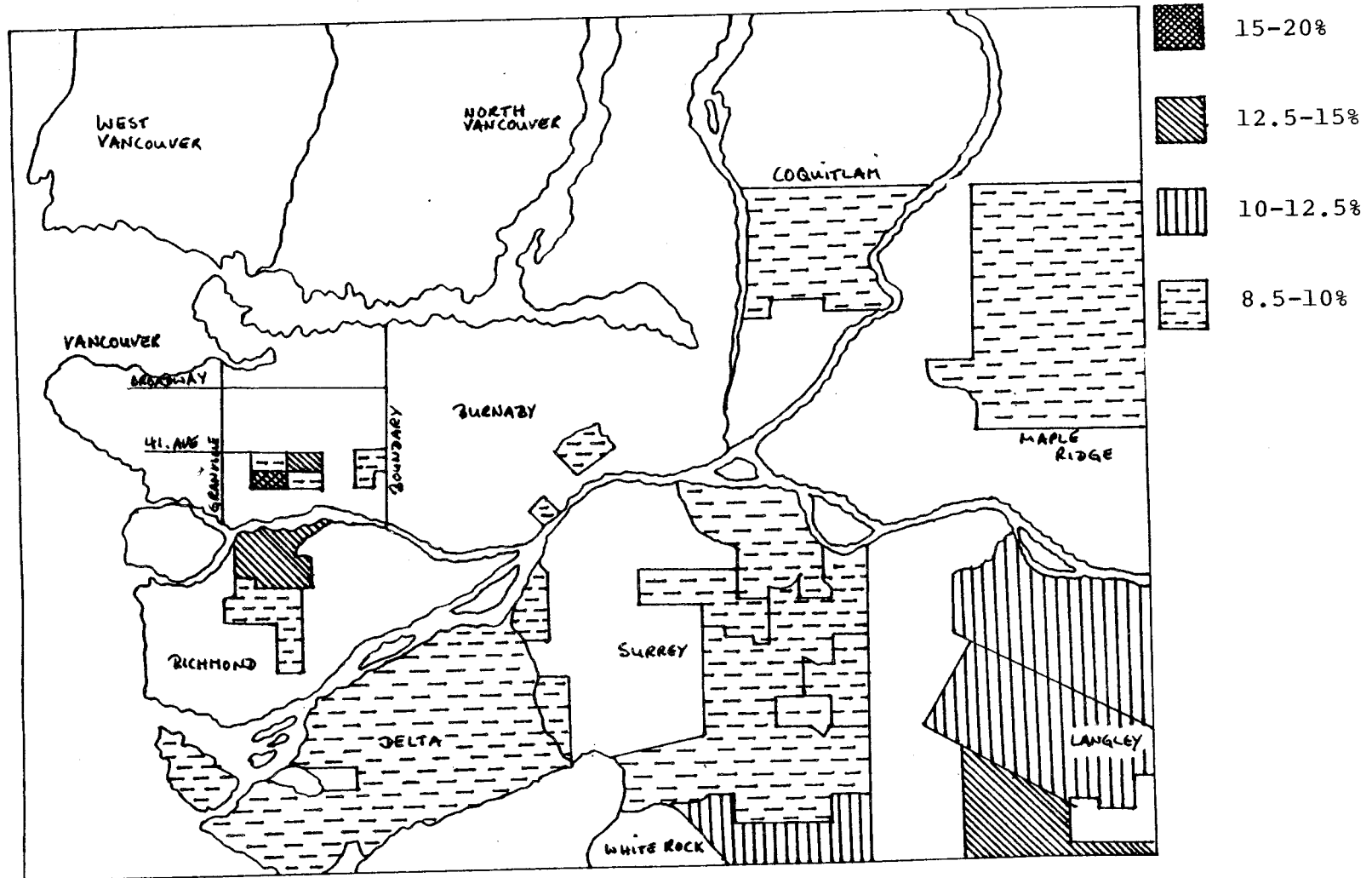
SOURCE: CENSUS OF CANADA, 1981.

of German-Canadians in Vancouver South and the emergence of minor concentrations in some suburbs, Germans in Vancouver in general exhibited a very low degree of clustering throughout the postwar period. Further analysis reveals that this low degree of clustering was complemented by the low extent of German-Canadians' residential segregation from other Vancouverites, which was determined with the aid of the "index of dissimilarity". This index is a widely used heuristic device that summarizes the differences in the proportionate distribution of two comparison groups and thereby indicates a degree of dissimilarity. The index has been particularly applied to measurements of residential segregation.[9]

In this case, the distribution of the German ethnic population over all Vancouver census tracts for 1951 to 1981 has been calculated and compared with the distribution of the entire Vancouver population.[10] Figure 2.6. (Index A) indicates for each postwar census the portion of the German population that would have had to relocate to a different census tract in order for the distribution profile of the two comparison populations to be equal. As we see, Germans low degree of clustering was duplicated by the low degree of their residential segregation from the Vancouver population as a whole[11]

The relationship between high concentrations of an ethnic group in specific

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[9]See O. T. Duncan and B. Duncan, "A Methodological Analysis of Segregation Indexes," *American Sociological Review.* vol.20 No.2 (April 1955), pp.210; E. K. Taeuber and A. F. Taeuber, "A Practitioner's Perspective on the Index of Dissimilarity," *American Journal of Sociology,* vol.41 No.4 (winter 1976), pp.884; also T. R. Balakrishnan, "Changing Patterns of Ethnic Residential Segregation in the Metropolitan Areas in Canada," *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology,* vol.19 No.1 (spring 1982), p.101.

[10]For example, in 1971, 2.5% of the German population resided in census tract 13 as opposed to 1% of the Vancouver population at large; the dissimilarity in this census tract thus was 1.5.

[11]Anthony H.Richmond and Warren E. Kalbach, *Factors in the Adjustment of Immigrants and Their Descendants,* (Ottawa: Minister of Supplies and Services, 1980), p.302 in their application of the index to ethnic groups in four metropolitan areas in 1971 found that German ethnics in Vancouver as in other Canadian centres belonged to the least segregated groups, usually only surpassed by those of British and Scandinavian origin.

FIGURE 2.6.   1951-1981 VANCOUVER CENSUS TRACTS. GERMAN ETHNIC'S RESIDENTIAL
SEGREGATION (INDEX A) AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC SEGREGATION (INDEX B)
- AS MEASURED BY DISTRIBUTION OVER INCOME AREAS - FROM THE
VANCOUVER POPULATION AS A WHOLE BY DISSIMILARITY INDICES.

INDEX A

INDEX B

SOURCE:

CENSUS OF CANADA,

1951-1981.
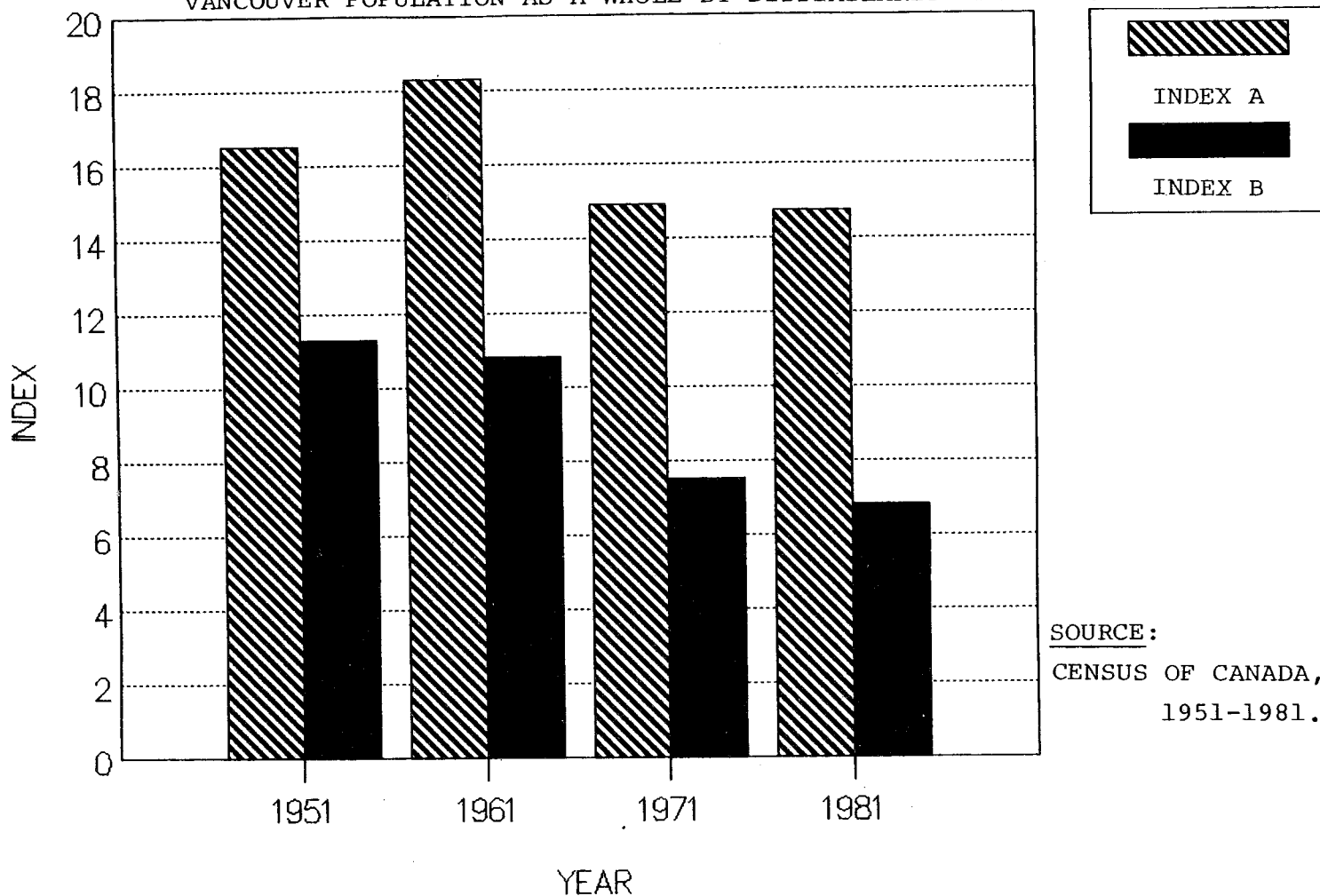
census tracts and the group's dissimilarity to the the spatial distribution of the Vancouver population was also confirmed by the residential patterns of other minorities in Vancouver.[12] In contrast to Vancouver's Germans, other ethnic groups formed very dense "urban villages" and were to a considerable extent residentially non-integrated in the metropolitan population at large (Figure 2.7. Index A). In 1961, 40% of the local Italian population in Vancouver lived in an ethnic neighbourhood on Commercial Street where they were concentrated to up to eight times their Vancouver average, and their index of dissimilarity stood at 34.3; 42% of Asian Vancouverites lived in clusters of up to fifteen times their average representation, and their index was 45.7; 40% of Jewish residents lived in clusters where their concentration reached up to sixteen times their Vancouver average and their index stood at 58.5. German clusters on the other hand only included some 12% of the ethnic population in 1961, and their concentration in any given census tract never exceeded three times their average.[13]

According to the social class model of ethnic residential patterns, social groups – including ethnic minorities – are distributed over urban space in compliance with their social status in urban society at large.[14] Thus, for example, the concentration of certain ethnic groups in low income, urban core areas has been explained as a result of the recency of their arrival and their poor competitive economic position.[15] Reduction in residential segregation, in turn, has been associated with an ethnic group's socio-economic structure becoming more like that of the native-born or majority

[12]"Ethnic clustering referred to the presence of a marked overrepresentation of an ethnic or generational group within a census tract." Carol Agocs, "Ethnic Settlement in a Metropolitan Area: A Typology of Communities," *Ethnicity*, vol.8 no.2 (June 1981), p.130; this study employs the term "cluster" for concentrations exceeding twice the average ethnic component in the Greater Vancouver population.
[13]Canada Census, 1961.
[14]See Darroch and Marston, pp.498.
[15]Richmond and Kalbach, p.183; K. G. O'Bryan et al., *Non-Official Languages: A Study in Canadian Multiculturalism* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975), p.16.

FIGURE 2.7.

1961 VANCOUVER CENSUS TRACTS. DISSIMILARITY INDICES OF SELECTED ETHNIC
GROUPS' RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC SEGREGATION COMPARED
TO VANCOUVER POPULATION AS A WHOLE

	INDEX A RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION	INDEX B SOCIO-ECONOMIC SEGREGATION (BY INCOME AREAS)
ETHNIC ORIGIN		
GERMAN	18.3%	10.8%
ITALIAN	34.3%	26.4%
ASIAN	45.7%	41.5%
BRITISH ISLES	10.6%	5.8%
JEWISH (REL.)	58.5%	29.0%

SOURCE: CENSUS OF CANADA, 1961.

population.[16] The Canadian sociologist Wilfred G. Marston observes: "As members of an ethnic group advance socio-economically, they tend to locate in neighbourhoods in which members of the native population and other ethnic groups of the same socioeconomic status reside," a process which leads both toward residential integration among members of different ethnic groups based on the same class level and toward residential desegregation within each ethnic group according to differing class levels.[17]

This socio-economic interpretation of ethnic group residential segregation has, however, been challenged by an ethnic model.[18] It suggests that ethnicity ties the members of ethnic minorities into a social and personal network that is based on spatial proximity. According to the theory of localized social solidarity, immigrants move to an area where members of common ancestry locate together for comfort and assistance in an unfamiliar environment, sometimes in reaction to hostile majority groups. The preference to live among fellow ethnics interacts with such factors as strong interlocking kinship and friendship networks, a shared religion, prolonged maintenance of a distinct language or culture and the development of a wide range of institutions as well as recent immigration.[19] Due to this ethnic attachment, the theory holds, the minority immigrant displays less residential mobility than the native-born who tends to filter into better residential districts according to his socio-economic success.[20] The Canadian students of immigrants in Canada, Anthony H. Richmond and Warren E. Kalbach, feel that "the ethnic dimension of the population would appear to be at least as important as socioeconomic status in accounting for the existence of

[16]Darroch and Marston, p.496.
[17]Wilfred G. Marston, "Class Segregation Within Ethnic Groups in Toronto," *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology,* vol.6 No.2 (May 1969), p.66/67; Balakrishnan, p.95.
[18]Darroch and Marston, pp.491; also Richmond and Kalbach, p.183, who found that segregation persisted for some minority groups in spite of improvements in their socio-economic position.
[19]Agocs, p.127. See also Richmond and Kalbach, p.193 and Balakrishnan, p.98.
[20]O'Bryan et al., p.16.

residential segregation in Canada's census metropolitan areas."[21]

The ethnic model thus links residential segregation to ethnic community persistence and dispersal to assimilation, and the social class model focuses on socio-economic causes underlying spatial distribution.[22] Both models thus make broad generalizations about ethnic populations' demographic patterns in the urban context. But, in light of the distinctiveness of ethnic minorities, the varying strengths of their identities, and the influence of factors which may be unique to individual ethnic populations and locations, settlement patterns and the causes of residential concentration and segregation must be examined in specific historical contexts, i.e. in consideration of the time and the circumstances of a particular immigrant cohort's influx into a particular city, and the location of traditional ethnic settlement areas.[23], For example, widely available communication and transportation have rendered participation in ethnic organizational life in contemporary urban centres increasingly independent of propinquity, thus invalidating the premise that residential segregation and clustering of ethnic individuals are necessary preconditions for ethnic community persistence.[24] Given these limitations of general theories about ethnic residential patterns, the significance of socio-economic and ethnic factors in Germans' spatial distribution as well as the relation between dispersion and commmunity peristence must be analyzed in greater detail.

We recall that according to the social class model, residential segregation is linked to - if not a direct function of - socio-economic differences. Richmond and Kalbach found that the income of Germans in Vancouver in 1971 corresponded to the

[21]Richmond and Kalbach, p.196.
[22]Cf. Ianni, pp.66; Lieberson, p.53. For other ethnic comunity studies in Canadian urban centres see also Yianna Lambrou, *The Greek Community in Vancouver: Social Organization and Adaptation* (Master's Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1974); Driedger and Church, pp.32.
[23]Cf. Agocs, pp.146.
[24]See Noel Crisman, "Ethnic Persistence in an Urban Setting," *Ethnicity.* vol.8 No.3 (September 1981), p.268.

average income of the Vancouver population as a whole.[25] Yet, no data linking the incomes and the residential location of German Vancouverites have been available. Therefore, the relationship between residential location and social status had to be approached in an indirect manner: for each postwar census, the average male income in Greater Vancouver and in every census tract was obtained. Vancouver thus appeared divided into income areas, as exemplified for 1961 in Figure 2.8. Then, the portions of the German population and of the entire Vancouver population living in the same income areas were calculated and compared. The resultant socio–economic distribution profiles for 1951 to 1981 are presented in Figures 2.9. to 2.12..

The distribution of the German and the total Vancouver population over the city's income areas was arranged in relation to difference from Vancouver's average male income as a whole (here as "0"). The graphs clearly demonstrate that Germans' distribution profile differed only slightly from that of the Vancouver population as a whole. The dissimilarities that did exist in each census year were primarily attributable to Germans' overrepresentation in average income areas, whereas they showed no marked propensity to concentrate in either low or high income areas. (Incidentally, the "socio–economic dissimilarity indices" also documents the increasing socio–economic differentiation of the Vancouver population. In 1951, Vancouverites lived in income areas from 70% above the average to 50% below the average, while in 1981 in the income areas ranged from 130% above average to 70% below). Thus, while German ethnics in Vancouver *nominally* improved their social positions by showing residences in higher income areas in 1981 than in 1951, in fact they merely duplicated Vancouver's socio–economic evolution, thereby giving further evidence to the high degree of their integration into the socio–economic and residential structure of the metropolitan society.

The index of dissimilarity may also be applied to the difference in Germans' and all Vancouverites' distribution over the city's income areas. It could thus be

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[25]Richmond and Kalbach, p.305.

FIGURE 2.8.   1961 VANCOUVER CENSUS TRACTS, AS ORGANIZED IN AREAS WITH SIMILAR
AVERAGE MALE INCOME (VANCOUVER AVERAGE: $4,219 per year).

+60-70%
+50%
+40%
+30%
+20%
+10%
$4-4,400
-10%
-20%
-30%
-40-50%
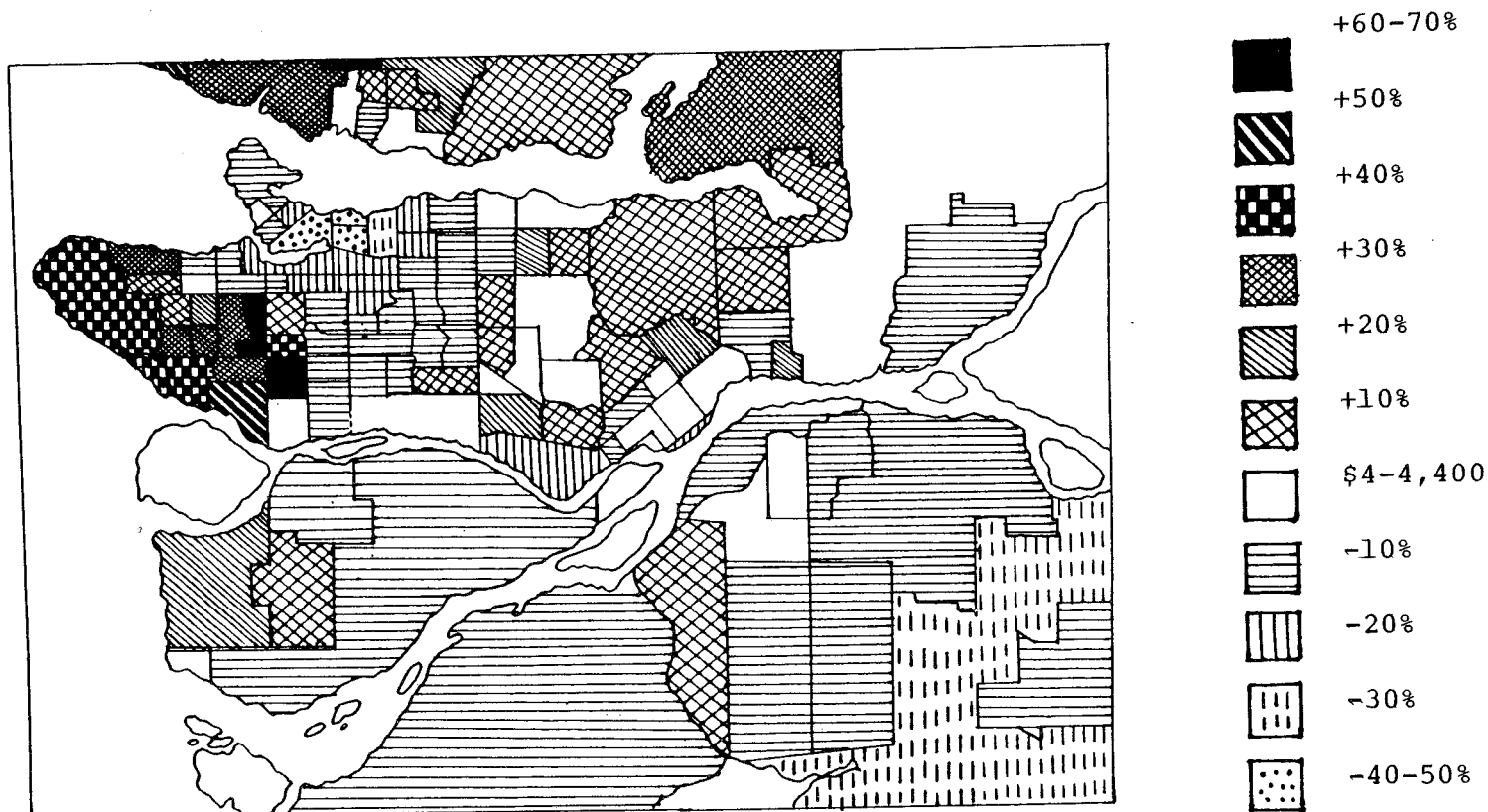
SOURCE: CENSUS OF CANADA, 1961.

FIGURE 2.9.   1951 VANCOUVER CENSUS TRACTS. DISTRIBUTION OF GERMAN ETHNIC RESIDENTS
OVER AREAS WITH SIMILAR AVERAGE MALE INCOME COMPARED TO THE
VANCOUVER POPULATION AS A WHOLE (VANCOUVER AVERAGE: $2,358).

Legend:
GERMAN
VANC. POP.

0 = AVERAGE

SOURCE:

CENSUS OF CANADA,
1951.

Y-axis: PERCENT
X-axis: INCOME DISTRIBUTION

FIGURE 2.10.   1961 VANCOUVER CENSUS TRACTS. DISTRIBUTION OF GERMAN ETHNIC RESIDENTS
                 OVER AREAS WITH SIMILAR AVERAGE MALE INCOME COMPARED TO THE
                 VANCOUVER POPULATION AS A WHOLE (VANCOUVER AVERAGE: $4,219).

Legend:
■ GERMAN
▨ VANC. POP.

0 = AVERAGE

SOURCE:

CENSUS OF CANADA,
1961.
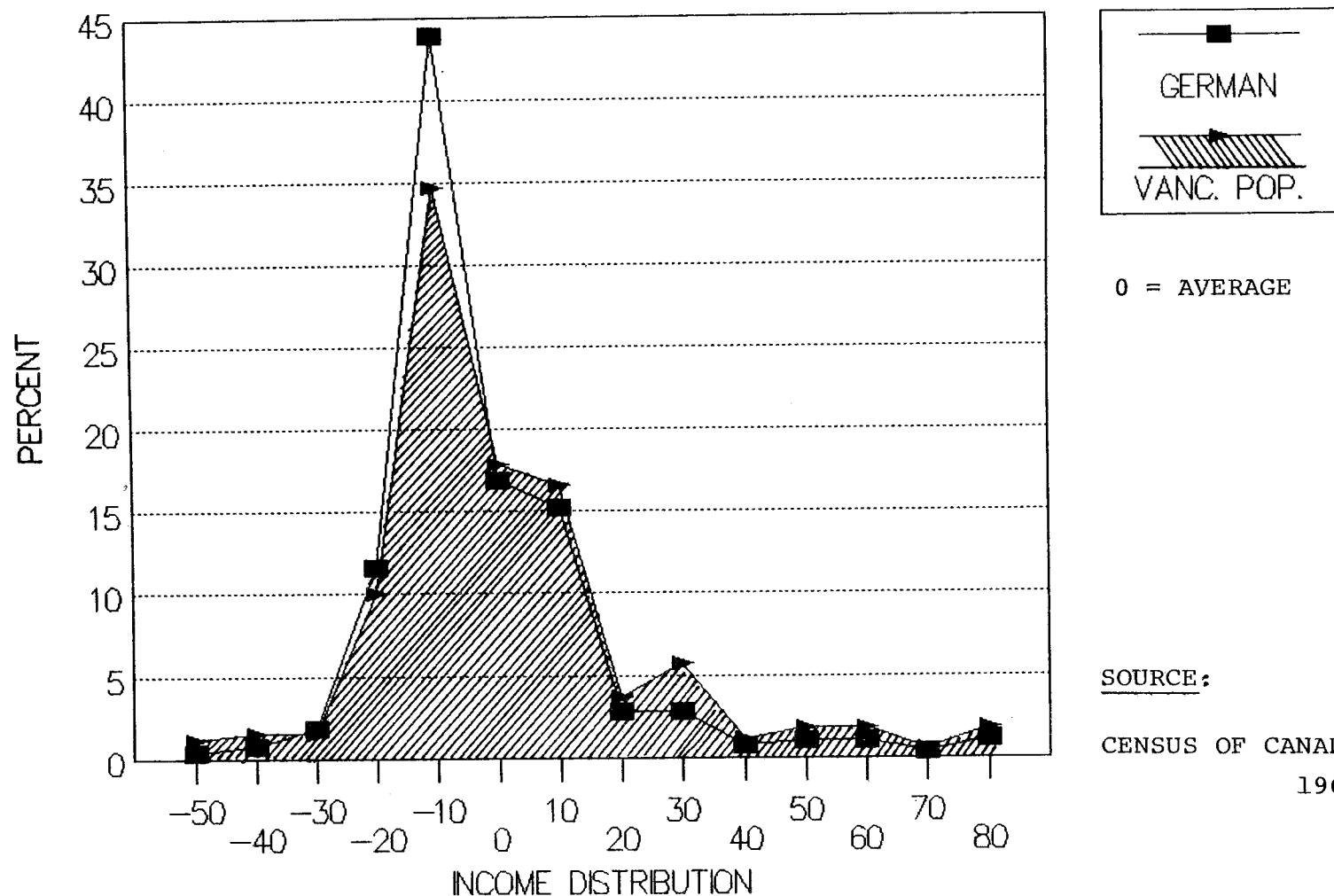
FIGURE 2.11.   1971 VANCOUVER CENSUS TRACTS. DISTRIBUTION OF GERMAN ETHNIC RESIDENTS
                OVER AREAS WITH SIMILAR AVERAGE MALE INCOME COMPARED TO THE
                VANCOUVER POPULATION AS A WHOLE (VANCOUVER AVERAGE: $7,280).

GERMAN

VANC. POP.

0 = AVERAGE

SOURCE:

CENSUS OF CANADA,
                    1971.
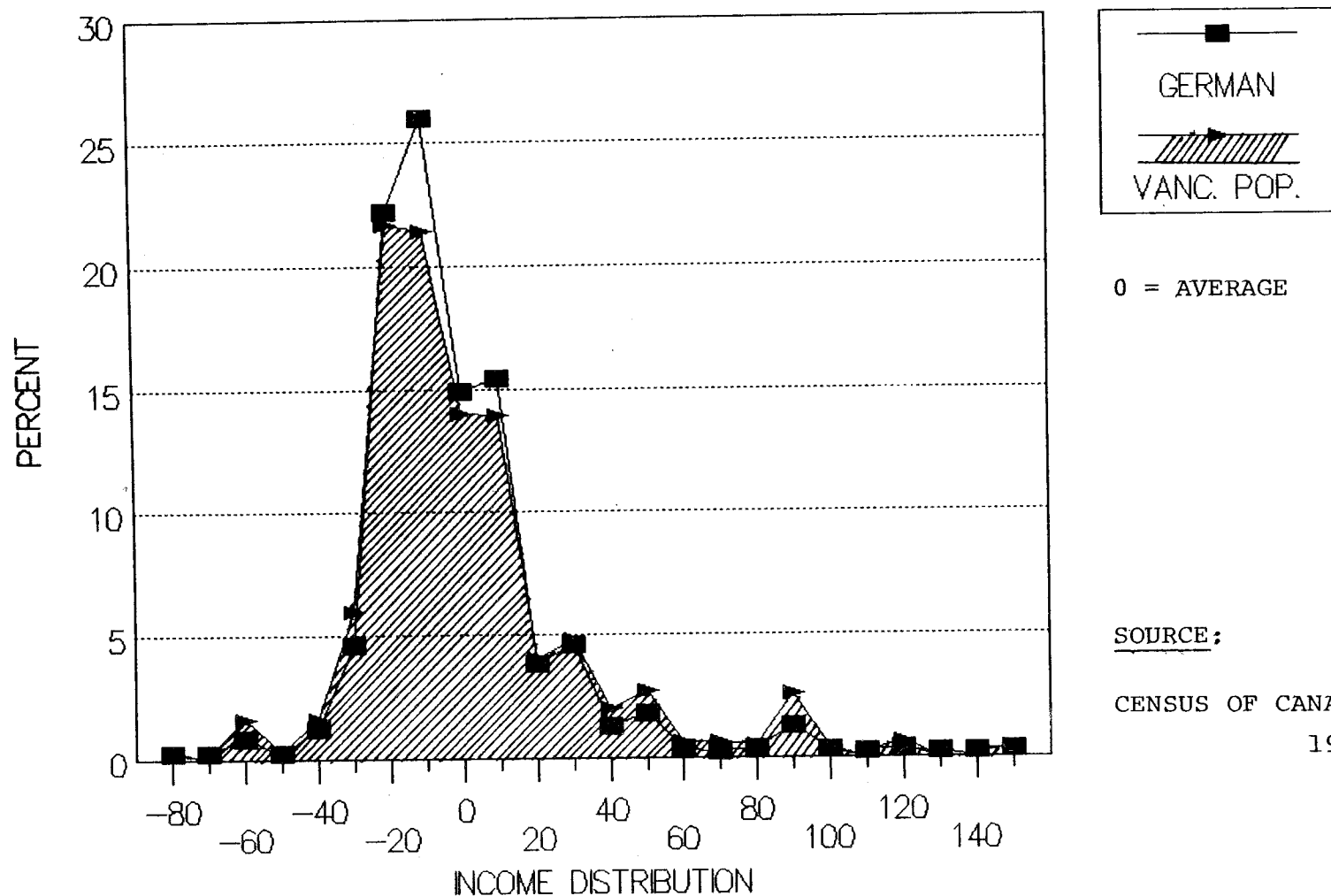
FIGURE 2.12.   1981 VANCOUVER CENSUS TRACTS. DISTRIBUTION OF GERMAN ETHNIC
RESIDENTS OVER AREAS WITH SIMILAR AVERAGE MALE INCOME COMPARED
TO THE VANCOUVER POPULATION AS A WHOLE (VANCOUVER AVERAGE: $19,716).

GERMAN

VANC. POP.

0 = AVERAGE

SOURCE:

CENSUS OF CANADA,
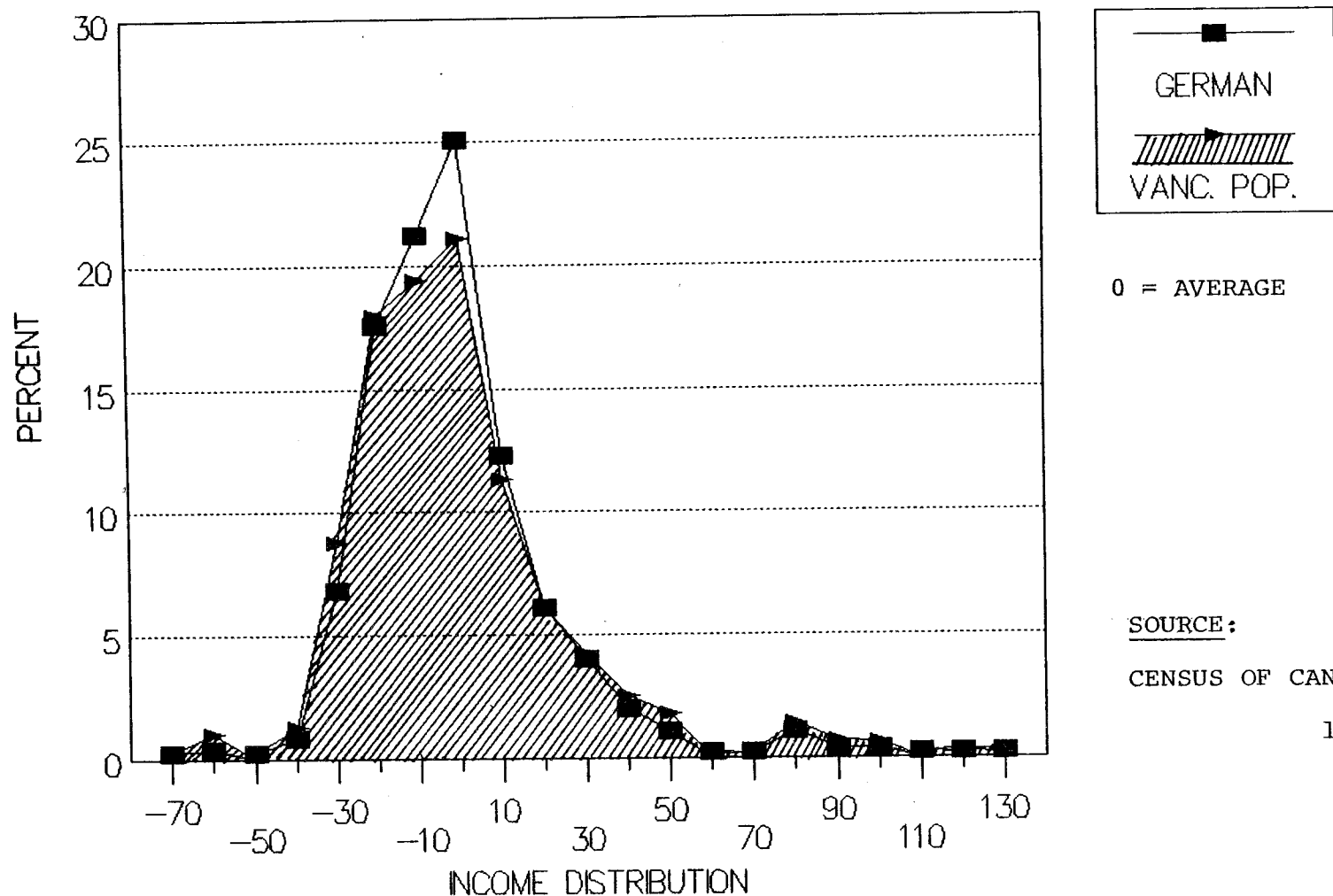
1981.

confirmed that their 'socio-economic' dissimilarity or segregation was indeed consistently low. In fact, it declined from 11.3 in 1951 to 6.8 in 1981 (Figure 2.6 Index B.).

By contrast, other ethnic groups displayed significant dissimilarities in their distribution over Vancouver's income areas when compared to the entire population, as is illustrated by Figures 2.13 to 2.15. for 1961. Moreover, the location of their greatest "socio-economic dissimilarity" on the income-area graph was found to correspond to the average income in those census tracts where individual ethnic population had clustered: Asians were highly overrepresented in low income areas, and their clusters were also located in low income census tracts (Figure 2.13.). Italians clustered in below average income areas and also were overrepresented there (Figure 2.14.). Residents of Jewish faith, on the other hand, were highly overrepresented in high income areas (Figure 2.15), and their clusters lay in the wealthy Shaughnessy neighbourhood. By comparison, German ethnics' low degree of overrepresentation occurred in average income areas, and male incomes in Vancouver South wera similar to the Vancouver average.

In combination, both applications of the index of dissimilarity seem to point at a marked relationship between residential and "socio-economic" segregation in the urban context. The German population displayed low dissimilarity indices both in their residential distribution and their representation in various income areas throughout the postwar period (Figure 2.6.), whereas other selected ethnic populations showed high segregations in both applications of the index. A comparison of the actual results of the indices, however, also reveal the limitations of socio-economic factors in accounting for the appearance and location of ethnic clusters. As Table 2.7 shows, the residential segregation of each ethnic population (Index A) was significantly higher that their "socio-economic dissimilarity" as measured by their distribution over Vancouver's income areas in 1961 (Index B). The same discrepancy was discovered for the German population for every postwar census year (Figure 2.6.).

FIGURE 2.13.   1961 VANCOUVER CENSUS TRACTS. DISTRIBUTION OF THE ASIAN POPULATION
                OVER AREAS WITH SIMILAR AVERAGE MALE INCOME COMPARED TO THE
                VANCOUVER POPULATION AS A WHOLE (VANCOUVER AVERAGE: $4,219)

SOURCE:

CENSUS OF CANADA,
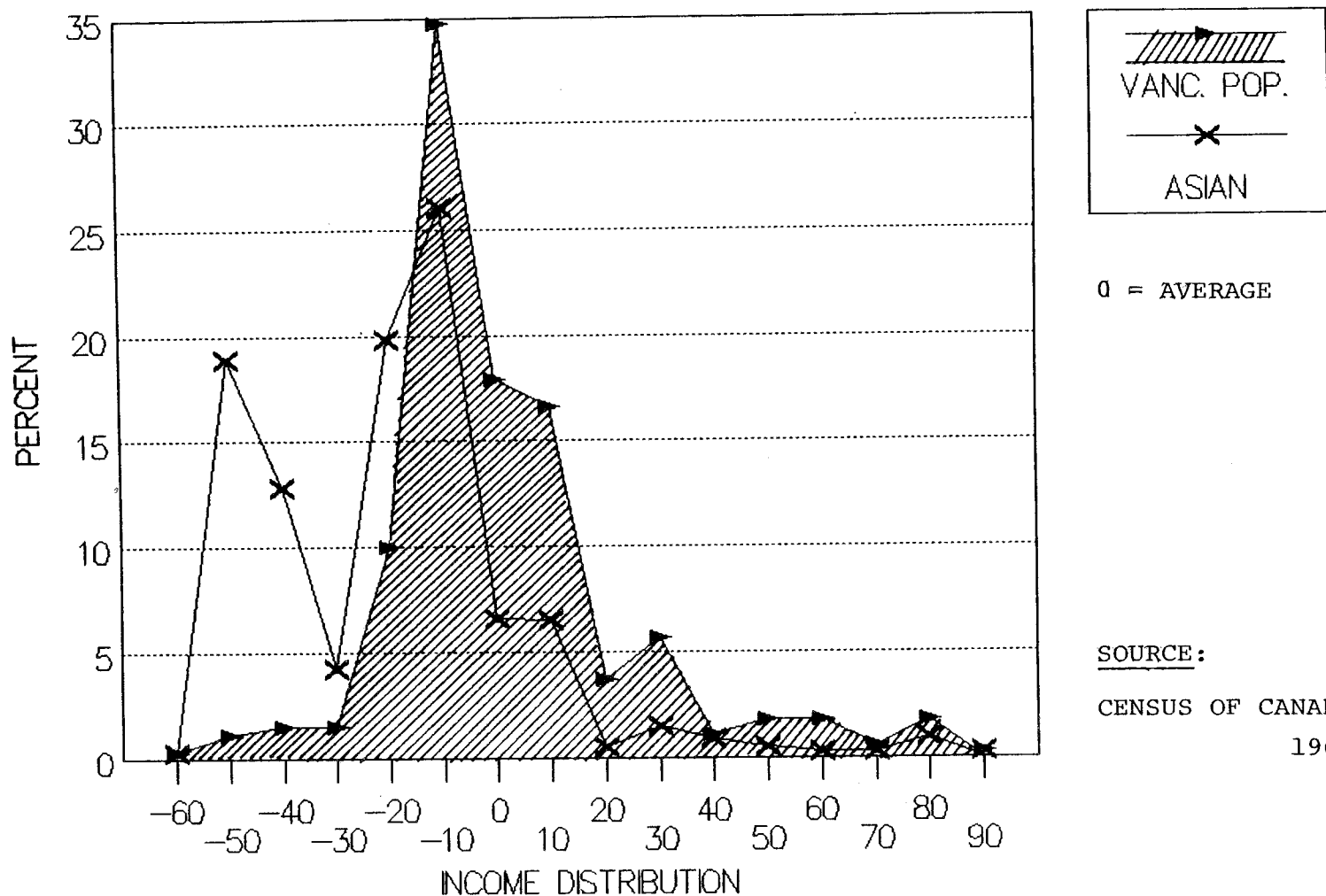
1961.

FIGURE 2.14.   1961 VANCOUVER CENSUS TRACTS. DISTRIBUTION OF THE ITALIAN ETHNICS
OVER AREAS WITH SIMILAR AVERAGE MALE INCOME COMPARED TO THE
VANCOUVER POPULATION AS A WHOLE (VANCOUVER AVERAGE: $4,219).

VANC. POP.

ITALIAN

0 = AVERAGE

SOURCE:

CENSUS OF CANADA,
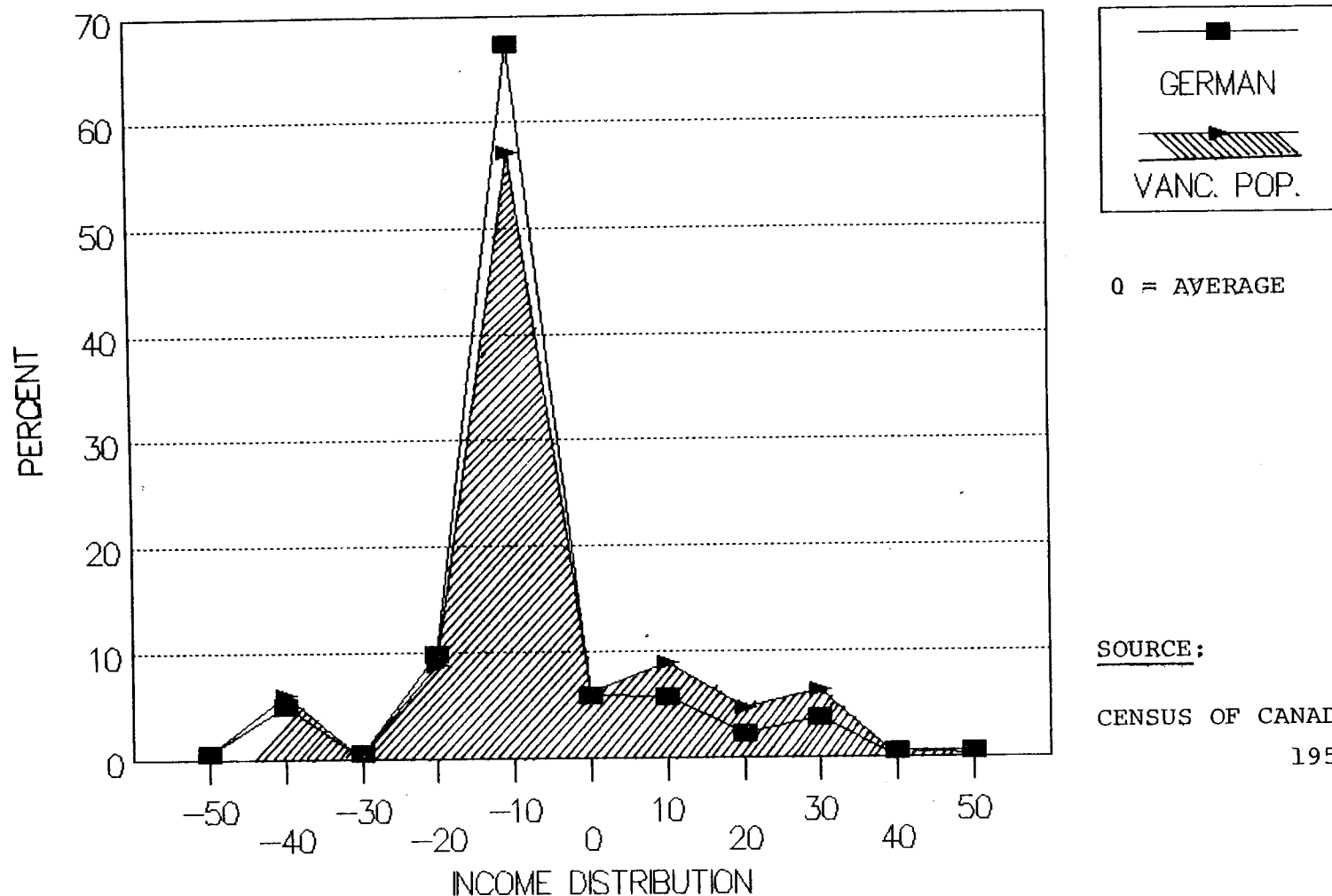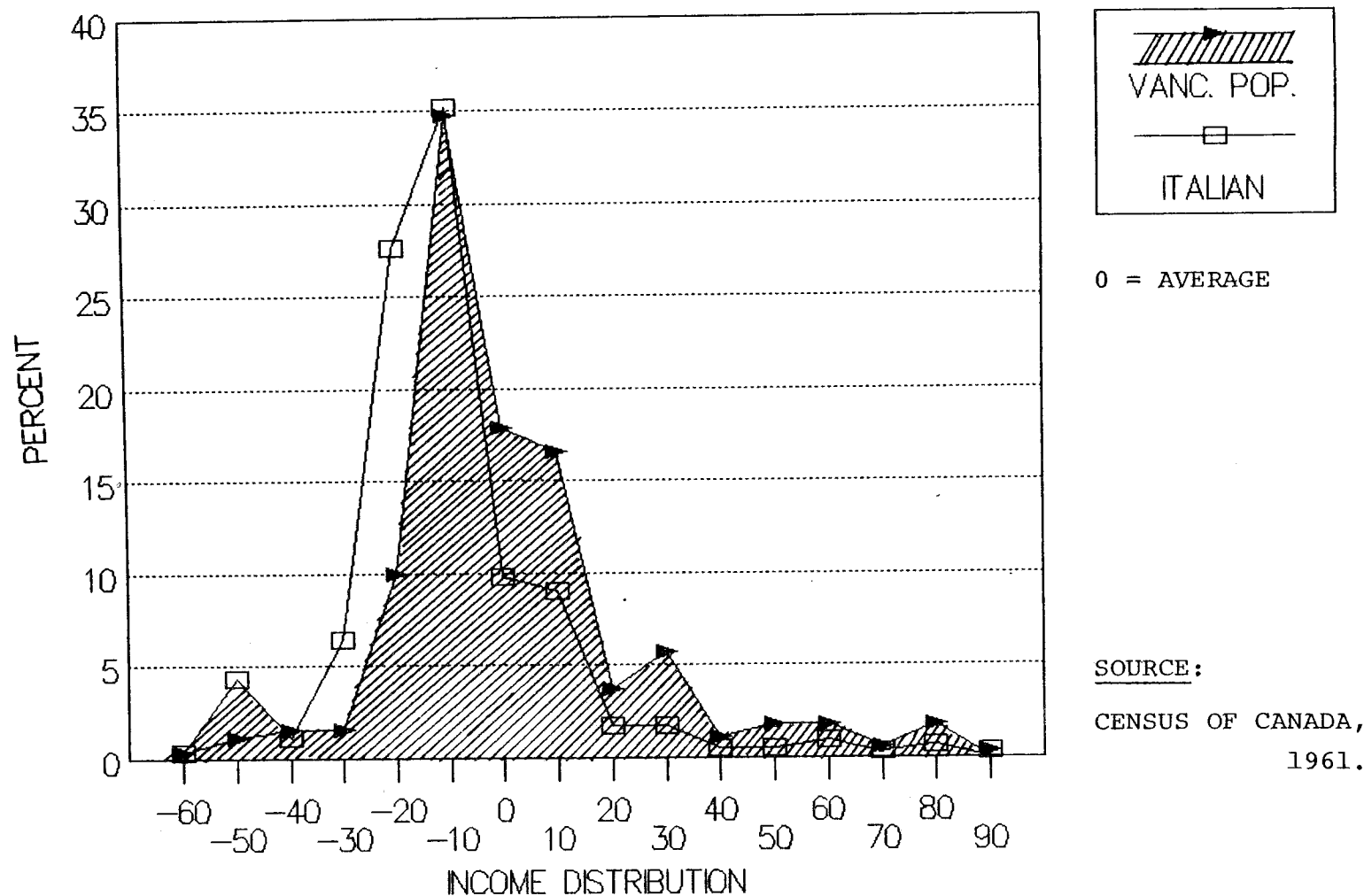
1961.

FIGURE 2.15.   1961 VANCOUVER CENSUS TRACTS. DISTRIBUTION OF RESIDENTS OF JEWISH
FAITH OVER AREAS WITH SIMILAR AVERAGE MALE INCOME COMPARED TO THE
VANCOUVER POPULATION AS A WHOLE (VANCOUVER AVERAGE: $4,219)

0 = AVERAGE

SOURCE:

CENSUS OF CANADA,
1961.
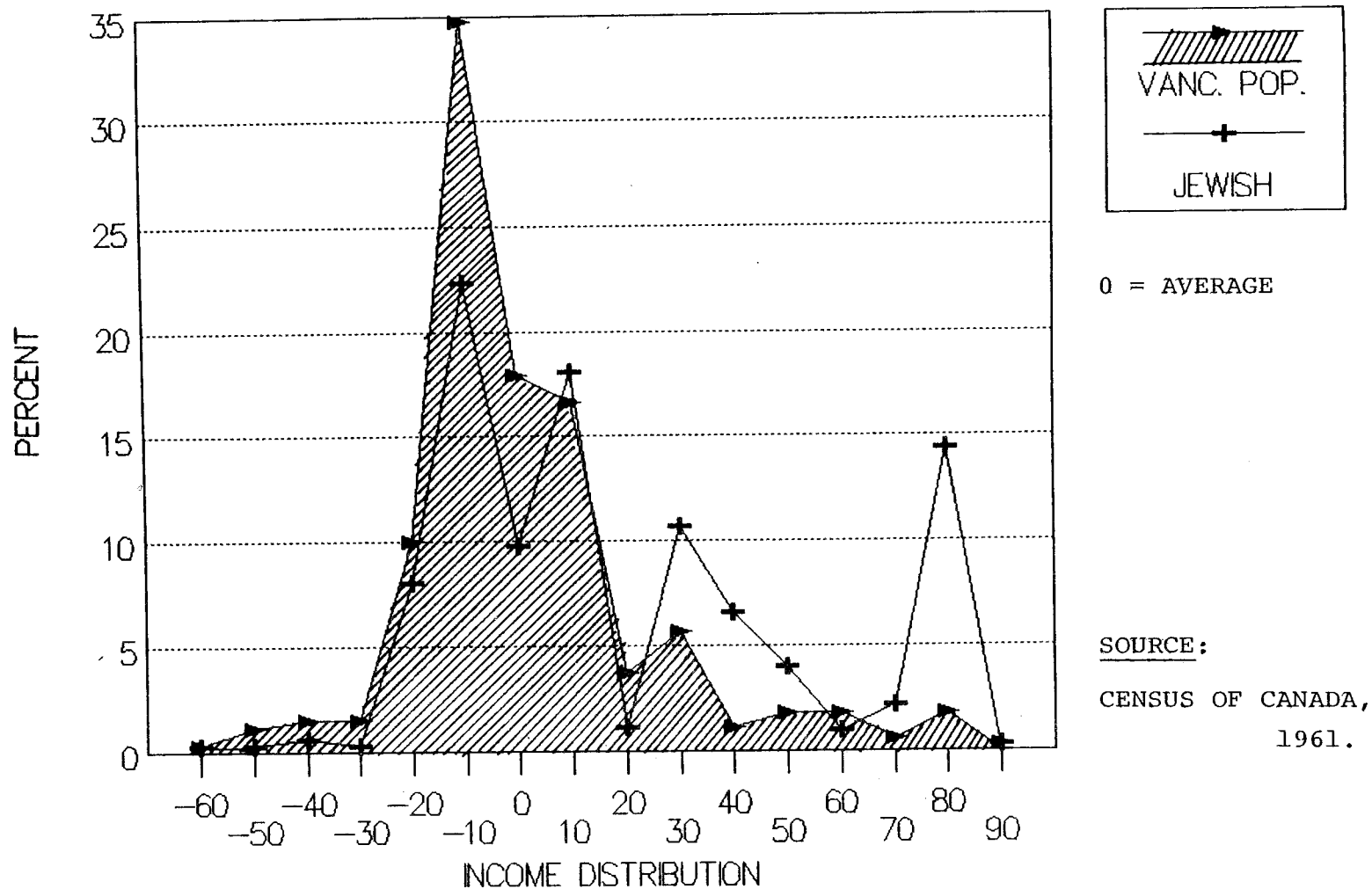
In other words, while socio–economic characteristics may have determined the kind of income area in which a segments of individual ethnic population could chose to live, the very location and density of their clusters were not sufficiently accounted for by income factors. This was particularly the case for German residents: whereas Vancouver had a limited number of low and high income areas in which Asians and Jews of each social standing could settle, the metropolitan area had a wide choice of average and just below average income areas (Figure 2.8.). Consequently, the concentration of Germans in specific census tracts appears influenced by a degree of group cohesiveness within the local German population. An examination of these areas with a marked overrepresentation of Germans identifies a variety of features that justify their characterization as "German".

Since at least 1941, the most dense and persistent German cluster has been found in the Vancouver South area, a residential district of predominantly single family units. It appealed in particular to employees in the secondary industries, service personnel and shop–owners, and less so to professionals or technicians.[26] In terms of average male incomes, the earnings of its residents ranged between a Vancouver average and 10% below this average in 1951 and declined to 20% below metropolitan average in 1981.[27] Considering that German ethnics in Vancouver were most highly represented in average income areas and exhibited an average Vancouver income in 1971[28], the Vancouver South district, in its socio–economic characteristics, appears to have been a fairly typical residential area for German Vancouverites. Its German

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[26]See Vancouver census tracts, 1951–1981: occupational characteristics; also Freda Walhouse, *The Influence of Minority Ethnic Groups on the Cultural Geography of Vancouver* (Master's Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1961), p.173.

[27]In 1951, the median male earnings in Greater Vancouver lay at $2,358; in Vancouver South it lay at $2,377 (census tract "34") and $2,365 ("35). In 1961, Vancouver's average male income lay at $4,219; in the German cluster in Vancouver South it ranged from $3,890 to $4,009. In 1971, Vancouver South residents' income ranged from $6,055 to $6,502 as opposed to an average Vancouver income of $7,287. In 1981, Vancouver South incomes of $14,561 to $17,184 contrasted to a Vancouver average of $19,716. Canada Census, 1951–1981.

[28]Richmond and Kalbach, p.386.

residents presumably belonged to the lower middle class portion of the ethnic population, employed particularly in manufacturing, mechanical, and construction jobs and as labourers.[29]

In ethnic terms, Vancouver South was also fairly representative of the German population in Vancouver in that the majority of its German residents had been born in Canada. As census tract data for 1981 shows (Figure 2.16), the German-born, immigrant element had a particular preference for North and West Vancouver and parts of Richmond. In Vancouver South, their proportion in the German ethnic population did not exceed the Vancouver average. Since by 1981 a mere 5% of the foreign-born German ethnics in Vancouver were pre-1946 arrivals, one may thus conclude that postwar German immigrants were not in particular drawn to the traditional German neighbourhood.[30]

Vancouver South never served as a reception centre for the majority of German immigrants in the Pacific metropolis, and in the course of the postwar period, its significance as a residential destination for German newcomers declined constantly. Of the pre-1945 arrivals recorded by the 1981 census authorities, 8.8% still lived in the Vancouver South census tracts. By comparison, 4.0% of the 1945-54 immigrants, 3.0% of the 1955-64 arrivals, 2.1% of the 1965-70 immigrants, and only 0.5% of the 1970-80 German-born newcomers lived in the traditional German neighbourhood.[31] Given the higher availability and affordability of housing in the suburban municipalities and the rising proportion of entrepreneurs, professionals, and technicians among the German immigrant cohort, Vancouver South was obviously becoming less attractive as a residential choice for both nowcomers and Canadian-born Germans. Thus, by 1981 only

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[29]Canada Census, 1951-1971; Walhouse, pp.173.

[30]Canada Census, 1981.

[31]The 18% German-born among the German ethnics in Vancouver South in 1981 consisted to 13.3% of pre-war, to 41.1% of 1945-54, to 33.3% of 1955-64 arrivals, and to 8.9% of 1965-70 immigrants; the 1970s newcomers were not at all represented in the area's German population.

FIGURE 2.16.   1981 VANCOUVER CENSUS TRACTS. NUMBER OF RESIDENTS BORN IN GERMANY
COMPARED TO NUMBER OF GERMAN ETHNIC RESIDENTS (AVERAGE: 26.6%).
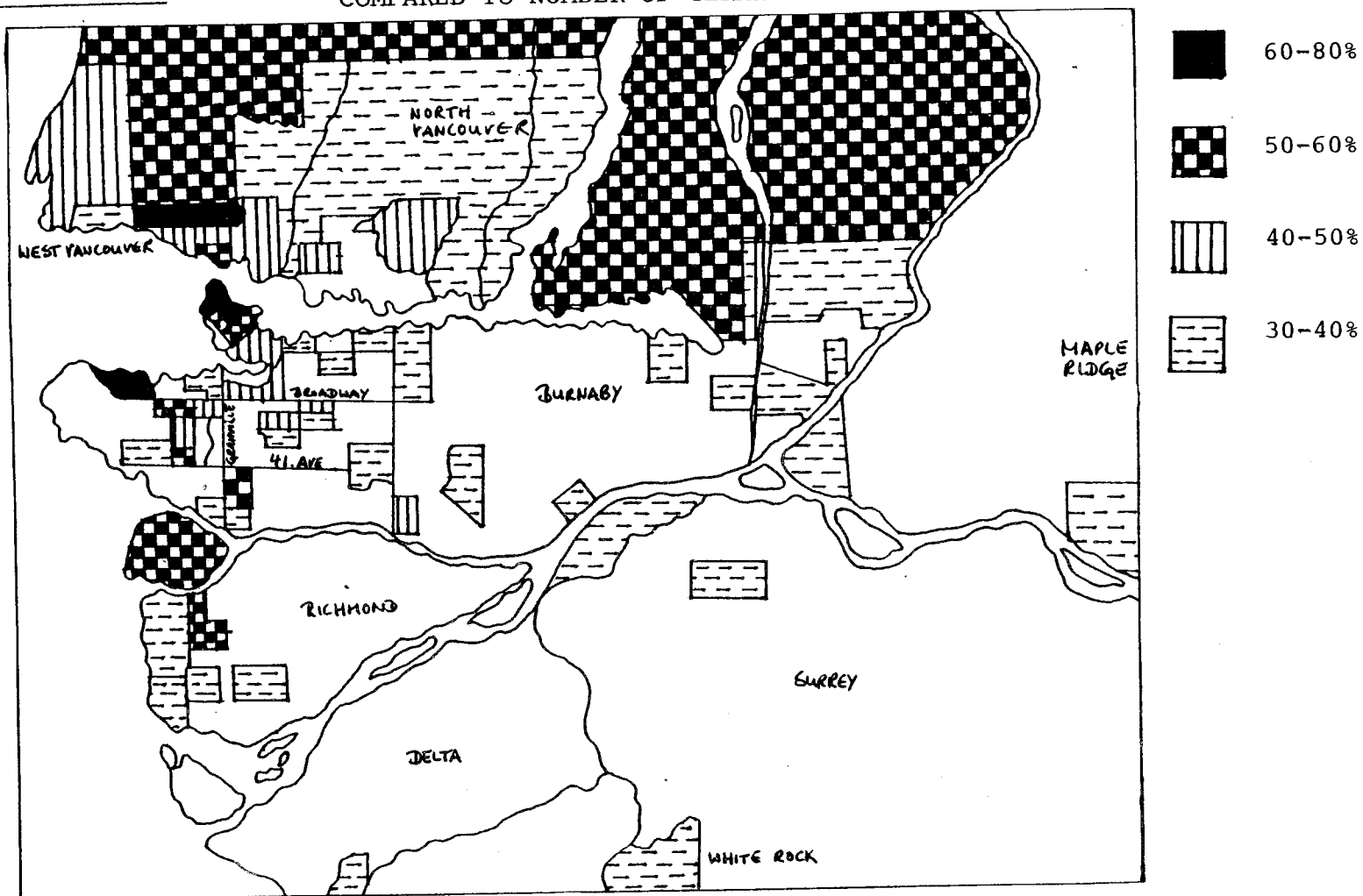
SOURCE: CENSUS OF CANADA, 1981.

4.2% of Vancouver's Germans resided in Vancouver South as opposed to 12.3% having done so in 1951.

Moreover, Germans gradually ceased to represent the dominant minority group in the district. For example, between 1961 and 1971 alone the proportion of Asians in Vancouver South rose from 4.0% to 14.4%. By 1981, Chinese composed 25% of the Vancouver South residents and Indo–Pakistanies 7.2%, whereas Germans composed 12% and those of British origin 29.4%. The Asian influx may have been attracted by the socio–economic characteristics of the area, and could have had an ethnic push–effect upon German residents.[32] Even though Germans thus continued to exhibit their highest residential concentration in Vancouver South throughout the postwar decades, the area as such became proportionately less important for the ethnic population and the ethnic population for the area. The real growth of the German–Canadian element in Vancouver occurred in other parts of the Pacific metropolis.

Although the relative importance of the traditional German neighbourhood declined, the marked German residential concentration and other ethnic features of the area, including the high extent of German mother tongue cultivation and the accumulation of ethnic institutions in Vancouver South, persisted throughout the postwar era. Figure 2.17. reveals the proportion of German ethnics in Vancouver's census tract in 1981 who reported German as the "first language learned in childhood and still understood": German was the mother tongue of the vast majority of Germans living in parts of North and West Vancouver, the West End, the West Side (including Vancouver South), of Richmond, and Burnaby. This distribution corresponded to the high proportion of German postwar immigrants among the German ethnics on the North Shore, in the West End, in Shaughnessy and Richmond. Vancouver South, however, had only a small proportion of immigrant Germans. Thus, the fact that a high ratio of German ethnics in the district named German as their mother tongue

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[32]Cf. Doerrenbacher, p.8.

FIGURE 2.17.   1981 VANCOUVER CENSUS TRACTS. NUMBER OF RESIDENTS WITH GERMAN MOTHER
                 TONGUE COMPARED TO NUMBER OF GERMAN ETHNIC RESIDENTS (AVERAGE:55.9%).

■ 100% + over

▦ 90-100%

▥ 80-90%
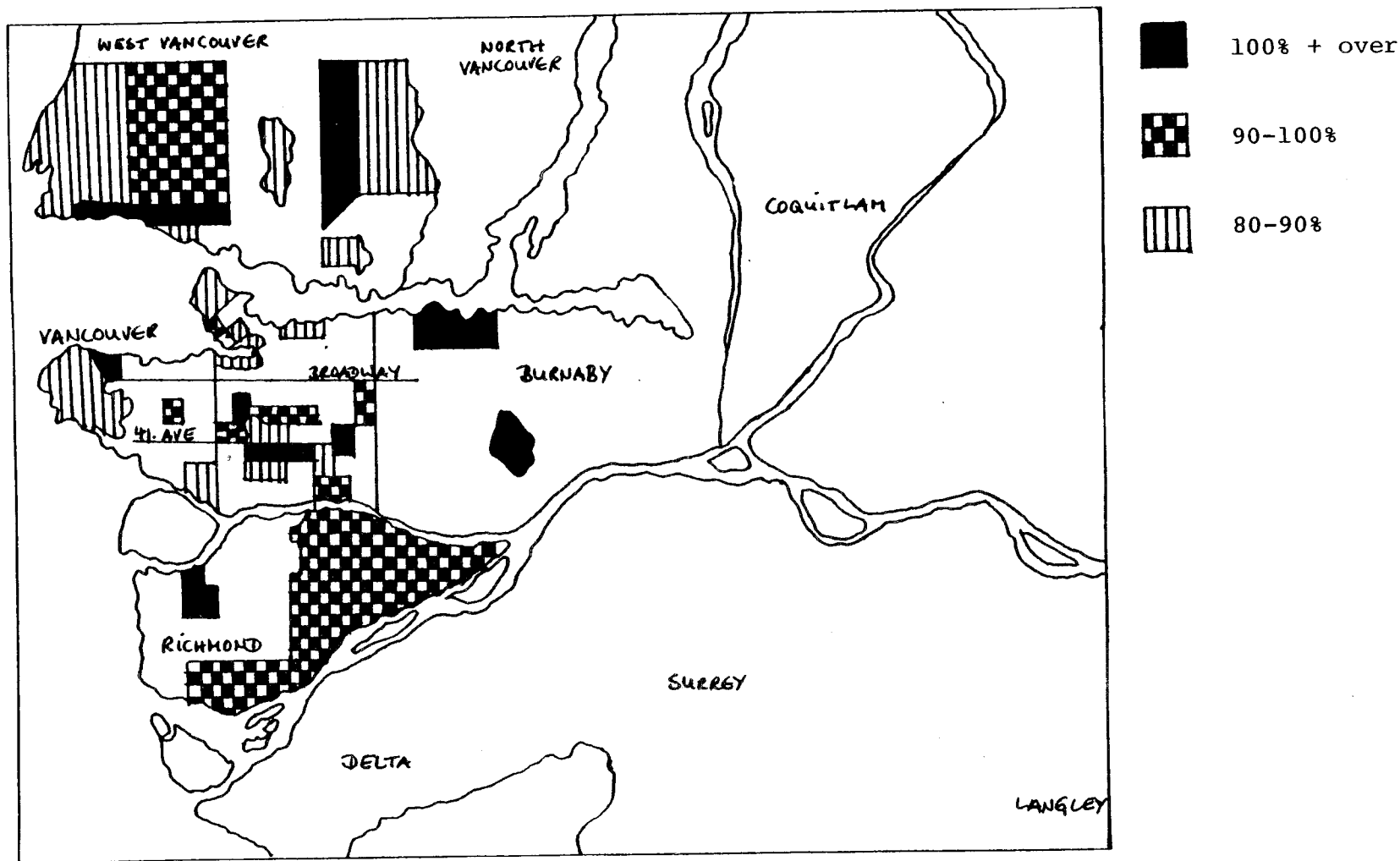
SOURCE: CENSUS OF CANADA, 1981.

has to be credited to a high degree of language retention among Canadian–born Germans.[33]

The German community's ethnic network also essentially continued to be located in Vancouver South. This correlation between residential concentration and the development of ethnic economic, social, religious, and educational institutions poses the subject of inquiry in subsequent chapters and only needs to be summarized here. A considerable proportion of German–owned businesses, in particular those providing services and specialty items for German customers, were located in Vancouver South.[34] German associational, financial, and humanitarian organizations also established their facilities in the area,[35] and German–oriented churches for the most part were formed in Vancouver South, where they soon offered German Saturday schools for German and other children.

A small set of data gives further evidence of the close interrelation between residential concentration and German organizational life. Of some forty German ethnics who in the postwar period held held offices in German organizations in Vancouver,[36] almost 40% lived in the Vancouver South district or its vicinity in the 1960s. This choice of residence reflected their socioeconomic standing, their strong identification with

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[33]This effort directed toward language retention is confirmed by an analysis of the relationship between German ethnics residents and the cultivation of German as their home language in 1971 (Figure 4.2.): they were disproportionately concentrated in Vancouver South. Possibly, the large Mennonite population in this area had a significant impact on this high degree of language retention. Canada Census, 1951–1971; Juengst, p.89.

[34]*Nordwesten*, "Die Frasergemeinde," 31 March 1964, p.6 comments upon Vancouver South representing the centre of German–speaking Vancouverites who were able to meet their shopping needs in a variety of listed stores.

[35]The Alpen Club built its Auditorium at 33. Avenue and Victoria Drive, and the Edelweiss Credit Union's main office was opened at 4837 Victoria Drive, with a branch founded in the early 1970s at 5963 Fraser St. Also, the Senior citizens' home was build at Marine Drive and Victoria St.

[36]"Offices" refer to Vancouver Alpen Club presidents, treasurers, and secretaries, Edelweiss Credit Union, Cultural Society, and Club Berlin presidents, and the executives of the Benevolent Society and the Business Association.

the German community, and their desire to reside in proximity to associational life.[37]

The survival of Vancouver South as a German neighbourhood seems to have been predominantly based upon the stability and the continuous interaction of its German residents. By contrast, the West End – Vancouver's second area of German overrepresentation in 1941 – constituted one of the most publicized and best–known manifestations of German presence in the city despite the absence of a disproportionate concentration of German ethnics.[38] The fact that Robson Street became a symbol for the German influence in Vancouver derived from the role of the area as a German shopping centre and the continuous presence of recent German immigrants.

During the 1920s and 1930s, many West End houses had offered cheap accommodation to low income Vancouverites, and among them were many German immigrants, for whom a few ethnic stores and restaurants opened on Robson Street.[39] In the postwar period, the value of land in the West End increased rapidly, and the old mansions were gradually replaced by new highrise apartment buildings. This modern rental housing, with its proximity to downtown employment, entertainment, shopping, and recreational opportunities, was favoured in particular by young, single persons, including recent immigrants.[40]

During the 1950s and 1960s, food, clothing, book, and magazine stores as well as restaurants, cafes and bars sprang up to serve the rapidly growing West End population. The 1000 block of Robson Street became known as a shopping centre for European immigrants. During the early 1960s this block accommodated seventeen German ethnic businesses, and thus exhibited the highest concentration of

[37]Data collected from press reports and organizational material as well as from Vancouver city directories. By comparison, 3.8% (1961) and 3.0% (1971) of the total Vancouver population lived there, or 10% (1961) and 8.2% (1971) of the German population.
[38]Number of Germans in the West End census tracts: 1951: 769; 1961: 1,808; 1971: 2,990; 1981: 1,990. Caanda Census, 1951–1981.
[39]For example, the "Deutschland Cafe" or the delicatessen shop of Paul Sochnel.
[40]Vancouver Census tracts, 1951–1981; Walhouse, p.173; Juengst, p.91.

German-owned shops anywhere in the city, and, consequently, this area was frequently referred to by Vancouverites and in tourist brochures as "Robson Strasse".[41] These German delicatessen, bakeries, import shops, and and restaurants, however, did not only rely on the West End's German population. Rather, the area had gained a reputation among Germans and other Europeans in the Greater Vancouver district for its wide selection of international goods and services. For other Canadians, too, the international flair of the street, with its exotic goods and culinary treats, represented an asset to the city and a frequent destination.[42]

In the late 1960s, however, the image of Robson Street once again started to change as the economic popularity of the area led to further, significant increases in real estate values. Plans for new buildings and renovations proliferated, thus endangering the existence of many businesses: most merchants only leased their shops and operated on a very competitive basis with small profit margins, which left them in fear of rent increases and evictions. Moreover, their economic basis was already being threatened by the incorporation of many special ethnic food items into the normal stock of Vancouver supermarkets and the diminishing size of their potential clientele through the rapid assimilation of many German immigrants.[43] Robson Street preserved its international flair throughout the modernization of the area. Yet, although German arrivals often still took up their first residence in the West End, the economic change induced by rising real estate values resulted in the gradual

[41]See Vancouver City Directory and German newspaper reports. A review of the Robson Street history is provided in the *Nordwesten*, "Die Strasse mit bewegter Vergangenheit." 27 August 1968, p.3.

[42]Compare *Courier*, 24 October 1968, p.11; see also *Courier*, "Ihr Einkaufszentrum – die Robsonstreet," 10 January 1957, p.12; *Nordwesten*, "Robsonstreet – das deutschkanadische Einkaufszentrum." 27 November 1962, p.6.

[43]Thus, the end of the decade brought numerous meetings of Robson Street merchants and frequent articles in the German press discussing the future of the businesses there. *Courier*, 24 October 1968, p.11 "Was soll aus der Robsonstrasse werden?"; *Nordwesten*, 27 August 1968, p.3 and "Noch einmal Robsonstreet," 20 December 1968, p.3; *Courier*, , "Ist die Robsonstrasse noch zu retten?" 16 October 1969, p.11. Robsonstrasse zu retten?"

replacement of German ethnic businesses by boutiques, French–style cafes, competing food and specialty stores, and fashionable Asian restaurants.

From the pre–World War II period, the West End represented an important reception centre for German immigrants and the choice of many single, white–collar employees as it not only offered affordable rental housing but also access to downtown facilities. Yet, this portion of the local German population most often moved on to permanent residences in other parts of the Greater Vancouver area and was not highly represented among organized ethnic life in the city. Consequently, the West End German population's presence did not precipitate the development of ethnic institutions other than ethnic businesses, which in turn started to vanish on Robson Street as the German postwar immigration wave subsided in the late 1960s.

Both Vancouver South and the West End reflected most clearly that a substantial German population resided in the city, yet they do not serve as indicators of the residential preferences of the majority of German Vancouverites. Rather, the German ethnic population for the most part followed the spatial expansion of the metropolis in the postwar period and settled increasingly in the rapidly growing suburban areas. Much of the growth of the Vancouver population in the 1950s and 1960s occurred in the municipalities adjoining the central city on land previously devoted to agriculture.[44] As one of the first of these municipalities to be integrated with the city core, Richmond started to be settled in this manner already prior to the Second World War. Yet, its development and that of the other southern and southeastern suburbs accelerated after the completion of essential access routes such as the new Oak Street Bridge, the Massey Tunnel, and the Port Mann Bridge in the late

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[44]L. J. Evenden, "Shaping the Vancouver Suburbs," L. J. Evenden, ed., *Vancouver: Western Metropolis* (Victoria, B.C.: University of Victoria, 1978), pp.179; Norbert Macdonald, "Population Growth and Change in Seattle and Vancouver. 1880–1960," *Pacific Historical Review,* vol. 39 (1970), p.304 and 319.

1950s (Figure 2.18).[45]

The German ethnic element in the metropolis duplicated this suburban expansion, so that its first suburban concentration appeared in Richmond as early as at the time of the 1951 census. Yet, Germans' attraction to the suburbs far exceeded that of the Vancouver population as a whole: whereas Vancouver's suburban population increased by almost 120% between 1951 and 1961 and again by over 60% in the following decade, the number of suburban Germans rose by over 270% and again by over 130% between 1961 and 1971. Thus, the overall growth of the German element in the Vancouver population in the postwar decades occurred predominantly in the suburbs.[46]

Four interdependent factors promoted German settlement in the suburbs: First, the German postwar immigration wave reached Vancouver in the 1950s and 1960s, at a time of enormous population growth and spatial expansion of the city. Consequently, many recent arrivals and the second generation German ethnics were forced to seek housing in the newly incorporated outlying areas. Second, the vast majority of Germans belonged to average income, middle-class occupations in the manufacturing and service industries, and therefore were attracted to the middle-class housing market in the suburbs.[47] Third, the German-born in Canada – like other continental European immigrants – exhibited a very high propensity toward home-ownership.[48] Finally, as a

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[45]Evenden, p.185; Juengst, p.95.

[46]German ethnics in Greater Vancouver in 1951: 19,328 and in 1971: 89,675, which equals an increase by 430%; German ethnics in Vancouver suburbs alone in 1951: 5,444 and in 1971: 57,160, which equals and increase of 850%.

[47]As Richmond and Kalbach, p.190. note: ̄ in contrast to high income and low income families who always have had their prestigious and inner city neighbourhood respectively, "the situation for the middle class population with respect to distinctive spatial patterns has been less clear, perhaps because of their housing needs and the fact that the maximum housing opportunities have been located in the rapidly expanding suburban areas."

[48]In all ethnic populations examined by Richmond and Kalbach in 1971, p.356 with regard to this issue, immigrants were always more likely to possess their own home than were their Canadian-born fellow ethnics in comparable income categories.

FIGURE 2.18.   VANCOUVER. SPATIAL EXPANSION OF RESIDENTIAL AND COMMERCIAL CONSTRUCTION.
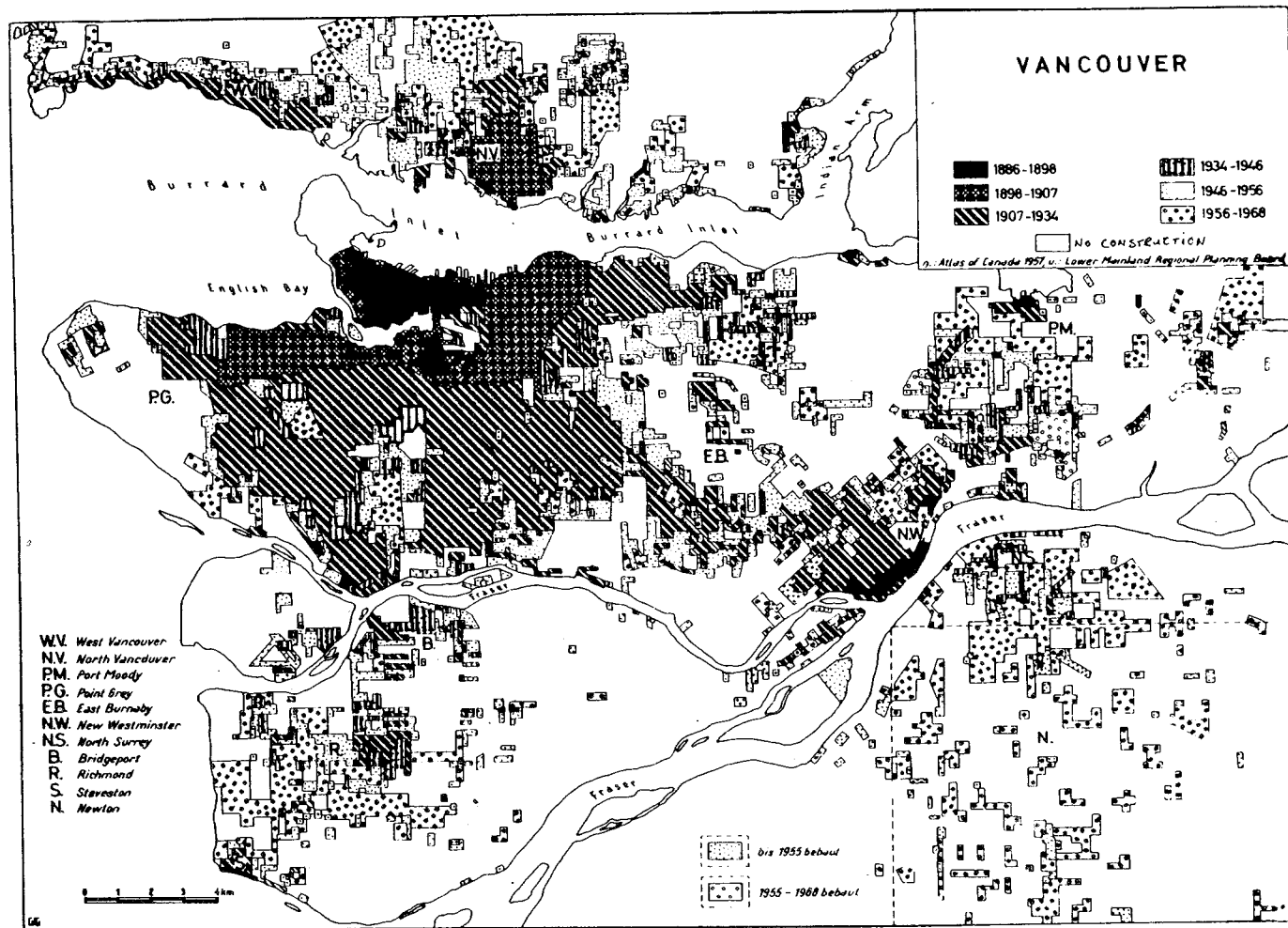
SOURCE: Peter Juengst, "Vancouver, eine stadtgeographische Skizze," Beitraege zur Kulturgeographie Kanadas, ed. C. Schott (Marburg, 1987), p.75.

result of Canadian immigration policy favouring professionals, highly skilled manual immigrants and entrepreneurs, the upper income brackets were more strongly represented among German arrivals of the late 1960s and 1970s than in earlier years. These groups concentrated in North and West Vancouver, which succeeded traditionally prestigious West Side districts as new, expanding high status residential areas.

As a consequence of Vancouver's spatial expansion in the postwar decades, both new arrivals and Canadian-born Germans became a predominantly suburban population. Yet, this process neither precipitated the disintegration of the traditional German neighbourhood in Vancouver South nor did it preclude the emergence of identifiably preferred new settlements in the suburbs with marked overrepresentations of German residents. In 1971, the concentration of German ethnics in Richmond, for example, was similar to that in Vancouver South, and parts of Surrey and Langley also attracted a disproportionate number of Germans.[49] The term "new suburban settlements" aptly describes the result of Germans' suburban choices in Vancouver in the postwar decades. Although the considerable concentration of Germans in some suburban census tracts did not produce the same elaborate institutional networks found in Vancouver South, some ethnic businesses, organizations, and ethnic schools gradually followed the suburban movement.[50]

Spatial distance between German ethnics and the Vancouver South neighbourhood and their wide residential distribution thus did not necessarily reflect a dissolution of their ethnic ties or disinterest in ethnic actitivies. German suburbanites could continue to patronize ethnic institutions in the old ethnic neighbourhood as well

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[49] Agocs, p.135 similarly observes the emergence of new ethnic clusters in Detroit's suburbs after the Second World War. He catagorizes those as "transplanted communitites" or "new suburban settlements" depending on their characteristics and the simultaneous persistence of a traditional ethnic neighbourhood within the city boundaries.

[50] For example, the Edelweiss Credit Union opened a branch in Surrey, German Saturday schools were established in North Vancouver and Surrey in the 1970s, and a Rudolf Steiner "Waldorf School" was founded in North Vancouver.

as the new ethnic halls, restaurants, schools, and businesses established in the suburbs. The same technological and economic factors that stimulated suburban development and urban decentralization – such as the universal availability of the automobile and the telephone – also permitted members of spatially dispersed ethnic populations to maintain contact and a degree of communal cohesion.[51]

In contemporary metropolitan centres such as Vancouver, the persistence of ethnic communitites may indeed depend less upon residential propinquity than on the communication, interaction, and shared ethnic activitites of ethnic members within the framework of a widely dispersed social net.[52] Thus, in the 1960s for example, some 25% of the identified German association leaders in Vancouver, who obviously were very active in the life of the local German community, resided in the suburbs. In fact, as the ethnic businesses, churches, schools, and organizations that emerged in Vancouver South in the postwar decades were often established by and supported by new German arrivals, and as the majority of Germans in Vancouver South had been born in Canada, these ethnic structures must have also depended on Germans living outside the traditional German neighbourhood.

The German experience in Vancouver points at a more complex relationship among an immigrant population's spatial distribution, its socio–economic characteristics, and its participation in ethnic community life than suggested by either the social class model or the ethnic model of urban settlement patterns. Although the ethnic neighbourhood offered the social support of fellow ethnics and a more protected environment in which newcomers could gradually adjust to Canadian ways, most German postwar immigrants were not first received by the traditional German area in

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[51]Agocs, p.141; Doerrenbacher, p. 13 observed: "Changing the living space had little to do with a social change or with acculturation and assimilation, because the indicators concerning participation in German ethnic institutions, customs etc. changed from person to person, while the spatial behaviour was the same for everyone."
[52]For a comparative perspective, see Crisman, p.268.

Vancouver South until an improved competitive position permitted them to move out of the enclave. Rather, both foreign-born and Canadian-born Germans integrated into various residential districts of Greater Vancouver much in accordance with their socio-economic status, their need for accommodation, and their pronunced desire for home-ownership. The traditional German neighbourhood in Vancouver South attracted a fairly typical portion of the ethnic population as a whole, both in terms of their socio-economic characteristics and the ratio between German immigrants and Canadian-born Germans. At the same time, the dispersion of the German population over the city of Vancouver and its suburbs not only led to some new residential concentrations and to the creation of ethnic economic, educational, and cultural institutions in the suburbs but also did not preclude a persistence of ethnic identity and of participation in the ethnic life in Vancouver South. Evidence suggests that ethnic ties among the Germans in Vancouver were not necessarily based upon spatial proximity, as the ethnic model proposes, nor was the existence of an ethnic cluster incompatible with a high degree of residential integration as exhibited by the Germans.

The data examined thus cautions against universalistic conceptions of areas of ethnic concentration as immigrant reception centres or as poor neighbourhoods on one hand, and as measurable indicators of ethnic discrimination or strong ethnic group cohesiveness on the other. A range of factors promoting both intergenerational residential continuity and the settlement of newcomers, including proximity to the household head's occupation, family investment policies, and social ties among neighbours, may have come into play in Vancouver South without necessarily being specific to the residential choices of ethnic populations.[53]

Analysis of German residential patterns does, however, confirm the essential ethnic significance of the traditional neighbourhood. Vancouver South remained the city's most pronounced German centre throughout the postwar period, with its accumulation

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[53]Cf. Crisman, p.268.

of ethnic businesses, parishes, social clubs and economic organizations, its German schools – and its German residents. Further inquiry is needed in order to establish the relative importance of socio–economic and ethnic factors in the decision of German ethnics to take up or continue their residence in Vancouver South. Yet, evidence collected so far presents a strong case for the concentration of ethnic institutions and residents having resulted in the creation of an ethnic milieu in that district. The German community had its territorial base in Vancouver South, and in its social environment ethnic self–identification, interaction with fellow Germans, and the cultivation of German traditions was promoted more than in any other area of the metropolis. Vancouver South was not particularly replenished by postwar immigrants, but its interactional and institutional network represents the focus of an examination of the German community in Vancouver.

III. OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION AND ETHNIC BUSINESS

German postwar immigrants' participation in the Canadian economy constituted a very important dimension of their overall adaptation process. Many came to Canada with high hopes for improving their socio-economic position and, to a large extent, their perception of and identification with the new land depended on their economic experiences. Yet their occupational background and ethnic characteristics needed to be adjusted to the new social and economic setting. The newcomers had to establish new economic contacts, familiarize themselves with Canadian ways, seek acceptance by other Canadians, learn a new language, and endeavour to apply their training and work experience to the Canadian job market.

For the majority of German immigrants, gaining access to the mainstream of Canadian economic institutions implied personal and occupational adjustments, often resulting in initial periods of unemployment and years of struggle to regain or improve their previously held social position. At times, they even experienced permanent occupational dislocation. For a small minority, on the other hand, ethnic identity and occupational specialization proved a vital business resource, in particular when they directed their entrepreneurial efforts at the needs and preferences of their fellow ethnics in Canada. Self-employment provided some Germans with an alternative to immediate adaptation to mainstream socio-economic structures, and some businesses, in turn, formed part of the ethnic community system in Vancouver.

. The evidence available for the historical assessment of the economic dimension of Germans' immigration process — census data, Department of Citizenship and Immigration records, ethnic press reports, and various sources of information about German-owned businesses in Vancouver — does not permit a complete reconstruction of the economic experiences of German postwar arrivals. Yet, it does illustrate some of the main processes of socio-economic integration that affected both employed and economically independent German immigrants in the context of one Canadian

metropolis.

In the postwar decades, the Canadian economy underwent what has been for industrialized countries a typical development, in which the primary industries, particularly agriculture, became less and less labour-intensive, while manufacturing and the service sector absorbed a growing portion of the labour force (Figure 3.1). However, in Canada the extraordinary expansion of the service sector contrasted with the relatively moderate growth of the secondary industries. Whereas well over three million people immigrated to Canada between 1946 and 1970, and the Canadian labour force more than doubled between 1941 and 1971, manufacturing, machining, and construction only absorbed an additional half million workers.[1]

By contrast, the West German economy was characterized by its strong manufacturing industries, which grew from 43% of the labour force in 1950 to over 49% in 1970. At the same time, the primary sector declined from 23.7% to 7.7% and the service occupations increased from 33% to 42.9%.[2] German postwar immigrants to Canada thus came from a highly industrialized and urbanized country, and many brought with them widely respected vocational and professional qualifications and and experiences. Their entry was encouraged by Canadian immigration policy which sought to supplement the domestic labour force in the growing sectors of the country's economy.[3]

In their occupational expectations, German arrivals reflected the changing

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[1]The term "worker" is rather loosely applied to all members of the labour force and carries no intention of occupational classification.

[2]Wolfgang Kleber, "Sektoraler und Sozialer Wandel der Beschaeftigungstruktur in Deutschland, 1882-1978," Klaus J. Bade, ed., *Auswanderer, Wanderarbeiter, Gastarbeiter: Bevoelkerung, Arbeitsmarkt und Wanderung in Deutschland seit Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts,* voll.I (Ostfildern: Scripta Mercaturae Verlag, 1984), p.206.

[3]Anthony H. Richmond and Warren E. Kalbach, *Factors in the Adjustment of Immigrants and Their Descendants* (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1980), p.29.

FIGURE 3.1.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE WEST GERMAN AND CANADIAN LABOUR FORCE, 1950-1971, BY ECONOMIC SECTORS.

WEST GERMANY		PRIMARY	SECONDARY	TERTIARY
	1950	23.7%	43.0%	33.3%
	1961	14.3%	48.2%	37.5%
	1970	7.7%	49.4%	42.9%

CANADA		PRIMARY	SECONDARY	TERTIARY
	1951	19.8%	29.3%	49.6%
	1961	12.8%	29.0%	55.6%
	1971	7.7%	29.0%	61.2%

PRIMARY: AGRICULTURE, LOGGING, FISHING, MINING, QUARRIES.

SECONDARY: MANUFACTURING, PROCESSING, MACHINING, CONSTRUCTION, LABOURERS

TERTIARY: MANAGERS, PROPRIETORS, PROFESSIONALS, TECHNICIANS, CLERICAL, SALES, SERVICE, TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATION

SOURCE:

WOLFGANG KLEBER, "SEKTORALER UND SOZIALER WANDEL DER BESCHAEFTIGUNGSSTRUKTUR IN DEUTSCHLAND, 1882-1978," K. J. BADE, ED., AUSWANDERER, WANDERARBEITER, GASTARBEITER: BEVOELKERUNG, ARBEITSMARKT, UND WANDERUNG IN DEUTSCHLAND SEIT DER MITTE DES 19. JAHRHUNDERTS, VOL.I (OSTFILDERN: SCRIPTA MERCATURAE VERLAG, 1984), P.206; CENSUS OF CANADA, 1951-1971.

characteristics of the immigrant population as a whole.[4] In the course of the 1960s, the percentage of professional and technical personnel among them rose markedly while fewer and fewer Germans looked toward agriculture or unskilled labouring for employment. Yet, contrary to other arrivals and in complance with the occupational structure of their country of origin, the majority of German immigrants in the postwar era always expected to work in the Canadian secondary sector (Figure 3.2.). The high proportion of skilled craftsmen among them was particularly prominent: in the 1953 to 1963 period, over 19% of the skilled manpower landing in Canada were of German origin, though Germans constituted only 14% of the total immigrant arrivals in these years. Of all German workers immigrating to Canada between 1953 and 1963, about a third belonged to the skilled trades; among the German arrivals intending to work in the secondary sector of the Canadian economy, over 80% were skilled craftsmen. Among skilled machinists, mechanics and repairmen, tool and diemakers, cabinet and furniture makers, plumbers and pipefitters, and bakers arriving in these years, the share of Germans – between 25% and 33% – was most marked.[5]

The German postwar immigrant cohort harboured a strong desire for socio-economic advancement: the experience of displacement, of a lack of food and shelter, of a complete loss of personal and material security, and of political disillusionment had created in many Germans a determination to regain secutiry, wealth, and respect, and to provide their children with the best opportunities for a better future.[6] Economic reasons might not have been the dominant motivation for emigration

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[4]See Anthony H. Richmond, *Postwar Immigrants in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, (1967), p.51 on the differences between immigrants' occupation in their former country and their occupational intentions upon arriving in Canada. A 1961 survey found that it were in particular white collar workers who envisaged a change of economic position.

[5]Loius Parai, *Immigration and Emigration of Professional and Skilled Manpower during the Postwar Period*, Special Study No.1 Economics Council of Canada (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1975), p.54 and Table A-32.

[6]The primacy of economic success among German postwar arrivals in Canada has been been noted by Rudolf A. Helling, *A Socio-Economic History of German-Canadians*

FIGURE 3.2.

INTENDED OCCUPATIONS OF ALL AND GERMAN ETHNIC ARRIVALS TO CANADA, 1946-1970

	ALL IMMIGRANTS		GERMAN ETHNICS*	
	1946-1960	1961-1970	1954-1960	1961-1970
TOTAL	1048550	723675	81256	44.356
MANAGERIAL	0.9%	3.1%	0.3%	1.0%
PROF.+TECHN.	8.8%	25.7%	3.8%	13.6%
CLERICAL	8.7%	13.8%	7.1%	12.6%
SALES	6.6%	3.4%	2.3%	2.7%
SERVICE	12.5%	10.8%	21.9%	12.0%
TRANS.+COMM.	2.5%	1.4%	1.2%	1.0%
FARMING	16.4%	3.5%	7.5%	3.1%
OTHER PRIMARY	2.8%	0.5%	1.1%	1.0%
SECONDARY	31.3%	30.8%	44.3%	45.5%
LABOURERS	11.1%	6.4%	9.9%	4.2%

* SINCE 1966: GERMANY=LAST COUNTRY OF PERMANENT RESIDENCE

SOURCE:

INTENDED OCCUPATION AND PROVINCE OF INTENDED DESTINATION. 1946-1955 (OTTAWA: KING'S PRINTER, DEPARTMENT OF CITIZENSHIP AND IMMIGRATION); IMMIGRATION STATISTICS. 1956-1974 (OTTAWA: DEPARTMENT OF CITIZENSHIP AND IMMIGRATION/DEPARTMENT OF MANPOWER AND IMMIGRATION); IMMIGRATION AND POPULATION STATISTICS (OTTAWA: QUEEN'S PRINTER, DEPARTMENT OF MANPOWER AND IMMIGRATION, 1974).

for a considerable portion of Germans. Yet, the socio-economic system of the two countries between which they moved and their decision to seek a better life abroad prompted many of them to measure success in Canada in terms of socio-economic mobility.[7] The economic characteristics of German postwar immigrants were thus shaped by the economic system of their homeland, their individual motivations, and the impact of Canada's economic development on the country's immigration policy. Their economic experiences in Canada depended on their reception by and adjustment to the new world's economic environment.

German immigrants, like other newcomers to Canada, encountered economic adjustment problems,[8] and many probably expected some set-backs and difficulties when making the transition to a new land. In their efforts to adapt to the Canadian economic environment, and in order to survive the initial adjustment phase in which they had to acquire new linguistic skills and familiarize themselves with Canadian ways, they often accepted employment below the level of their actual qualifications and work experience.[9] Ambition to succeed as well as willingness and ability to adapt to Canadian economic conditions might have contributed to the low occurence of unemployment among both Canadian-born and foreign-born Germans in the 1950s.[10]

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[6](cont'd) (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1982), p.99. Gottlieb Leibbrandt, *Little Paradise: Aus Geschichte und Leben der Deutschkanadier in der County Waterloo, Ontario, 1800-1975* (Kitchener, Ont.: Allprint Company Ltd. 1961), p.383.

[7]Richmond, *Postwar Immigrants in Canada*, p.190 observed that the large majority of immigrants, even those whose motives were not necessarily economic, arrived in their new country with high expectations and aspirations, hoping to maintain and, preferably, to improve their economic and social status; Charles Hirschman, "Immigrants and Minorities: Old Questions for New Directions in Research," *International Migration Review*. vol.16 No.2 (summer 1982), p.483 points at the process of emigration as an indication of strong self-motivation. He speaks of the "crosscurrent of selectivity of migrants" as a result of such motivational factors and the selection of newcomers through the receiving country's immigration policy.

[8]Richmond and Kalbach, pp.52.

[9]Rudolf A. Helling, "Die Deutschen in Kanada," Multikulturalismus in Kanada (Mannheim: University of Mannheim, 1982), p.34.

[10]Warren E. Kalbach, *The Impact of Immigration on Canada's Population* (Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1970), p.242 found consistently lower proportions of German ethnics unemployed that among most other ethnic groups; the share of German immigrants seeking work declined toward the level of the Canadian-born

Concerning the immigrants' attitudes to their economic circumstances in Canada, arrivals of the 1950s – who often had been pessimistic about being able to achieve a decent livelihood in Germany – for the most part seem to have accepted "initial status dislocation"[11] and the hardships of the first settlement years as the price of admission to a country where living standards and prospects for the future seemed far superior to those in Europe.[12] The opinion that newcomers had a fair chance to succeed in Canada was thus not only shared by most Canadians, but even by newcomers who had been unable to obtain employment.[13] Also, for immigrants who were too disappointed or frustrated by their experiences in Canada, there always existed – at least in theory – the option to remigrate or to return to their homeland. In general, Germans' work ethic, ambitions, willingness to adapt, and their general social acceptance by Canadian society permitted most of them to cope with the initial adjustment problems. Yet, even for the arrivals of the first postwar decade the ultimate perception of the Canadian economic environment depended upon how quickly they were able to integrate socially and economically into the receiving society.[14]

German newcomers of the 1960s, on the other hand, harboured considerably higher expectations when arriving in Canada. In the 1960s, Canada was actively

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[10](cont'd) Germans with length of residence in Canada.

[11]Anthony H. Richmond and Ravi P. Verma. "The Economic Adaptation of Immigrants: New Theoretical Perspectives." *International Migration Review.* vol.12 No.1 (spring 1978), p.11; see also Kalbach, p.267.

[12]The German ethnic press in Canada encouraged this view, see *Nordwesten*, 7 November 1951, p.5; *Courier*, 1 August 1951, p.3 (editorial), 28 January 1954, p.3 (editorial) and 21 August 1958, p.9. *Courier*, 16 July 1952, p.3; "Die Tauben fliegen nicht in den Mund," 9 May 1957, p.3.

[13]According to a Gallup Poll taken in the May of 1954, 87.3% of the respondents felt that newcomers were given a fair chance in Canada: Nancy Tienhara, *Canadian Views on Immigration and Population: An Analysis of Postwar Gallup Polls* (Ottawa: Department of Manpower and Immigration, 1974), p.61; also *Victoria Daily Times*, "Not complaining" (letter to the editor by a group residing in the Immigration House in Victoria), 22 January 1952, p.4.

[14]Richmond, *Postwar Immigrants in Canada*, p.191 remarks that for immigrants from Europe, the knowledge that it would be necessary to learn a new language and to adjust to a rather different way of life probably meant that the effect of initial set-backs was not as painfully felt as by British arrivals.

recruiting highly skilled manual, professional and technical personnel to supplement its domestic labour force. At the same time, Germany was no longer a war-torn country with high unemployment and severe economic, demographic, and social problems, but the land of the "economic miracle", whose workers and quality-made products were internationally renown.[15] Consequently, German immigrants were more critical of disadvantages deriving from their immigrant status, particularly economic entry barriers and an apparent lack of suitable occupational positions. Although often still prepared to work initially at a lower salary and with less responsibility than they had enjoyed in their homeland, they were more self-confident and status-conscious than their predecessors of the 1950s.[16]

Having been led to expect good economic opportunities and ready integration into Canadian economic structures, and often bringing a functional knowledge of English with them, some Germans were dismayed about the frequent reluctance of trade unions, provincial boards, and professional associations, to recognize their qualifications and past work experience. In many cases, the immigrant had to undertake a period of supervised practical experience in Canada before he was allowed to sit the provincial examinations that could lead to the permission to practise his or her profession or trade.[17] German immigrants and German-Canadian institutions denounced such entry barriers as arbitrary means of retaining a privileged position for the Canadian-born worker and demanded that the federal government remedy the situation.[18]

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[15] Social scientists have noted that the relative standing of an ethnic group is strongly influenced by the kind of acceptance accorded to the country of origin by the host government and the general public. Gerald L. Gold and Robert Paine, "Introduction," G. L. Gold, ed., Minorities and Mother Country Imagery (St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1984), p.3. In the case of the German-Canadians, Helling stresses the impact of Germany's political and economic recovery on the status of the ethnic population. Socio-Economic History of German-Canadians, p.113.

[16] Courier, "Einwanderer muessen umworben werden," 24 February 1966, p.11.

[17] Richmond, Postwar Immigrants in Canada, p.58.

[18] Courier, "Diskriminierung in der Arbeit," 30 March 1967, p.3; "Theorie und Praxis – auch hier zwei Dinge," 20 April 1967, p.11.

Newcomers had to adjust to Canadian economic realities, and factors such as linguistic barriers, non-recognition of their qualifications, and the changing manpower needs of the Canadian economy posed problems for many German postwar arrivals. On the basis of available data, it is difficult to establish the kinds of economic changes which occurred among the German immigrant cohort after their arrival in Canada. The juxtaposition of Germans' collective intended occupations with their actual occupational distribution in the Canadian labour force in 1961 and 1971 reveals many discrepancies (Figure 3.3.), yet their interpretation is complicated by a range of intercepting factors. For example, no data concerning the occupational intentions of the tens of thousands of German arrivals of the late 1940s and early 1950s is available. Also, by 1961, and even more so by 1971, many Germans who had arrived as children and thus did not record occupational intentions, had entered the labour force and influenced Germans' occupational profile. Remigration and return migration affected the data. Moreover, the 1971 census recorded the occupations of the German-born, whereas intended occupations were recorded by German ethnic origin and by Germany as the country of last permanent residence (since 1966). Finally, female members of the labour force could have represented a flexible factor, as many immigrant women may have contributed to the family income in the early settlement years and later ceased to do so, or may have been forced against their intentions to work outside the home in order to secure the survival of the family. They affected in particular traditional female occupations in the lower tertiary sector.

At this point, many of the observed discrepancies can thus not be explained satisfactorily. However, in combination with contemporary commentary in the German ethnic press, one may assert with considerable certainty that German workers destined to the secondary sector experienced a marked, long-term occupational dislocation, particularly in the 1960. There was already an obvious difference between the proportion of German intending to work in machining, manufacturing, processing, and

construction (1954–1960) and those actually located in this sector in 1961. This discrepancy expanded considerably in the 1960s so that by 1971 22% of Germans who had expected to work in the manufacturing sector may have been unable to find employment in accordance with their qualifications and aspirations (Figure 3.3).[19]

At the end of the postwar period, Germans were still prominent in the manufacturing sector, particularly in the skilled trades. Yet, as a result of occupational dislocations and many other pertinent factors, the distribution of German postwar immigrants in 1961 and of the German–born in 1971 over main occupational categories approached those of the Canadian–born labour force much more closely than the profile of their intended occupational distribution. The differences between German immigrants' occupational distribution and those of the Canadian–born declined markedly between 1961 and 1971,[20] suggesting that Germans' process of economic integration intensified over time.[21]

In his study of 1961 census data, Warren E. Kalbach concluded that this change in the occupational character of the foreign–born reflected their efforts "to achieve a satisfactory economic adjustment" to their new land.[22] In other words, the economic survival and social mobility of most immigrants depended on their gaining access to the mainstream occupational structure, and German postwar arrivals thus had to adapt their economic and cultural characteristics to Canadian ways.[23] Yet, unlike arrivals in the early part of the century, German postwar newcomers did not enter the

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[19]Analysis of Canada Census data on the actual distribution of German postwar immigrants in 1961 (Kalbach, pp.220) and of the German–born in 1971 (Richmond and Kalbach, p.316/317) point at a this dislocation, especially in the 1960s; also Richmond and Verma, p.11.

[20]According to the application of the index of dissimilarity, they differed in 1961 with 21.2 and in 1971 with 14.4. Canada Census data, by main occupational groups.

[21]Similar interpretation of economic assimilation are found in Kalbach, p.276; *Royal Commission o Bilingualism and Biculturalism, vol.4 The Other Ethnic Groups* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1967), p.49.

[22]Kalbach, p.258.

[23]Cf. Steinberg, p.53. Edward N. Herberg, *Ethnic Groups in Canada: Adaptation and Transition* (Scarborough, Ont.: Nelson Canada, 1989), p.8.

FIGURE 3.3.

INDICATION OF OCCUPATIONAL DISLOCATION. INTENDED AND ACTUAL OCCUPATIONAL
DISTRIBUTION OF GERMAN POSTWAR IMMIGRANTS TO CANADA.

	INTENDED 1954-60	ACTUAL OCC. 1961*	INTENDED 1954-1970	ACTUAL OCC. 1971~
TOTAL	81256	113729	125612	130100
MANAGERIAL	0.3%	5.0%	0.5%	4.1%
PROF.+ TECHN.	3.8%	7.5%	10.3%	15.1%
CLERICAL	7.1%	10.5%	8.4%	14.2%
SALES	2.3%	3.7%	2.3%	8.9%
SERVICE	21.9%	15.8%	18.4%	12.2%
TRANS.+ COMM.	1.3%	2.2%	1.2%	2.1%
FARMING	7.5%	5.4%	6.3%	5.8%
OTHER PRIMARY	1.1%	1.9%	1.1%	1.3%
SECONDARY	44.3%	41.1%	44.7%	30.4%
LABOURERS	9.9%	1.7%	7.9%	

* GERMAN POSTWAR IMMIGRANTS
~ GERMAN-BORN

SOURCE: INTENDED OCCUPATION AND PROVINCE OF INTENDED DESTINATION. 1946-1955 (OTTAWA: KING'S PRINTER, DEPARTMENT OF CITIZENSHIP AND IMMIGRATION); IMMIGRATION STATISTICS. 1956-1974 (OTTAWA: KING'S PRINTER, DEPARTMENT OF CITIZENSHIP AND IMMIGRATION/DEPARTMENT OF MANPOWER AND IMMIGRATION); IMMIGRATION AND POPULATION STATISTICS (OTTAWA: QUEEN'S PRINTER, DEPARTMENT OF MANPOWER AND IMMIGRATION, 1974); W. E. KALBACH, THE IMPACT OF IMMIGRATION ON CANADA'S POPULATION (OTTAWA: DOMINION BUREAU OF STATISTICS, 1970), P.220; A. H. RICHMOND AND W. E. KALBACH, FACTORS IN THE ADJUSTMENT OF IMMIGRANTS AND THEIR DESCENDANTS (OTTAWA: MINISTER OF SUPPLIES AND SERVICES, 1980), P.316/17.

Canadian economy at its very bottom, but were recruited to staff the country's skilled industrial and professional labour force. As an economically heterogeneous immigrant cohort, they entered the Canadian socio–economic structure at all levels, from successful entrepreneurship to unskilled labouring jobs.[24] This overall integration into the Canadian economic system and Germans occupational distributuion was also reflected in the relative improvement of their incomes. Whereas the average earnings of German postwar immigrant heads of families in 1961 amounted to $4,168 and thus lay ten percent below the average earnings of the Canadian–born as a whole,[25] the German family heads born outside of Canada were found in 1971 to have average annual incomes of $8,398 as opposed to $8,042 for all Canadians.[26]

Evidence thus shows that both in terms of income and occupational distribution German postwar arrivals were becoming increasingly indistinguishable from the Canadian labour force at large by 1971. This process of socio–economic integration interacted with other aspects of their settlement. For example, Germans quickly adopted the dominant language, thereby overcoming linguistic entry barriers to the Canadian job market as well as being able to interact and to accepted by other Canadians. Also, their low level of residential segregation not only reflected but also reinforced their socio–economic integration.[27] There is little evidence that Germans' ethnicity and the existence of the ethnic community deflected their status aspirations or restricted their

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[24]See John Porter, *The Vertical Mosaic: Social Class and Power in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), pp.66 on his view on the connection between the "entry status" of immigrant groups and the social stratification of Canadian society; also A. Gordon Darroch, "Another Look at Ethnicity, Stratification, and Social Mobility in Canada," *Canadian Journal of Sociology,* vol.4 No.1 (1979). pp.1.

[25]Kalbach, p.329; the average earnings of postwar immigrants in Canada as a whole lay at $4,232 and of the German ethnics born in Canada at $4,385.

[26]Richmond and Kalbach, p.386; Germans in Canada as a a whole earned $8,047 and Germans born in Canada $7,848.

[27]As Auster and Aldrich, p.52 have noted: "Ethnic residential segregation represents one of the most important barriers to the equal participation of minorities in the broader society and economy." Members of minority groups in segregated areas are distant from jobs and opportunities in the broader society, and they are also cut off from informal association that provide information and contacts useful for economic mobility. (Compare also Lieberson, p.56).

achievement motivations with regard to the larger, Canadian labour market.[28]

It was a minority within the German immigrant cohort which circumvented immediate pressures of having to integrate into Canada's economic structure. In fact, as the *Nordwesten* noted in 1955, the experience of being at a disadvantage compared to other Canadians when new positions were filled, stimulated in many Germans the desire to establish their own businesses as quickly as possible.[29] In becoming self–employed, they could directly apply their occupational expertise and socio–economic ambitions. Their ethnic identity and recent immigration even proved an economic benefit when they directed their business efforts toward the needs and preferences of their fellow ethnics who appreciated the opportunity to speak in their mother tongue, who trusted the qualifications of their fellow German immigrants, and who often preferred to patronize German butchers, bakers, construction companies, or auto garages. German–owned enterprises constituted one of the most visible aspects of German economic presence in Vancouver, and a portion of them also formed an important part of the local German community system in the metropolis.

In the postwar decades, arrivals of German nationality were more inclined than any other immigrant group in Canada to seek their economic existence in self–employment, particularly in the late 1950s and early 1960s. According Department of Citizenship and Immigration statistics, Germans ranked highest with a share of 18.5% of some 16,000 businesses established by immigrants between 1950 and 1966,[30]

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[28]The choice in favour of achieving mobility within the ethnic community has been considered as one of the main ways in which the salience of ethnicity in thought to prevent socio–economic integration and upward mobility. For an example of this approach see Norbert F. Wiley, "The Ethnic Mobility Trap and Stratification Theory," *Social Problems*, vol.15 No.2 (Fall 1967), pp.148.

[29]*Nordwesten*, "Wie deutsche Einwanderer Aufbauen," 5 February 1955, p.9.

[30]Germans ranked second with 15% of some 11,000 homesteads established by newcomers in the same period. Department of Citizenship and Immigration. Public Archives of Canada. RG 26 vol.142 file: 3–40–19 Part 1 and vol.143 file: 3–40–19 Parts 2 and 3.

even though Germans constituted only some 13% of the immigrant arrivals in this sixteen year period.[31] This propensity toward self–employment was influenced by their high degree of identification with the values of self–employment, the existence of favourable conditions for the employment of their occupational skills and entrepreneurial ambitions, the economic and informal support of their fellow ethnics, and the economic opportunities arising from the flourishing trade between Canada and Germany.

Germans came to Canada in the decades following the Second World War with considerable economic and social ambitions, and apparently many of them embraced the goal of economic independence, associating it with greater personal satisfaction, autonomy, and socio–economic advancement. For some, aspirations toward self–employment may have been a motivational factor for seeking a new future in Canada. Business–owners were strong believers in free enterprise and usually were characterized by "entrepreneurial features" such as ambition, capacity to recognize economic opportunities, willingness to take risks, determination to follow through with hard work, and acceptance of deferred gratification.[32]

In principle, the self–employment of German postwar immigrants in Vancouver, as of other members of society, was based on routine capitalist–entrepreneurial activity, that is, on the recognition of an economic opportunity and the decision to take the risks of self–employment.[33] Germans perceived such opportunities particularly in areas where their occupational expertise gave them a competitive edge over other Canadians

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[31]Canada Year Book (Ottawa: King's Printer).

[32]Evelyn Kallen and Merrijoy Kellner, *Ethnicity, Opportunity, and Successful Entrepreneurship in Canada,* Ethnic Research Programme: Institute for Behavioural Research (Toronto: York University, 1983), p.83. Ellen Auster and Howard Aldrich, "Small Business Vulnerability, Ethnic Enclaves and Ethnic Enterprise," Robin Ward and Richard Jenkins, eds., *Ethnic Communities in Business: Stategies for Economic Survival* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), p.44. Calvin Goldschneider and Frances E. Kobrin, "Ethnic Community and the Process of Self–Employment," *Ethnicity.* vol.7 No.3 (September 1980), p.236.

[33]Trevor Jones and David McEvoy, "Ethnic Enterprise: The Popular Image," J. Curran et al., eds. *The Survival of the Small Firm. vol.I. The Economics of Survival and Entrepreneurship,* (Hants, Brookfield: Gowere Publishing Company, 1986), pp.196 on "economic opportunity models" of ethnic enterprise.

or where the special needs, preferences, and characteristics of other German–Canadians offered them the advantage of ethnic exclusivity.[34] Services and the retail trades were particularly attractive for small business–ownership as they could be targeted at ethnic clientele and often required a minimum of entry criteria. In addition, some Germans established manufacturing facilities or worked as independent contractors.[35]

In general, the climate for self–employment appears to have been particularly favourable in the 1950s. In Canada, 8.1% of the labour force was reported in "managerial and proprietary" positions at the 1961 census as opposed to 4.1% in 1971. 5% of German postwar immigrants were reported in this occupational category in 1961 and 4.1% of the German–born in 1971. In Vancouver however, the portion of self–employed was considerably higher: in 1961, 10.7% of the metropolitan labour force was reported as working on their own account, though in 1971 only 5.2% were so.[36]

One prominent area of German immigrants' occupational expertise was the field of machining and mechanics: between 1962 and 1970, every eighth German destined for the labour force intended to work in the field of "machining" upon arrival in Canada.[37] At the same time, Canada's postwar industrial development increased the demand for skilled labour in this field and for the evolution of technology and the production of new equipment, opening a range of opportunities for German entrepreneurship. In Vancouver, for example, the brothers Hugo and Helmut

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[34]Jones and McEvoy, p.200; Richard Jenkins, "Ethnic Minorities in Business: A Research Agenda," Robin Ward and Richard Jenkins, eds., *Ethnic Communities in Business: Stategies for Economic Survival* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), p.232.

[35]In fact, most most immigrants in Canada between 1950 and 1966 established their businesses in the personal service industry (35.5%), and in trade (32.1%), although manufacturing (17.3) and construction (12%) also proved as attractive areas for entrepreneurial activity. – Department of Citizenship and Immigration. Public Archives of Canada. RG 26 Vol.142 file: 3–40–19.

[36]Canada Census, 1961 and 1971; Kalbach, p.220; Richmond and Kalbach, p.316.

[37]See *Immigration to Canada by Intended Occupation and Province of Intended Destination, 1946–1955* (Ottawa: King's Printer, Department of Citizenship and Immigration); *Immigration Statistics, 1956–1965* (Ottawa: King's Printer, Department of Citizenship and Immigration); *Immigration Statistics, 1966–1974* (Ottawa: Department of Manpower and Immigration).

Eppich established Ebco Industries Ltd. in 1956, a company that first specialized in industrial tool and machinery manufacturing; thirty years later, the business had expanded into the Ebco Group of Companies, ranging from the fabrication of heavy machinery to Epic Data Inc. and the Ebco Aerospace Centre, with annual sales of twenty-nine million dollars.[38] On a less grand scale, J. Walter Co. Ltd. also produced machinery from 1964 onward, and the German metal smith Ted Sonnenschmidt established Sunsmith and Co. in the same year.

In other manufacturing sectors Germans could not claim a collective expertise. Yet, specialized knowledge, goods marketing skills, and competitveness permitted them to find economic niches for entrepreneurship in certain production lines. Thus, British Columbia Umbrella Manufacturing (1963), the Seat Cover Centre (1965), or the Sabathil and Son Hapsichord Manufacturing (1959) were founded by German immigrants in Vancouver.

In the area of automobiles and automobile mechanics, German postwar arrivals exhibited a particular propensity to found their own businesses, due to the general expertise of many German immigrants[39] and the growing import of German-made cars to Canada. Of at least fourteen car-repair shops identified in Vancouver German-owned, nine advertised themselves as "Volkswagen specialists." The Canadian Volkswagen story may serve as an example of a combination of occupational specialization and and general economic opportunity acting favourably upon Germans' self-employment.[40]

The Volkswagen was introduced to Canada at the Canadian National

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[38]See Ebco Group of Companies. Annual Report 1987.
[39]On average, about 3% of German immigrants between 1954 and 1970 intended wo work as automobile mechanics; among the skilled workers intending to enter this occupation, over 20% were of German ethnic origin. Parai, p.54; *Immigration to Canada by Intended Occupation and Province of Destination, 1946–1955; Immigration Statistics, 1956–1965; Immigration Statistics, 1966–1974.*
[40]A summary of the import and distribution of this German-made car is offered by V. Frank Segee, "Volkswagen in Canada," *Kanada-Post* (1968), pp.7.

Exhibition in Toronto in 1952. Gradually, a chain of sales and service outlets was established across the country, reaching three hundred outlets by 1968. Volkswagen Canada Inc. established its Pacific Sales" office in Vancouver in 1953; here, sales climbed from 361 in the first year to about 8,000 in 1968, totalling 80,000 vehicles sold in Vancouver (and 400,000 nation-wide) beteen 1953 and 1968. From 1957 to 1968, the Volkswagen was the leading import car on the Canadian West coast. Volkwagen Canada often preferred to entrust their dealerships to German-Canadians who were familiar with the products as well as being identified by consumers in Canada with the German car. Also, German mechanics were familiar with the Volkwagen from their own training and work experience and enjoyed the reputation of being excellent mechanics. It is thus hardly surprising that a number of them seized the opportunity to become independent businessmen.

German-Canadian trade relations generally opened up a variety of economic possibilities for aspiring German entrepreneurs in Canada. Automobiles ranked top among the products imported from Germany throughout the postwar period, followed by machinery and tools, and electro-technical equipment such as hifi-stereo goods and optical products. Between 1964 and 1978 alone, the value of German imports rose from 144 million dollars to well over two billion dollars.[41] Knowledge of German-made goods, increasing familiarity with the Canadian market place, private and business connections to German producers and other economic factors placed German immigrants in a position to take advantage of economic niches in their new homeland and gave them a competitive edge over other Canadians.

Occupational expertise and economic demand in their new land also recipitated the emergence of numerous German contracting firms. Among arrivals of German ethnic origin between 1962 and 1970, about 11% intended to work in the construction

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[41]Heinrich E. Zimmermann, "German-Canadian Trade and Investment," *German-Canadian Yearbook*. vol.6 (1979), pp.37.

industry, and Germans were prominent among immigrants skilled as "cabinet and furniture makers", "painters, decorators and glaziers" and "plumbers and pipefitters."[42] At least nine independent German contractors were identified working in Vancouver in the 1950s and 1960s.

Their ethnic background and recent immigration was an important business advantage for German entrepreneurs with regard to fellow ethnic consumers, particularly in such economic activities as the import of German goods, personal service, and the production and distribution of German food items. For example, in the postwar period, German-made cars and stereo equipment became known internationally for their high quality, yet it were German business-owners and consumers who introduced them and many other products to the Canadian market. In many cases, German postwar immigrants were the first purchasers of German goods in Canada and provided a base from which the general Canadian market could be penetrated.[43] German business-owners also found an economic niche in supplying their ethnic clientele with German household products, drugstore items, or other goods that might have been available from North American sources, but which some German postwar arrivals preferred to have imported from Germany. Thus, at least nine general import stores were established by German ethnics in Vancouver in the postwar period.

On an individual basis, German immigrants' preference for German-made products may be interpreted as resulting from a conservative preference for proven, familiar items. Seen in the larger context of their immigration experience, however, this consumer behaviour reflected an economic aspect of their initial difficulty in assimilating into the Canadian market system. Confronted by aggressive mass advertising

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[42] *Immigration Statistics, 1956–1965* (Ottawa: Department of Citizenship and Immigration); *Immigration Statistics, 1966–1974* (Ottawa: Department of Manpower and Immigration). Parai, p.54.

[43] Thus, for example, the Volkswagen buyer in Vancouver was a German immigrant. – *Courier*, 24 November 1955, p.17 and 6 June 1968, p.10; *Torontoer Zeitung*, 20 August 1965, p.3.

and an overwhelming variety of unknown products and businesses, the national origin of both business-owner and of the offered goods provided the immigrant consumer with a sense of familiarity and security. Thus, knowledge of the economic and social needs of German immigrant consumers, familiarity with German products and manufactruring lines, and their own ethnic identity gave many German business-owners in Canada the economic advantage of ethnic exclusivity.

In consumption areas such as food, information and entertainment, German immigrants' ethnic attachments was particularly visible and precipitated the emergence of special businesses. For example, language barriers, adherence to German literary traditions, and interest in the events of the old country produced a considerable demand for German books and news publications as the wave of German immigrants reached in Vancouver in the early and mid-1950s. Consequently, the Fraser Book Nook (under German ownership since 1956) offered not only stereo supplies, but also German records of classical and contemporary music and German books for adults and children.[44] German newspapers and magazines as well as German ethnic publications were sold in many German-owned shops; probably, the widest selection was found in the European News and Import Store on Robson Street.[45]

German publications were not only imported but also produced in Canada. In addition to the long-established German ethnic newspapers *Der Courier* and *Der Nordwesten*, the number of German publications multiplied in the 1950s and early 1960s as German immigrants wished to read about international and national news in German as well as being informed about events and developments in the local and national ethnic community. For this news business, in turn, the financial support of

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[44]In the mid-1950s, "Pacific Book and Record Sales" even offered German books on a lending basis to satisfy the demands of the wave of recently arrived German immigrants.

[45]The store expanded over time to feature one of the widest selections of Canadian and imported newspapers and magazines in the city, with small specialized sections of souveniers and German imports ranging from board games to dirndles.

other German businesses in the form of advertisements was essential. In fact, Vancouver's first German newspaper since the First World War – the *Pazifische Rundschau* (founded in 1965) – at first served almost exclusively as an advertising organ.

The largest, single field of economic activity for German ethnic entrepreneurs in Canada, however, was the provisions industry. Because food has important familial, social, medical, and religious associations, the acquisition, preparations, and consumption of food lies at the centre of all cultures. Individuals transferring from their traditonal cultural context to a new society commonly adhere to the food habits to which they have been accustomed; in fact, ethnic cooking often survives longer than any other ethnic trait in immigrant families.[46]

For German immigrants in Vancouver, availability of traditional food items was of such importance that their influx after the Second World War precipitated the emergence of a wide range of speciality stores where, as was noted in 1961, "one can do one's shopping just like at home."[47] Initially, the provision of German food items stimulated the development of a trade chain, with importers, wholesalers, and retail shops. Yet, soon the growing size of the German population and their demands for German–style meats and baked products led to the establishment of local production facilities. By the mid–1950s, a thriving German–owned provision industry in Vancouver offered breads, cakes, meats, sausages, and other special items.

The production of German–style meats in Vancouver started in the late 1940s with the establishment of businesses such as Sunrise Sausage (later: Prinz European Sausage). It was followed by Karl Wimmer's Vancouver Fancy Sausage in 1951, which by 1966 represented total assets of four million dollars and employed 125 persons, many of them German butchers and meat cutters. It was one of the largest

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[46]Stephen Steinberg, *The Ethnic Myth: Race, Ethnicity and Class in America* (New York: Atheneum, 1981), p.77.
[47]*Courier*, "Europaeische Delicatessen in Vancouver," 12 October 1961, p.11.

German-Canadian companies established in Canada after the war and ranked among the largest North American firms of its kind.[48] Freybe Sausage Manufacturing was founded in 1956 by Ulrich Freybe and Wilhelm Schmidt and by 1969 employed over thirty persons.[49] Heinrich Grimm started his B.C. Fancy Sausage (later: Grimm's Sausage) in 1954, and in time it also became a thriving enterprise.

As a further link in this food chain and as an indicator of the presence and residential location of German postwar arrivals, at least fifty delicatessen outlets sprang up in Vncouver from the late 1940s to 1970. 1970s.[50] Some sold their own products and imported European food items, but the vast majority appear to have functioned as retailers for the items produced by local companies. German-owned bakeries constituted a further element in the provision industry. Some twenty were founded throughout the 1950s and 1960s.[51] The largest of them, the Venice Bakery, was taken over by the German postwar immigrant Guenther Schwandner in 1959 from its previous Italian owners. By 1967 the company employed 52 persons.[52]

The production and trade with German-style delicatessen goods and baked items demonstrates clearly the direct impact of ethnic consumption patterns on the emergence and location of ethnic businesses. German immigrants with occupational expertise in the field of butchering, sausage-manufacturing, and baking, recognized the desire of other fellow ethnics for the German food items which had been part of their culture in the old country, and they reponded to this need by producing the

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[48]*Nordwesten*, "Fabrik platzt aus allen Naehten," 4 Jnauary 1966, p.5; *Courier*, 16 February 1962, p.12 and 13 December 1962, p.12, 24 March 1966, p.12. and "Moderne Wurstfabrik vergroesserte sich," 24 November 1966, p.11.

[49]The Freybe family had been involved in sausage-making in Stettin since 1844; they later moved to Dresden and after the war came to Canada where they continued the tradition. *Nordwesten*, 19 April 1965, p.14 and 7 January 1969, p.5; *Courier*, 16 January 1969, p.11.

[50]Includes multiple outlets of the same owner.

[51]Parai, p.54 and Table A-32: 30% of all skilled workers landing in Canada between 1953 and 1963 and intending to work as bakers were of German ethnic origin; of the skilled German workers, 5% intended to find employment as bakers.

[52]*Nordwesten*, 25 September 1962, p.5; *Courier*, "Guenther's Brote wurden zu einem Begriff," 13 September 1962, p.11 and 26 January 1967, p.11.

desired goods. Many others seized upon the opportunity of retailing with these product, an economic activity that required no specialized knowledge or business experience and could be targeted at neighbourhoods with concentrated German settlements.

Other areas of German business ownership were not characterized by a particular link to the goods and services sought by their ethnic clientele. However, they also enjoyed a form of ethnic exclusivity or ethnic advantage due to two, interconnected features. German owners could deal with their German customers in their mother tongue, and they benefitted from the fact that German immigrants extended their trust more willingly to those of their own ethnic background and language. Accessibility to goods and services in the German language offered familiarity and security to recent arrivals and to those members of the ethnic population who often were slow to feel comfortable in the new linguistic environment, as for example the eldely and housewives. Thus, the comparatively large number of German–owned hairdresser shops (at least 16) founded in Greater Vancouver in the postwar decades reflected not only the growing demand for this personal service, the number of German arrivals skilled in the field[53] and suitability for small business–ownership, but probably also responded the desire of German women for salons in which they were consulted and able to communicate with other clients in their mother tongue. Language and trust were also of particular importance in businesses such as insurance, real estate, and accounting, or for German professionals providing legal and medical services to ethnic clients. German business–owners and professionals emphasized their ethnic background and, thus immigrants' desire for orientation and familiarity by including in their advertisement such recommendations as "your German baker" or "your German drugstore."

The ethnic connection also played an important role in dealings with German

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[53]About 3% of German immigrant workers between 1953 and 1963 intended to work as barbers and hairdressers. – Parai A–32; 15 % of immigrant skilled barbers arriving in these years were of German ethnic origin. – Parai, p.54.

clients in Germany. Based on their knowledge of the German market and on their business connections with the homeland, and encouraged by their increasing familiarity with the Canadian economy, German–Canadian business persons could recruit German clients for Canadian products. Thus, in the 1960s, German entrepreneurs in Canada matched German investors with Canadian real estate by advertising in German newspapers and exploring economic opportunitites in Canada.[54]

On one hand, ethnic exclusivity thus manifested itself in the occupational expertise of German arrivals and in the special relationship between fellow ethnic consumers and entrepreneurs which often encouraged the emergence of German–owned businesses in the postwar decades. The German population and its needs and preferences produced protected market in certin lines of trade, personal service, and even manufacturing, and hence gave ethnic business–owners a degree of independence from the mainstream of Canadian economy.[55] On the other hand, the dependence on the ethnic population, which often characterized the early business efforts of immigrants, also stemmed from the fact that the informal and institutional network of the local ethnic community rendered economic advantages to self–employed Germans. Ethnic businesses themselves formed part of German community life, benefitting from it and contributing to its viability and persistence.

The ethnic residential neighbourhood, for example, provided a considerable number of German–owned businesses with a cushion of customers for daily goods and services. At the same time, the location of ethnic shopping facilities and personal services in Vancouver South promoted Germans' residential concentration there, with its positive effects on language retention, participation in ethnic associations, and the

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[54]Compare with *Courier*, "Deutsches Kapital fliesst nach Kanada," 17 July 1969, p.10: "Especially in Eastern Canada, a considerable number of German–Canadians make a good business by offering real estate to financially strong German through advertisements in leading German newspapers."
[55]See Auster and Aldrich, p.49; Goldschneider and Kobrin,. p.276.

establishment of of personal ties with fellow ethnic neighbours.[56] In general, German businesses supplying daily goods and services to German immigrants reflected the residential patterns of the ethnic population in the city, so that many of the business founded in the 1960s were also established in the suburbs.

Enterprises specializing in the needs and preferences of the minority group required a sufficiently large number of ethnic clients to ensure their survival. Yet, residential concentration was not always a prerequisite as long as the location of the business was known and accessible.[57] Thus, the German-owned stores and restaurants on Robson Street formed an "agglomeration economy"[58] in the absence of a defined German neighbourhood because merchants hoped that customers drawn to the area by another business would also patronize their shop.

Ethnic businesses also directly promoted ethnic identification and community cohesion. By providing special food items or German books and news publications, they permitted their clientele to adhere to their ethnic traits and traditions instead of being forced to adopt immediately the culture of the new land. Also, the opportunity to carry out economic activities in the mother tongue may have positively affected the preservation of the German language in sections of the ethnic population. German shops had a social function as they often served as meeting points and centres of information and communication. In addition, travel agents' organization of trips to the homeland, their assistance in the visit or immigration of a relative, and the import of German newspapers and books all helped immigrants to maintain a connection to their country and culture of origin.

The German community's institutional network was also tied to the ethnic

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[56]Thus, about 25% of the identified German delicatessen shops were found in Vancouver South, and so did 30% of the bakeries, half of the book and record shops, 4 out of 7 German-owned furniture stores, or two-thirds of the identified camera and photo shops.

[57]Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, p.52.

[58]Auster and Aldrich, p.50.

business world. Business owners could establish contacts and relationships of trust through involvement in ethnic associations.[59] Often acting as ethnic association leaders and organizers, many German business owners co-operated with other ethnic institutions on community projects, spoke out in favour of ethnic pride and solidarity, and generally championed the ethnic cause. As ethnic exclusivity frequently provided the very basis of their economic existence and gave them a competitive edge over other Canadians in certain economic areas, they were intrinsically interested in the persistence of these ethnic factors and in the survival of the German community.

At times, ethnic institutions and projects even directly supported a self-employed German-Canadian. For example, the contract for designing the German-Canadian senior citizens' home went to the German architect Arnulf Petzold, and the German H. Classen received the order for sculping the German-Canadian centennial fountain in 1967 to 1970. Among the ethnic organizations, the German Business and Professional Association had a special place in that it was specifically designed to further the economic interests of its members through mutual business dealings, social contact, and the support of specific German community projects.

Ethnic financial institutions had a crucial role in assisting aspiring minority entrepreneurs in their business endeavours. In Vancouver, an important motivational factor in the formation of the Edelweiss Credit Union was the recognition that it was often difficult to obtain loans from mainstream financial institutions. In the postwar period, the credit union approved many loans to prospective German business-owners, until the 1950s frequently applying standards that were based more on trust and the collateral supplied by fellow members than on the criteria employed by Canadian

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[59]For example, one could find the owner of Hagen's Travel Service acting as secretary of the Alpen Club or as a director of the Edelweiss Credit Union, John Roffeis of International Insurance as Alpen Club vice-president or manager of its soccer team. See also Chapter 5, on the socio-characteristics of German association leaders in Vancouver.

banks.[60]

The ethnic media were instrumental for ethnic entrepreneurs attempting to attract the attention of their ethnic clientele. Advertisements placed in the *Courier,* the *Nordwesten,* or the *Pazifische Rundschau* publicized the existence of an enterprise specializing in items preferred by German consumers, the availability of customer service in the ethnic tongue, and the name of its owner. Moreover, such advertisements frequently appealed to community and ethnic sentiments by stressing a shop's proximity to the ethnic neighbourhood and to other German institutions, by emphasizing the particular quality of ethnic products, or by acknowledging the signifiance of certain holidays and events for Germans. Indeed, placing an ad in the German press, which was read only by members of the ethnic group with a relatively strong affinity to their ethnic identity and ethnic community, reflected the business-owner's expectation to be patronized largely by members of the German community.

The German enterprises in Vancouver were also directly supported by ethnic newspaper editors and correspondents. Journalists informed readers about the economic developments and new shopping facilities in the German community by running feature articles on particular businesses and short biographies of their owners. These reports presented a positive, encouraging image of economic opportunitites in Canada and of the superb economic contribution of German entrepreneurs.[61] More importantly, such media reports promoted the high standing of such businesses in the community, thus maintianing good relations between the ethnic press and the ethnic business world.

The ethnic media depended on the advertising revenue received from German

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[60]*Nordwesten,* "Was ist eine Credit Union?" 15 August 1957, p.14.

[61]Compare on the role of ads and articles in the ethnic press: Ann Svendson and Andy Wachtel, *The Ethnic Media and the Promotion of Social Services to Immigrants: An Exploratory Discussion* (Vancouver: Social Planning and Research, United Way of the Lower Mainland, 1982), p.23.

businesses in order to carry out its role in the German community. It informed readers about economic, political, cultural, and social developments in the ethnic population, raised issues relevant to German–Canadians, and permitted ethnic organizations to communicate with the public. In so doing, the media encouraged the preservation of German ethnicity, which in turn was an essential resource for many German–owned businesses and for the media itself. The symbiotic relationship between the ethnic media and the ethnic business world exemplifies the reciprocal dependence and support of ethnic institutions and their common concern with the persistence of a German ethnic life in Canada.

Self–employment provided an alternative for a small segment of the German immigrant cohort to occupational and social adaptation to the Canadian mainstream economy. At times, the encounter of entry barriers to the Canadian job market, of employers' preference for Canadian–born manpower, or of a lack of demand for the newcomer's expertise may have acted as a stimulus among some German postwar arrivals to establish their own business.[62] Some economic areas, such as retailing, were particularly attractive for small–scale business–ownership.[63] Orientation to the traits and preferences of the ethnic clientele permitted some German owners to circumvent some of the more drastic, disconcerting linguistic, social, and economic changes required when seeking access to the mainstream of the Canadian economy.

The creation and patronization of their own economic institutions was a way for German immigrants to avoid, or at least postpone, economic integration with the

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[62]See *Nordwesten*, 5 February 1955, p.20; similarly, Kallen and Kellner found that minority entrepreneurs' choice of self–employment was at least in part influenced by the perception of relative social and economic blockage (p.84); see also Jones and McEvoy on the "prejudice theory" of ethnic enterprise.

[63]Kirby, p.162, stresses that fact that retailing requires a minimal amount of business expertise.

dominant society.[64] The ability to obtain a wide spectrum of daily needs from fellow ethnics in German stores, and the opportunity to establish businesses that could draw on ethnic exclusivity as a business resource, gave the German community in Vancouver a kind of economic foundation.[65] Ethnic enterprises formed an integral component of the ethnic community system and in some aspects helped to retard the economic and cultural assimilation of German owners and clients into Canadian society. At the same time, however, they were affected by the same processes of acculturation and structural integration that changed the ethnic community in the course of time.

For example, increasing familiarity and involvement in the economic and social system of the receiving society probably allowed or motivated some small business-owners to abandon their riskful self-employment in favour of securer, perhaps financially more rewarding opportunities as employees in Canadian companies. Moreover, ethnic exclusivity as the economic basis of a business was also subject to changes. Ethnic consumers could gradually abandon their particular inclination toward traditional German food items or German-made products as their length of residence in Canada increased.

Thus, immigrants' interest in German news and their support for the ethnic press markedly diminished in the late 1960s: their improving bilingualism diminished Germans' dependence on communication and information in the ethnic tongue. They identified more and more with Canada, preferred to speak English in both private and public spheres, and took a decreasing interest in news about Germany or the German population in Canada.[66] And, with growing familiarity and ease with the new land and

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[64]See Steinberg, p.53; Alan B. Anderson and James J. Frideres, *Ethnicity in Canada: Theoretical Perspectives* (Toronto: Butterworths, 1981), p.115.
[65]Reitz, p.22.
[66]Circulation figures of the ethnic press declined significantly in the late 1960, leading to demises of some papers and the merger of the most established German ethnic newspapers in Canada, the *Courier* and the *Nordwesten*. For increasing bilingualism, see Chapter 4.

its citizens, German immigrants could consider the ethnic origin of a business-owner or professional a less relevant criterion for selection than quality and price. Ethnic exclusivity as a business advantage also became endangered when particular products or services started to be supplied by non-Germans as well. As immigrants introduced their economic specialties to Canada, other Canadians acquired occupational expertise in such "German" areas as Volkswagen service or the retail of delicatessen items.

Ethnic businesses inadvertently contributed toward the gradual erosion of their own economic base by promoting the absorption of the German culture into the receiving society, for example by introducing the eating culture into Canadian life. In the Heidelberg House or the Johann Strauss Restaurant, "Vancouverites discovered the Schnitzel"[67], Black Forest Cake, *Bratwurst* and other German foods[68], and terms such as *delicatessen, wurst* and sourdough gradually became part of the general Canadian vocabulary. Soon, mainstream supermarkets and grocery stores recognized new market opportunitites with German-style foods, enlarged their selection of pre-packaged delicatessen items, and began to incorporate delicatessen counters.[69] By 1966, Vancouver Fancy Sausage delivered its 47 kinds of sausage as far as the Great Lakes and to as many as 1,400 outlets nation-wide[70]; Grimm's Sausage also became part of the normal stock of Vancouver and other Canadian supermarkets, and the same was true for the distribution of German-style breads and other baked item through wholesale producers such as Gunther Schwandner's Venice Bakery.

The variety of their products and successful marketing permitted a small group of German entrepreneurs to penetrate the Canadian market from their base of German consumers and thus to assume a prominent role in the Canadian provisions industry in

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[67] *Courier,* 3 February 1966, p.10.

[68] At least twenty German-owned restaurants were founded in Vancouver in the postwar decades.

[69] In Vancouver South, for example, the Super Value Store at 6580 Fraser Street as early as 1957 announced to readers of the German press the availability of "Freybe Sausage". *Nordwesten,* 12 September 1957, p.10.

[70] *Courier,* 16 February 1962, p.12, *Nordwesten,* 4 January 1966, p.5.

general.[71] This economic activity and influence, however, eroded the existence of many small German businesses, first by reducing the exclusivity of German-style goods and the shops that sold them, and second, by promoting a process of consolidation and concentration of the German provisions industry at the expense of the small enterprises. Moreover, Canadian producers and supermarkets seized upon the ethnic market by offering German-style goods, thus posing a serious competition to German producers, importers, and retailers.

Ethnic businesses relying on ethnic exclusivity thus faced the danger of some of the very ethnic factors that had encouraged their emergence in the postwar period growing less salient as a consequence of Germans' assimilation into Canadian society. For many of them, economic survival thus ultimately depended on their ability to penetrate the general Canadian market, be it as auto mechanics, independent contractors, or sausage manufacturers. Yet, when one defines "ethnic enterprise" not as all those businesses owned by members of the minority population, but only as those who were intrinsically related to and dependent on the ethnic population and its needs and preferences[72], then the formation and patronizations of ethnic enterprises – like participation in ethnic associations and cultivation of the ethnic tongue – constituted a form of activity pursued largely by the immigrant generation.[73]

Acculturation and assimilation, however, resulted in the demise of some ethnic economic institutions in the life of the immigrant generation. The German element was sufficiently large to represent a target clientele for mainstream companies; German products such as imported cars and Canadian-made foods were successful with other Canadian consumers, and Germans adapted rapidly to economic realities in their host

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[71]See *Courier*, 3 February 1966, p.10 "We tend to talk a lot about the contribution of immigrants to Canadian life: in the culinary field, they have probably made the greatest contribution." *Torontoer Zeitung*, "Quality, a large variety, and sound business sense have made the German butcher, baker, food-retailer, and importer successful," 10 February 1967, p.5.
[72]See Auster and Aldrich, p.52.
[73]Sowell, p.119.

society. Consequently, the loyalty of the ethnic public toward the ethnic entrepreneur declined, business–owners had to readjust, and, with the demise of economic institutions, an important component of the ethnic communal life also weakened.

Ethnic enterprises frequently formed a part of the German community system in Vancouver, fostering the preservation of ethnic traits and interaction among German residents in the metropolis. Yet, even at the height of German enterprises, ethnic institutions only privided an adequate livelihood for a small entrepreneurial class. Moreover, German business–owners ultimately were as affected by the processes of acculturation and socio–economic integration as were German employees. As the immigrants interacted with Canadian society and its economic institutions, the economic significance of their original occupational characteristics and ethnic affiliations declined. In fact, one may conclude that the real socio–economic progress of the German population was marked by their diversification into a wide variety of occupations and entrepreneurial fields where they successfully competed with other Canadians.

IV. RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

Clinging to their ethnic identity while seeking entry into Canadian society, German immigrants who came to Vancouver in the postwar period were pulled in two directions. Their desire for religious services in familiar forms, their need of social contact with fellow ethnics, and their wish to pass on their culture to their children did not preclude their aiming at full admission into Canadian society, at friendship with non-Germans, and at providing their offspring with the best chances for life in the chosen land. Thus, while German-Canadians established ethnic institutions, they also assimilated rapidly into the Canadian community, apparently abandoning many of their ethnic traits and affiliations. The German ethnic parishes in Vancouver epitomized the manner in which ethnic institutions endeavoured to preserve German ethnic distinctiveness while at the same time abandoning some of their ethnic features in response to their members' increasing acculturation. Similarly, German language instruction in ethnic and church schools reflected the efforts of a minority to transmit the mother tongue to the second generation at a time when a widespread loss of the ancestral language had already permeated the ethnic population. In their own way, each of these two institutions gave evidence of the ambivalence of these newcomers from Germany towards their own ethnicity and the culture of their adopted land.

The German ethnic parishes in Vancouver reflected the religious heterogeneity of the ethnic population, the timing of the postwar influx, the areas of German residential concentration, and the increasing assimilation and secularization of the immigrant community. Until the end of the Second World War, German ethnic religious life in the city had rested predominantly on two parishes: the Martin Luther Church, and the Ebenezer Baptist Church, which were both located in Vancouver South (Figure 4.1.), Their bilingual structures and relatively low profile in the ethnic

FIGURE 4.1.   GERMAN ETHNIC PARISHES IN VANCOUVER, 1945 - 1970.
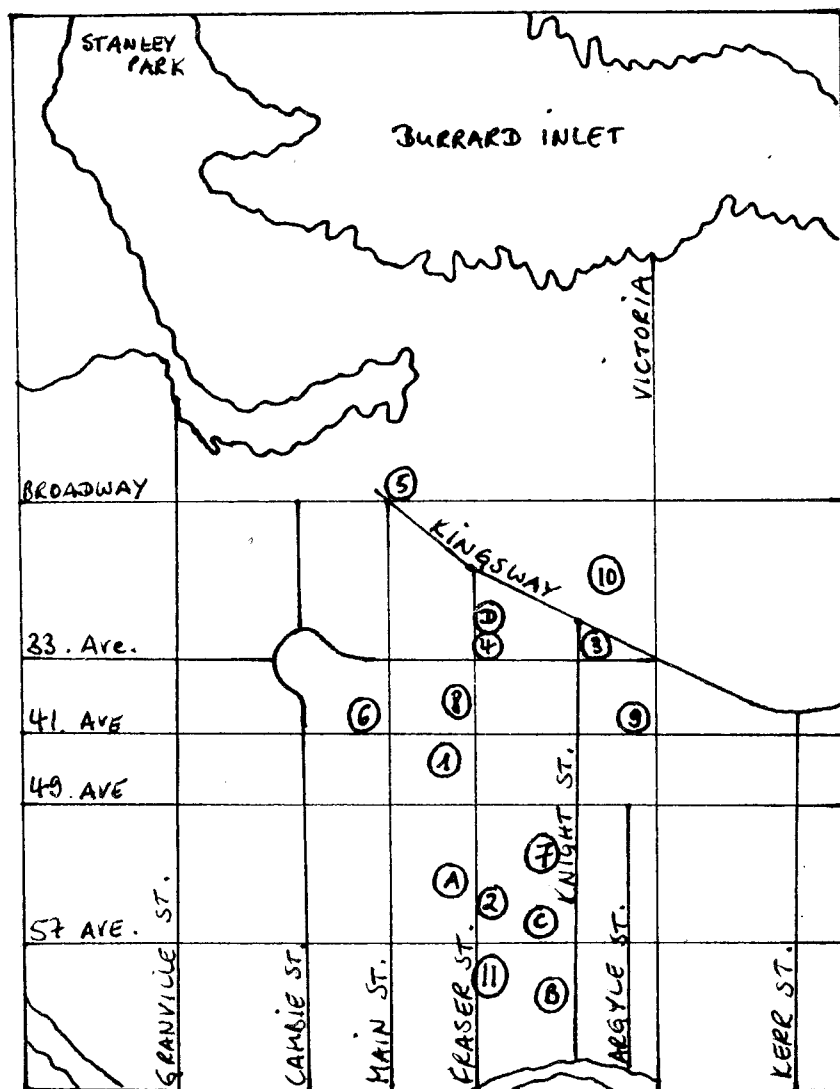
1. Martin Luther Evangelical Church (1911)
2. Ebenezer Baptist Church (1930)
3. Catholic Holy Family Church (1945)
4. Bethel Pentecostal Church
5. Evang.Luth. Church of the Cross (1953)
6. Immanuel Baptist Church (1956)
7. Pilgrim Baptist Church
8. Pentecostal Church
9. Church of God
10. Evang.Luth. St.Markus Church (1961)
11. "Gemeinschaft der Kirche fuer entschiedenes Christentum" (1965)

A. First United Mennonite Church
B. Fraserview Mennonite Brethren Church
C. Sherbrook Mennonite Church
D. Mountainview Mennonite Church

community attested to the advanced assimilation of their congegrations.[1] In 1945, a revival of German ethnic life in Vancouver led German Catholics to form the Holy Family Church, which acquired its church home at 32nd. Avenue and Beatrice Street, in the vicinity of the Vancouver South district, in 1948.[2] Many congregation members were also affiliated with the Vancouver Alpen Club and the Edelweiss Credit Union, confirming that the immediate postwar revival was largely the work of a small group of active, ethnic-minded members of the local German population.

But the influx of thousands of German immigrants in Vancouver during the 1950s soon led to the emergence of a richer variety of ethnic parishes. For the newcomers, the churches fulfilled not only religious, but also social and psychological needs. They offered an opportunity for people to enjoy the company of others of the same ethnic origin; they provided a sense of continuity between the sending and the receiving country and thus gave immigrants a sense of orientation; and they provided social services to those in need.[3] A review of the history of the Church of the Cross, founded in 1953, describes the religious situation among German postwar arrivals:

> Some [immigrants] soon found a connection in Canada to existing, long-established congregations. Many others tried but felt repulsed by the wide variety of North American church life, by the peculiarity of local community structures, and by language barriers. Many, who in Germany had belonged only nominally to a Lutheran parish now completely lost any connection with their church. But there were also those who wanted to have a Lutheran church in the form to which they had been accustomed in the old homeland, and their needs were met in 1953.[4]

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[1]*Nordwesten*, 17 January 1951, p.5.
[2]*Courier*, 24 January 1946, p.5; Heinz Kloss, "Deutsche Katholische Kirchengemeinden," in L. Auburger et al. eds., *Deutsch als Muttersprache in Kanada. Berichte zur Gegenwartslage* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1977), p.122; Karl J. Schindler, "Die deutschsprachigen katholischen Kirchengemeinden in Kanada," *German-Canadian Yearbook*. vol.I (1973), pp.292.
[3]For example, *Courier*, "Kirche betreut Einwanderer," 2 February 1962, p.11; *Nordwesten*, 17 January 1951, p.5 and "Einwanderern wird geholfen," 13 January 1963, p.6.
[4]*Nordwesten*, "10 Jahre Kreuzgemeinde: Kurzfassung der Jubilaeumsschrift," 12 November 1963, p.5.

In contrast to church organizations in Germany, to which the overwhelming majority of citizens belonged by virtue of their baptism and automatically deducted "church taxes," membership in a German ethnic parish in Canada required a conscious decision by the individual or the family. Confronted by this test of their religious attachments, many German immigrants chose not to affiliate with a church after their arrival in Canada.

The path to creating an ethnic church was often arduous. A pastor or a group of fellow believers usually took the initiative.[5] Once the church had been founded and a church council elected, the young congregation faced the problems of paying its religious leader, of obtaining religious literature and music, and — most importantly — of finding a church home.[6] A parish often joined a larger church organization of its faith, receiving financial support and legal status in return.[7] Often it took years of arranging makeshift accommodations for its services and of collecting funds before a congregation could acquire its own church home.[8]

Almost all German parishes were formed in the vicinity of the German neighbourhood in Vancouver South and emerged during the time of the greatest German postwar immigrant influx into Vancouver in the 1950s and early 1960s. Their denominations reflected the main religious affiliations of German ethnics as well as the proportion of German members in a local church. By the mid–1970s, one Catholic and

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[5]For example, the German immigrant pastor Kurt H. Marx appealed to German Lutherans in Vancouver to unite into a congregation; seventy persosn followed his invitation and 1 November 1953 founded the "Church of the Cross". *Nordwesten*, "Evangelisch–lutherische Gemeinde gegruendet," 11 November 1953, p.5.

[6]Thus, Pastor Marx of the Church of the Cross was intially forced to continue working part–time as a carpenter. The Church received its first songbooks and music for the organ from the Lutheran Church in Germany; for its services, it first rented the Danish Lutheran Church.

[7]See *Nordwesten*, "Evangelisch–lutherische Gemeinde in West–Canada Synode aufgenommen," 11 August 1956, p.6.

[8]By 1955, the Church of the Cross had collected $2,300, and in 1957 it purchased the former Redeemer Lutheran Church for $8,000 with the aid of an interest–free loan by the United Lutheran Church of America and a mortgage. (*Courier*, 14 February 1957, p.10.) The entire congregation contributed their time and energy in renovating the church building over a period of two years (*Nordwesten*, "Neue Kirche eingeweiht," 16 April 1959, p.10.)

thirteen Protestant German parishes were providing service to approximately 3,500 members. There were also a number of Mennonite churches in Vancouver.[9] Membership in an established parish appears to have varied between 200 and 400 persons, most of them young immigrant families. In addition to holding worship services, most parishes offered Bible study, maintained sub-groupings such choirs and womens' and mens' associations, and made efforts to promote the religious and social integration of the young generation into the ethno-religious community through youth groups and Sunday school.

Until the 1970s, German ethnic schools in Vancouver were the domain of the ethnic churches.[10] Many German postwar immigrants desired formal ethnic language instruction for their children, and the parishes had the facilities, financial resources and an intrinsic interest in organizing and supporting such schools. Parish officials regarded language instruction as a means of helping the younger generation to understand German Sunday school and the German worship services, both in terms of their language and their religious culture.[11] This instruction was, however, frequently

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[9]Michael Hadley, "Die deutsche Sprache in British Kolumbien," L. Auburger et al eds, *Deutsch asl Muttersprache in ˙in Kanada. Berichte zur Gegenwartslage* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1977), p.48. Among the German ethnic churches were one Catholic Parish (about 20% of Germans in Vancouver belonged to the Roman Catholic faith thoughout the postwar period), three Evangelical-Lutheran (in 1951, 22.5% of German ethnics in Vancouver belonged to the Lutheran faith and 31.6% did so in 1961. Germans constituted over a third of the Lutherans in the Pacific metropolis), three Baptist (in 1951, about 10% of the Germans were Baptist and in 1961 it were 8.3%; Germans constituted some 9% of the Baptists in Vancouver in 1951 and 15.7% in 1961), two Pentecostal (while only a few percent o the German ethnic adhered to this faith, they composed 11.5% of the local Pentecostal church in 1961, as well as Mennonite and other churches (more than half of the Mennonites in Vancouver reported German ethnic origin in 1961 and 71.5% did so in 1971; 7.4% of the Gemans belonged to this faith in 1961). All data obtained from Canada Census, 1951-1971.

[10]Unsuccessful attempts to establish schools in association with one of the main clubs or completely independently were sporadically made. *Courier*, "Deutschschulen in B.C. liegen in Gemeindehaenden," 6 November 1969, p.11.

[11]In the history of the Germans in Canada, German language instruction has often emerged from this relationship between linguistic means and religious purpose. Cf. Fritz Wieden, "Der muttersprachliche Deutschunterricht," L. Auburger et al. eds, *Deutsch als Muttersprache in Kanada. Berichte zur Gegenwartslage* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1977), p.91. Arthur Grenke, *The Early Formation and Development of an*

non-denominational. In fact, many students attended church schools even though their parents were not church members.

The Immanuel Baptist Church together with the Mennonite Brethren Church established the first of these German Saturday schools in 1956. It developed into the largest local German school of its kind, teaching as many as 200 to 300 students in eighteen classes. By 1966, the school was exclusively financed through tuition fees.[12] Soon, German language instruction was also offered by the Catholic Holy Family Church, the Lutheran Church of the Cross[13], and seven other German congregations, so that by the late 1960s, at the height of the German ethnic schools, about 850 students were enrolled in ten church schools in Vancouver.[14]

The emergence of German parishes in Vancouver exemplified the ethnic variety by which Canadian churches have long long been characterized. In fact, the sociologist David Millet found them "more ethnically diverse than schools, political groups, or any other major institution," and thus able to promote the survival of a great many ethnic groups.[15] Religion has in many ways been oriented toward the preservation of ethnic distinctiveness by validating a people's customs and values, by furthering social interaction, and by supporting other ethnic institutions.[16] Among

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[11](cont'd) *Urban Ethnic Community: the Germans in Winnipeg, 1870-1918* (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1975), p.179.

[12]*Nordwesten*, "Deutsche Sprachschule gut besucht," 19 October 1965, p.5 and "10 Jahre deutsche Sonnabendschule," 14 June 1966, p.5.

[13]*Nordwesten*, "Wieder deutsche Sprachschule in der Kreuzgemeinde," 26 December 1961, p.6.

[14]*Courier*, 6 November 1969, p.10.

[15]David Millett, "Religion as a Source of Perpetuation of Ethnic Identity," P. M. Migus, ed., *Sounds Canadian: Languages and Cultures in Multi-Ethnic Society* (Toronto: Peter Martin, 1975), p.106 and adds that an argument can be made for the churches being repositories of diversity by default, that is, other institutions which would normally be diverse are denied this possibility by Canadian law.

[16]Compare Alam. B. Anderson and James J. Frideres, *Ethnicity in Canada: Theoretical Perspectives* (Toronto: Buttersworths, 1981), p.41; Grenke, pp. 150; W. Lloyd Warner and Leo Srole, *The Social Systems of American Ethnics Groups* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945), p. 158; Raymond Breton, " Institutional Completeness and Ethnic Communities and the Personal Relations of Immigrants," *American Journal of Sociology,* vol.70 No.2 (September 1964), p.201.

German postwar arrivals in Vancouver, the recreation of familiar religious institutions was a priority and the parishes formed an important part of the local ethnic community system.

At the same time, however, the majority of Germans in Vancouver appear to have not participated in this ethnic religious life. Many German immigrants in fact remained uninvolved in Canadian church life in general, possibly as the result of an accelerated secularization process due to migration, preoccupation with material and social adjustments, or rejection of the structure of North American churches.[17] Moreover, Germans' increasing assimilation contributed to a gradual erosion of the ethnic and religious significance of the German parishes that were established in the late 1950s and early 1960s. As the religious orientations of most Germans were not ethnically exclusive, many postwar arrivals made a fairly easy transition to mainstream churches, in particular the United Church of Canada.[18] This detachment from traditional religion attested to both religious and ethnic changes among German–Canadians.[19]

Thus, the German parishes soon had to recognize that their linguistic basis was undergoing a significant transformation: whereas the desire for worship in the mother tongue and in other familiar ethnic forms had stimulated the formation of the ethnic parishes, the exclusive use of the ethnic tongue became an obstacle as Germans married partners outside the ethnic group and children frequently remained unfamiliar with the German language. These assimilation processes compelled the churches to

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[17]Compare J. Milton Yinger, *Sociology Looks at Religion* (New York: Macmillan, 1963), p.99. By 1971, 12.5% of Germans in Vancouver reported "no religion" to the census authorities. Also, K. G. O'Bryan et al. *Non–Official Languages: A Study in Canadian Multiculturalism* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975) p. 124 found that 33% of their German ethnic respondents denied any association with a church.

[18]In 1971, 13.7% of German ethnics in Vancouver belonged to the United Church. Canada Census, 1971.

[19]See Anderson and Frideres, p.42/43; Bernd G. Laengin, "Die Deutschen in Kanada: eine Volksgruppe im Vakuum," P. E Nasarki, ed, *Wege und Wandlungen: Die Deutschen in der Welt Heute. vol.2* (Berlin und Bonn: Westkreuz Verlag, 1983), p.38.

introduce the English language into their work[20], even though the parish schools were just at the peak of their activity.

This erosion of the German language simultaneously with the rise of ethnic schools in Vancouver exemplified linguistic developments that were taking place all across Canada.[21] For an immigrant group, settlement in an environment dominated by a different language has often implied important linguistic changes. Germans coming to Vancouver in the postwar period encountered economic, national, social, and psychological pressures toward the adoption of the dominant language. Facility in English opened up a greater access to the job market and other economic areas, was essential in dealing with public services and mainstream cultural institutions, and enabled immigrants to establish social relations with non-Germans. Fluency in English and abandonment of the foreign tongue – even the foreign accent – may have been a price forcomplete social acceptance that both Canadians and German newcomers expected to be paid.[22]

Most German immigrants identified themselves very quickly with their new homeland.[23] This speedy reorientation of their national reference group was a factor

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[20]The Church of the Cross as early as 1961 introduced English. As he later explained: "The English church service was designed in particular for those of the younger generation who either did not speak German any more or ho were more fluent in English, and who in this way shall be kept in the church of their fathers." *Nordwesten,* "10 Jahre Kreuzgemeinde," 12 November 1963, p.5.

[21]O'Bryan et al, p.138 observed in 1975 that less than 3% of the German ethnics were associated with churches in which only the ethnic language was being used, while almost 46% affiliated with parishes that only employed one of the official Canadian languages.

[22]D. J. Lawless, "Attitudes of Leaders of Immigrant and Ethnic Societies in Vancouver Toward Integration into Canadian Life," *International Migration,* vol.2 No.3 (1964), p.205.

[23]Of German ethnic immigrants, 35% identified themselves as "Canadians" in 1975, as opposed to 10.3% as "Germans" and the remainder as German Canadians" or "Canadians of German origin". Among the second generation German ethnics, 68% regarded themselves as "Canadians", and in the third generation detachment from the German ethnic identity had led over 80% to feel themselves as "Canadians" and none as "Germans". (O'Bryan et al., pp.102.)

that strongly favoured their assimilation to Canadian society in general.[24] Thus, in both 1961 and 1971, the Canada census found over 95% of the German ethnics in Vancouver able to speak English, and only 1% unable to speak either English or French.[25] Employment of the German language was confined to the private sphere: to the company of family, kin, and close friends, as well as to ethnic institutions.[26] Yet, even in their own homes, most Germans abandoned their ethnic tongue in favour of English. This process of rapid linguistic assimilation also resulted in a low degree of language transmission of German to the second generation.

Language retention among German Vancouverites was analyzed with the aid of census data on ethic origin, mother tongue, and home language.[27] At the individual level, language loss became apparent in the discrepancies between past and present use of the ethnic tongue, i.e. in shifts from a German mother tongue to a different home language.[28] At the familial level, language retention meant that parents transmitted the ethnic tongue to their children. On this point, such issues as the occurence of German as the home language and of German as the mother tongue of the younger age groups within the ethnic population were considered. Finally, at the societal level, language maintenance referred to the total number of its speakers. The examination of whether they remained constant, declined, or increased was based on comparisons between the size of the ethnic population and the number of persons reporting

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[24]Beatrice Stadler, *Language Maintenance and Assimilation: The Case of Selected German-Speaking Immigrants in Vancouver, Canada* (Vancouver: Canadian Association of University Teachers of German, CAUTG Publication No.7, 1983), p.5

[25]Canada Census.

[26]Compare Anderson and Frideres, p.124. O'Bryan et al., p.64 observed that 60% of the Germans in 1975 employed at least some German when speaking with family members, 30% did so with close friends, 15% in contacts with their clergy, and less in communication with their doctor, classmates or co-workers, and the grocer.

[27]Compare Russel S. MacArthur, "Introduction to Part II," W. H. Coons et al. eds, *The Individual, Language, and Society in Canada.* (Ottawa: The Canada Council, 1977). p.209.

[28]Preference for speaking another but the mother tongue in one's home reflects both linguistic attitudes as well as probably having a marked effect on one's facility to speak the ethnic tongue.

German as their mother tongue from 1951 to 1971.[29]

In 1971, Canada census authorities for the first time asked residents to report the language spoken most often in their homes. The impact of the ethnic milieu on the cultivation of German as a home language in Vancouver is demonstrated on Figure 4.2.: comparing the number of residents who usually spoke German in their homes with the number of German ethnics in every given census tract, one discovers that the highest ratio occurred in Vancouver South, where up to every second German-Canadian appears to have maintained the ethnic tongue in the private sphere. Germans in the suburban areas displayed a much lower propensity toward employing their mother tongue in their homes, even though they often were recent immigrants. This local analysis suggests that postwar arrivals from Germany for the most part adapted readily to Vancouver's dominant language, while the high concentration of Germans in South Vancouver and the accumulation of ethnic institutions there had created an ethnic milieu that encouraged language cultivation among both immigrants and Canadian-born Germans.

Analysis of the number of German ethnics and those with German as their home language by age groups (Figure 4.3.) permits some observations about the language shifts at the individual level that had taken place by 1971. Two-thirds of those who first learned German in their childhood appear to have chosen a different language for their private lives. It hardly surprises that the smallest language shift is noticable among the 0 to 4 year olds: young children acquire their mother tongue because it is spoken by their family. However, already among the 5 to 9 year olds, every second child apparently was no longer mostly using its German mother tongue at the home. Among adults who had grown up with German as their mother tongue, only 25% to 35% appear not to have shifted to a different home language, suggesting

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[29]Though there are conceptual problems with the census category "ethnic origin", and thus with inferences drawn from such numerical comparison, their result give at least some indication of societal language development.

FIGURE 4.2.   1971 VANCOUVER CENSUS TRACTS. NUMBER OF
                RESIDENTS WITH GERMAN AS HOME LANGUAGE
                COMPARED TO NUMBER OF GERMAN ETHNIC
                RESIDENTS (VANCOUVER AVERAGE: 15.9%).

■ 40-50%   ▨ 30-40%   ▨ 20-30%   ▥ 20-25%
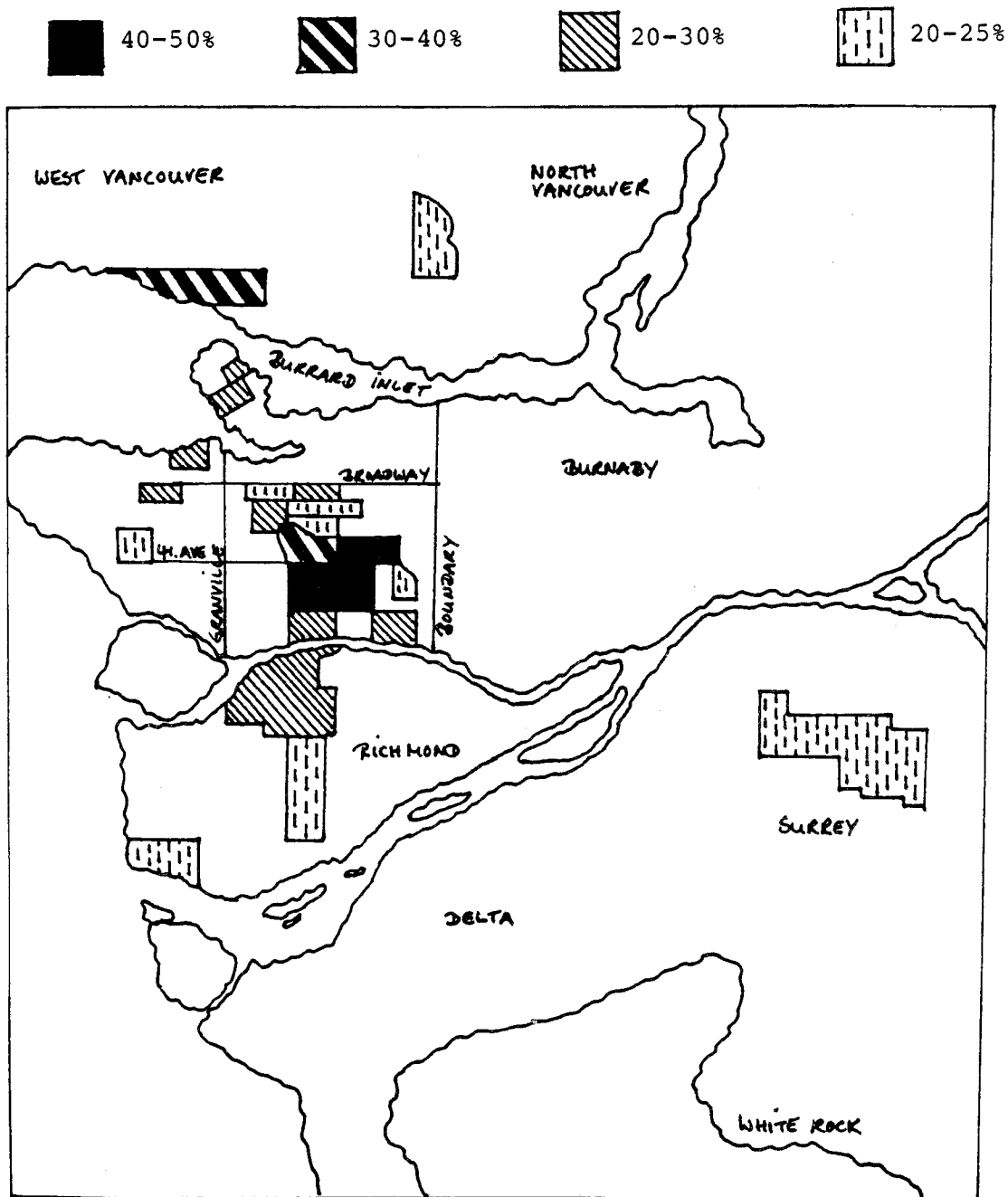
SOURCE: CENSUS OF CANADA, 1971.

FIGURE 4.3.   INDICATION OF LANGUAGE SHIFT. NUMBER OF RESIDENTS WITH GERMAN MOTHER
               TONGUE COMPARED TO NUMBER OF RESIDENTS WITH GERMAN AS HOME LANGUAGE,
               BY AGE GROUPS, VANCOUVER 1971 (AVERAGE RATIO: 33.5%).
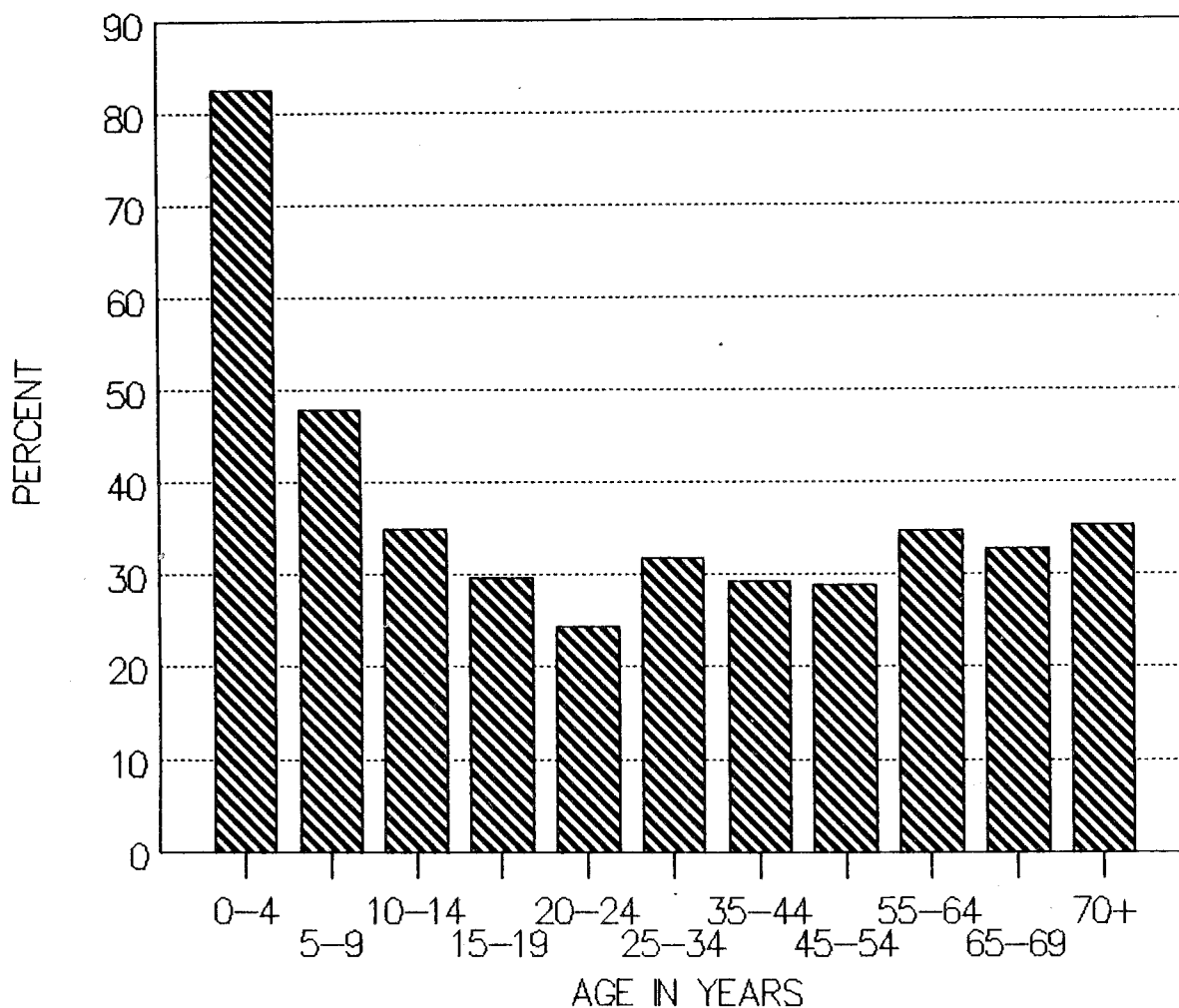
SOURCE:

CENSUS OF CANADA,

1971.

that the English–speaking environment in Vancouver had significantly altered private linguistic habits of all age groups within the ethnic population.

The language shift affected Canadian–born and foreign–born German ethnics alike, as was specifically determined by the 1971 census (Figure 4.4.) Among Canadian–born Germans in Vancouver, almost 80% had abandoned their mother tongue in favour of English, and even among German immigrants some 60% had done so by 1971. Given that by 1971 only every fifth German immigrants had arrived prior to 1946, one may conclude that many German postwar arrivals had already adopted Vancouver's dominant language in their own private sphere.[30]

The statistical impression that most postwar immigrants were making very limited efforts to maintain the ethnic tongue either for themselves or among their children was confirmed by the comments of contemporary observers of German ethnic life in Canada. At a lecture given to the German–Canadian Cultural Society in 1966, Prof. F. Kluge of Notre Dame University at Nelson, British Columbia, admitted the great difficulties in maintaining the German language in an English–speaking environment. Yet, he also noted that only a very small portion of German immigrants were even encouraging their children to speak German, and these usually were Germans who participated in other forms of ethnic life in Canada.[31] Similarly, the Commissioner for Language Instruction of the Trans–Canada Alliance of German–Canadians in 1967, Hermino Schmidt, pointed out that German postwar arrivals for the most part adjusted quickly to the new environment, concentrated on their integration and material success, and displayed a distinct lack of interest in the preservation of their ethnicity.[32]

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[30]In 1971, about 20% of the foreign–born German ethnics in Vancouver had arrived prior to 1946. Canada Census.

[31]*Nordwesten*, "Prof. Kluge eroertert Probleme der Spracherhaltung," 6 February 1966, p.5.

[32]Hermino Schmidt. Essay of 1 August 1967. Trans–Canada Alliance of German–Canadians, Papers. Public Archives of Canada. MG 28 v 4 vol.9 file: "Sprachschulreferat. 1960–67". O'Bryan et al., p.64 found that 40% of their German

FIGURE 4.4.

DIRECT EVIDENCE OF LANGUAGE SHIFT. CANADA CENSUS DETERMINATION OF MOTHER
TOUGUE AND HOME LANGUAGE AMONG CANADIAN BORN AND FOREIGN BORN GERMAN
ETHNIC RESIDENTS, VANCOUVER, 1971

CANADIAN-BORN GERMAN ETHNICS : 58,820

MOTHER TONGUE	---->	HOME LANGUAGE	
GERMAN	18.2%	GERMAN	4.0%
ENGLISH	81.4%	ENGLISH	95.8%
FRENCH	0.2%	FRENCH	0.1%
OTHER	0.3%	OTHER	0.1%

FOREIGN-BORN GERMAN ETHNICS : 30,860

MOTHER TONGUE	---->	HOME LANGUAGE	
GERMAN	82.3%	GERMAN	33.4%
ENGLISH	16.0%	ENGLISH	65.8%
FRENCH	0.3%	FRENCH	0.2%
OTHER	1.4%	OTHER	0.6%

SOURCE: CENSUS OF CANADA , 1971.

Among German immigrants, a correlation between language shift and length of residence in Canada confirms that their language loss was a function of gradual assimilation into Canadian life. Of the German ethnic immigrants with German as their mother tongue who had arrived prior to 1946, almost 70% had shifted to English as their home language by 1971, while of the recent arrivals of the 1961–1971 period, 38.5% had shifted.[33] Thus, preference for speaking German and favourable attitudes toward language maintenance in the family declined simultaneously with the immigrant living in the English–dominated environment.[34]

The low occurrence of German as the home language reflected a further aspect of Germans' assimilation into Canadian society: the linguistic consequence of ethnic intermarriage.[35] According to Canadian census data, every second male and female person of German ethnic origin in the country throughout the postwar period married outside of the ethnic group.[36] These marriages – as biological amalgamations – may be interpreted as the ultimate indicators of Germans' high degree of acceptance by and assimilation into Canadian society.[37] They also contributed to the decline of ethnic identities and ethnic traits, such as languages.[38]

Given the conceptual problems of the census category "ethnic origin" – the

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[32](cont'd) ethnic respondents barely ever used German with their family.

[33]Among 1946–1955 arrivals, the shift had affected 56.9% and among the 1956–1960 arrivals 54.9%. – John de Vries and Frank G. Vallee, *Language Use in Canada,* Census Analytical Study 1971 (Ottawa: Minister of Supplies and Demands, 1980), p.126.

[34]The same was found among German interveiwees in Vancouver in 1982, Stadler, p.39 and 74.

[35]Ethnic intermarriage has been recognized as a major factor in the survival of ethno–linguistic minorities in Canada, see Anderson and Frideres, p.122; Bernard Saint–Jacques and Howard Giles, "Preface," in B. Saint–Jacques and H. Giles, eds, *Languages and Ethnic Relations* (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1979), p.73.

[36]De Vries and Vallee, p.156.

[37]Compare Stephen Steinberg, *The Ethnic Myth: Race, Ethnicity and Class in America* (New York: Atheneum, 1981), p.68; De Vries and Vallee, p.163.

[38]De Vries and Vallee, p.163 note: "It should be obvious that children from exogeneous marriages have, in most cases, possible allegiance to two ethnic categories. In all likelihood this will result in rather low degrees of solidarity with either." More strongly, Stephen Steinberg, p.68 interprets the increasing ethnic intermarriages in the United States as "an unmistakable sign of social and cultural desintegration." Stadler, p.48 found that children of mixed parentage hardly ever used the German language.

definition of ethnic origin according to one's paternal ancestry forces male line conformity upon the descendants of exogamous marriages and thus mask their mixed ethnic origins – language shift may be more appropriately examined in the context of linguistic intermarriages. According to the census study of the sociologists John de Vries and Frank Vallee, over 68% of the German–speaking persons in Canada in 1971 had married within their linguistic group.[39] Yet, even under such favourable circumstances for language retention, most German–speaking couples seem to have preferred English as their home language (Figures 4.3 and 4.4.).

This language loss at the familial level had marked effects on the linguistic abilities of the younger generation. Figure 4.5. documents that the ratio between German ethnics and those with German as their mother tongue in Vancouver was lowest at the younger age groups throughout the postwar period. By 1971, when both native–born and immigrant German parents mostly employed English in their homes, only every fifth child of the local ethnic population had apparently acquired the ethnic language in childhood. The low cultivation of German in the home resulted in the language knowledge of immigrant Germans being virtually lost within a single generation.[40] At the societal level, this widespread language loss meant that, despite a high influx of German postwar immigrants into Vancouver, the ratio between German ethnics and residents with German as their mother tongue reached its postwar low in 1971 (Figure 4.5).[41]

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[39]The higher incidence of linguistic endogamy was regarded by de Vries and Vallee, p.164 as the effect of similar childhood cultures and other socio–economic characteristics upon partnership, and to the fact that marriage partners need at least one language in common. They also caution that the probability of both types of intermarriage increases proportionately with the size of the group in question.

[40]Stadler, p.60 emphasizes that "in absence of bilingual education in German and English ...the home must continue to exist as a distinct and autonomous domain where constant efforts are made to retain the ethnic tongue...if the German language is to survive in Canada."

[41]O'Bryan et al., p.46 and p.165 confirm that German–Canadians exhibited the lowest degree of language retention among the second generation: only 4.6% of them claimed fluency in the ethnic language in 1975, and none did among those German ethnics of the third generation.

FIGURE 4.5.   INDICATION OF LANGUAGE LOSS. NUMBER OF RESIDENTS WITH GERMAN MOTHER
               TONGUE COMPARED TO NUMBER OF GERMAN ETHNIC RESIDENTS, BY AGE GROUPS,
               VANCOUVER, 1951 - 1971.

SOURCE:
CENSUS OF CANADA,
    1951 - 1971.
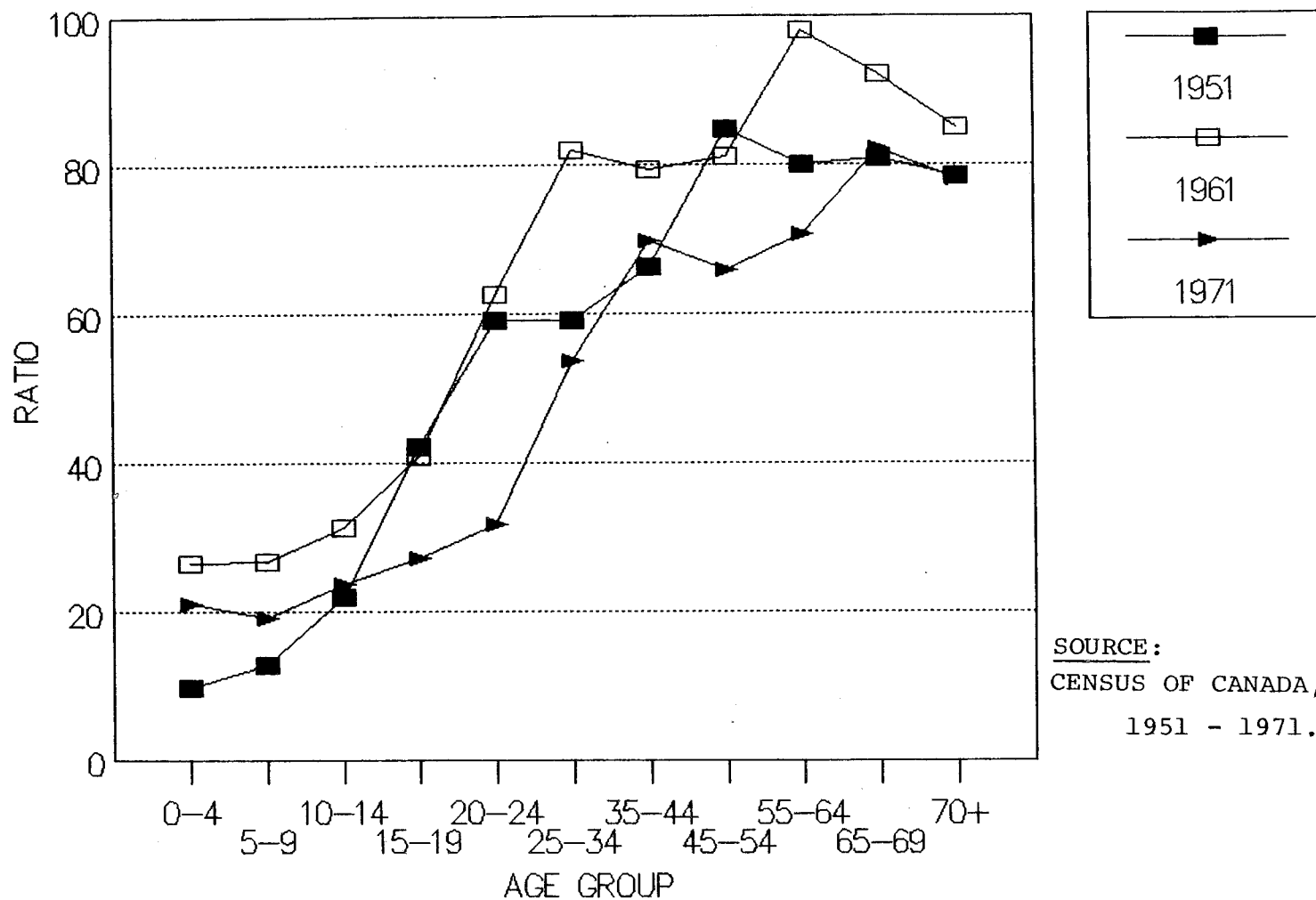
Aside from the family, the school and the peer group were the most important agents in the socialization of young members of the ethnic population, and the survival of the ethnic language was, in turn, most dependent upon the support it received among the second generation.[42] Public schools and peer groups also subjected German ethnic children to assimilatory pressures, even when their parents encouraged them to retain the ethnic language. The young child might have been exposed to the ethnic tongue through the parents and accepted its use for internal or ethnic relations.[43] Yet, children were frequently observed rejecting and abandoning the mother tongue when the majority of their time started to be spent in the external sphere, in school and with playmates.[44] This development pattern was also visible in the significant decline in the use of the German language among those of five years of age and older (Figure 4.3.).

In Vancouver, the public school system has always employed English as the principal language of instruction, and used it in assimilating immigrant children into the dominant linguistic, social, ideological, and economic value systems.[45] Ronald Wardhaugh, in *Language and Nationhood: The Canadian Experience*, recalls:

> In the 1950s and 1960s, school authorities in English–Canada responded to the large influx of children who could not speak English by devising programs to change these children as quickly as possible into 'New Canadians.' The key was language training through teaching English as a second language. The immigrant languages were regarded as obstacles to be overcome.[46]

Facility in English determined the student's academic achievement in virtually all

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[42] *Royal Commission Bilingualsim and Biculturalism, vol.4 The Cultural Contributions of the Other Ethnic Groups* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1967), p.121.
[43] Warner and Srole, p.225.
[44] Compare Lawless, p.206; Stadler, p.36.
[45] Compare Giles and Saint–Jacques, p.73; Anderson and Frideres, p.121. T. Krukowski et al. *The Other Ethnic Groups and Education,* (Working Paper Prepared for the Royla Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 1966), p.3 specifically noted that the British Columbian school system made no provisions for the requirements and desires of other ethnic groups.
[46] Ronald Wardhaugh, *Language and Nationhood. The Canadian Experience* (Vancouver: New Star Books, 1983), p.193

subjects, and bilingualism was predominantly valued only in the country's official languages. In the postwar period, provincial legislation confined German and other foreign languages to high school curriculum.[47]

Germans in Vancouver made some attempts to enlarge the scope of German language instruction in the public schools. Particularly in areas with high proportions of German ethnic children, such as Vancouver South, the German community felt that a certain degree of ethnic pluralism should permeate the educational system, for example in the form of German lessons being offered at elementary levels.[48] Yet, in this matter as in the quest for recognition of language instruction received at German ethnic schools, little progress was made.[49] Ethnic language retention received only minimal support through the public school system, and German ethnic parents appear to have tacitly accepted this educational policy.[50]

Linguistic assimilation was not only imperative for ethnic childrens' academic success in the public schools but also was central to their interaction with playmates. Social psychologists have observed that the desire to identify with the peer group is very pronounced among children and teenagers, and that this desire manifests itself in all aspects of their behaviour, especially in language patterns. Seeking the approval of

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[47]German was offered for Grades 9-12. *Languages 1951* (Victoria, B.C.: Department of Education, Division of Curriculum); *Languages 1964* (Victoria, B.C.: Department of Education, Division of Curriculum).

[48]*Courie*, 6 November 1969, p.12.

[49]The Vancouver School Board even rejected a request by the Baptist/Mennonite school to use public school rooms on Saturdays as their own facilities were becoming inadequate. *Nordwesten*, "Keine Antwort – keine Stimme," 11 December 1962, advised its readers to react to this decision when casting their ballots at the next civic elections.

[50]Compare Fritz Wieden, *The Trans-Canada Alliance of German-Canadians; A Study in Culture* (Windsor, Ont.: Tolle Lege Press, 1985), p.21 remarks upon German parents not pursuing the matter in a vigorous manner. Krukowski et al., p.5 observed in 1967 that although German ethnics constituted over 4% of the British Columbian population, "they are not actively promoting their language in provincial public schools". In 1975, German ethnic parents questioned by O'Bryan et al., p.127 to 56% attributed the primary responsibility for teaching their children German language, history, and culture to the primary and secondary schools, while only 20% felt that this task lay with ethnic and church schools.

their peers even more than adults do, children aim at complete linguistic assimilation.

> The desire to identify with the peers, the prestige group, is so powerful that it implies the rejection of everything that could delay the identification. This includes one's mother tongue. The process often takes place against the will of the parents who have set as an ideal the keeping of the ancestral language and culture by their children.[51]

A survey in 1982 revealed that the majority of German-speaking parents in Vancouver (58%) claimed that they had spoken German to their children in preschool age, but less than 20% continued to do so later on, blaming the child's rejection of the ethic tongue upon peer influence.[52]

While much of the linguistic assimilation of children resulted from language loss in the home and from interaction with non-German Canadians, those German parents and ethnic institutions concerned about language retention appear to have focussed on the fact that the school system was not providing adequate pedagogical means for transmitting the German language and culture to the second generation. Consequently, local German associations and parishes set up private Saturday schools where language and cultural courses were offered to children between the ages of five and fifteen years. Most German schools were affiliated with the Trans-Canada Alliance of German-Canadians, whose Committee for German Language Instruction (Deutsches Sprachschulreferat) advised on curricula and teaching personnel and helped to organize school materials. Canada wide, German schools started to appear in large numbers in the late 1950s as the result of the recent immigrant influx. Peak enrollment was reached in 1970/71 with some 13,200 students attending TCA-affiliated schools.

It is obvious that even this peak attendance at German schools in Vancouver and across Canada was not a reflection of a widespread concern over language retention in the German ethnic population, for statistical evidence clearly indicates the

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[51]Bernard Saint-Jacques, "Immigrants Sociolinguistic Aspects of Immigration in Canada," pp.209-220 in J. K. Chambers, ed, *Languages in Canada* (Ottawa: Diedler, 1979), p.219.
[52]Stadler, p.36.

marked decline of German both as a mother tongue and as a home language that had taken place among German–Canadians by 1971. Rather, formal language instruction served a small minority of the German–Canadian public, and for this minority fulfilled a range of functions. For many parents, the transmission of the ethnic tongue was designed to enable their children to gain a full comprehension of their ethnic origin and identity, and to strengthen the bonds between parents and children.[53] This cultural or ethnic aim was also embraced by German ethnic associations, parishes, and the media, who felt that a German–speaking second generation that eventually would also support ethnic institutions had to be actively recruited through language instruction.[54] Thus, German schools were established and sponsored by German clubs and congregations, and reflected the desire of those concerned with German ethnic life in Canada to insure ethnic continuity.[55] The institutional interest was exemplified by the TCA, which established its special Committee in 1958 in order to support schools across the country, arrange student exchange programmes with West Germany, and endeavour to improve the qualifications of the German instructors.

At the same time, the efforts expended in establishing language courses reflected a shift of responsibility for language retention as part of the ethnic heritage. More and more parents passed the task of the ethno–linguistic recruitment of the younger generation on to formal instruction. In her 1982 Vancouver study, Beatrice Stadler found that

> although many [German ethnic] parents blamed themselves and the [ethnic] group for language loss among their children, they simultaneously believed

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[53] Wieden, *Trans–Canada Alliance,* p.24.
[54] A former member of the Trans–Canada Alliance of German–Canadians observed: "If any one portfolio was likely to guarantee a good future for the Alliance and for the survival of German cultural traditions in Canada, then the language schools was an indispensble medium to achieve this aim." Wieden, *Trans–Canada Alliance,* p.21.
[55] Compare Hermino Schmidt, Commissioner for German Language Instruction by the TCA, Report of 27 August 1967. Trans–Canada Alliance of German–Canadians. Papers. MG 28 v 4 vol.9 file: "Schulreferat, 1960–67".

that the [ethnic] school should do the job that parents failed to do.[56]

Moreover, the German schools were far from exclusively based on concern for ethnic continuity. In fact, two differing motivational emphases with regard to children learning German – integrative (i.e. because it was the ethnic tongue) and instrumental (i.e. because bilingualism had a utilitarian value) – were shared by parents and school sponsors. Some regarded German instruction as a proper academic exercise that enriched the linguistic knowledge of the children – a skill with potential socio-economic advantages – and sharpened their intellect; others envisaged the principal objective of the schools as the transmission of German language and culture.[57] With increasing length of residence of some German immigrants and the higher educational levels of late German arrivals, emphasis seems to have gradually shifted from the integrative to the instrumental motivation.

The Trans-Canada Alliance observed that the majority of students enrolled in earlier years of the programme still retained vivid memories of their childhood in German-speaking Europe or enjoyed at least the advantage of a parental home in which German was in daily, if not always accurate use. From the mid-1960s, however, the number of students with little or no background in the German language dominated, "either because their parents had 'unlearned' their native tongue or because they were sent by parents whose ancestral heritage contained no German traces and who wished their children instructed in a major global idiom."[58] By the early 1980s, the fact that some 80% of the students enrolled in the German ethnic schools across Canada were non-German speaking beginners, contradicted the common perception of these educational facilities as ethnic or heritage schools. As Hermino Schmidt confirms, "the German schools have shed their ethnicity and adjusted to Canadian students who

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[56]Stadler, p.69. However, the German students themselves did not generally share their parents' attitude that the school was the best place for children to learn or improve their German (p.100).
[57]Stadler, p.67; Hermino Schmidt. 1967 Report; Wieden, *Trans-Canada Alliance,* p.22.
[58]Wieden, *Trans-Canada Alliance,* p.41.

consider the German language as an asset for future employability."[59]

There is further national evidence of the instrumental intentions behind the support for German instruction. O'Bryan et al. found in 1975 that, of those German ethnic respondents who considered unofficial language retention "very desirable", 49% gave the usefulness of German as a second language as a primary reason, whereas 12.8% wanted "to keep up ethnic customs and traditions", and 25% thought German important for communication purposes.[60] Germans in Vancouver were no exception: Stadler discovered in 1982 that many of them favoured the study of German by their children for the potential practical benefits in economic life. She interpreted this fact as a reflection of the stress which the German group as a whole places on the importance of education and skill acquisition.[61]

This concern for German as an academic discipline and a potential economic asset may explain why German schools developed in contrast with the general linguistic assimilation pattern of the German population in the 1960s. It reflected an almost desperate attempt by many parents to save their family's quickly vanishing linguistic background for utilitarian purposes. Yet, the higher the parents' socio-economic status, the faster did their concern with maintaining their ethnic culture decrease and the more was bilingualism associated with the acquisition of French rather than with the retention of German.[62]

Accommodation to the linguistic requirements of a new environment need not entail immigrants' detachment from their ethnic affiliations, and even the abandonment of their mother tongue does not necessarily imply that other aspects of the ethnic

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[59]Hermino Schmidt, "The German-Canadians and Their Umbilical Cord: An Analysis of Immigrant Behaviour and its Implications for Canada and Germany," Peter Liddell, ed., *German-Canadian Studies: Critical Approaches* (Vancouver: Canadian Association of University Teachers of German, 1983, CAUTG Publication No.9), p.75.
[60]O'Bryan et al., p.123.
[61]Stadler, p.81.
[62]Stadler, p.76 and 101.

culture have lost their meaning.[63] However, language is an essential part of culture and at the same time the instrument through which other aspects of culture are organized and communicated.[64] Linguistic change may be an indication of acculturation and assimilation, for newcomers who successfully acquire the dominant language of the receiving society often also adopt other aspects of the new culture,[65] especially when they identify strongly with their new homeland. Some social psychologists have gone so far as to suggest that, in Canada, the mastery of English may be the clearest indicator of integration into Canadian society and the loss of one's mother tongue the clearest indicator of assimilation.[66]

Analysis of census data and contemporary comments indicate that in the postwar era, the overwhelming majority of German-Canadians readily adopted the English language and quickly detached themselves from their traditional language. This linguistic assimilation often went hand in hand with disinterest in other aspects of the ethnic culture, so that retention of the ethnic tongue apparently became the less important the more German immigrants identified themselves as Canadians.[67] On the other hand, the desire of a small minority of both foreign-born and Canadian-born Germans to maintain their ethnic distinctiveness and identity also included efforts to cultivate the ethnic tongue within a environment dominated by English and to pass it on to their children. They regarded the German language as a powerful factor in preserving the German culture in Canada and in fortifying their cohesion as a

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[63]Compare Alan B. Anderson, "The Survival of Ethnolinguistic Minorities: Canadian and Comparative Research," Bernard Saint Jacques and Howard Giles, *Language and Ethnic Relations* (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1979), p.68; de Vries and Vallee, p.102; Wardhaugh, p.192; Steinberg, p.46.

[64]For a review of the theoretical literature on language and culture, see Stadler, pp.4.

[65]Giles and Saint-Jacques, "Preface."

[66]Saint-Jacques, p.210.

[67]In 1975, 46% of the German ethnics who identified themselves as "Germans" considered language retention as "very desireable", as opposed to 31% of those naming themselves "German-Canadians" or "Canadians of German origin" and 14% of first generation "Canadians" and 5.4% of the second generation "Canadians". O'Bryan et.al. p. 104.

community.[68] As the Canadian sociologist Leo Driedger notes:

> The assumption underlying the concern for both language maintenance and restoration seems to be that, without the ancestral language of the group, its culture and ethnic identity will be lost. Thus, the language is seen as a defence against assimilation by other, usually (although not always) larger groups; language is a symbol of the continuance of the group.[69]

Consequently, the formal efforts to transmit German to the second generation reflected the ethnic consciousness of some native-born and immigrant parents, and the recognition of ethnic institutions that their survival depended upon the (linguistic) recruitment of the younger age groups. These endeavours, however, enjoyed limited success in the face of the widespread linguistic assimilation of both German ethnic adults and children.

With regard to the general decline of ethnic languages in Canada, Driedger has suggested:

> The extent to which ethnic groups can convince their members that maintenance of their language is either necessary to socio-economic success or symbolizes status may be the extent to which they will be successful in passing it on to future generations.[70]

However, this functionalist approach to language maintenance ignores the cultural significance of language and the nature of ethnic identities. At the height of the German language schools in 1970, a considerable portion of parents did enroll their children for instrumental purposes. Yet the younger age groups' facility in German declined drastically during the same years, because the role of German diminished drastically both as a mother tongue and as a home language, so that even children attending German language schools often did not acquire the language from their parents. As a result of the widespread linguistic assimilation of the ethnic population,

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[68]Compare Jeffrey G. Reitz, "Language and Ethnic Community Survival," *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* (Special Issue, 1974), pp.106; also Giles and Saint-Jacques, "Preface".

[69]Leo Driedger, "Structural, Social and Individual Factors in Language Maintenance in Canada," W. H. Coons, ed., *The Individual, Language and Society in Canada* (Ottawa: The Canada Council, 1977), p.214.

[70]Driedger, p.237.

even ethnic institutions such as the German parishes and the clubs were forced to make concessions to English.

All immigrants had to undergo some adjustment to the requirements of the English-speaking enviroment. Yet, the adoption of English as the *exclusive* language by the majority of German-Canadians was one important symptom for a larger transformation of their ethnic identity. The analyis of German language maintenance in Vancouver in the postwar decades shows clearly that the cultivation, preservation, and transmission of the ethnic tongue was intimately related to the surrounding ethnic community network, which consisted of ethnic institutions, families that maintained their ethnic traits, and the residential proximity of other fellow ethnics in Vancouver South. In this ethnic milieu, German served to express the culture of the ethnic community and set it apart from the surrounding society.

V. GERMAN SECULAR ORGANIZATIONS

German-Canadians in Vancouver in the postwar decades maintained a wide spectrum of secular ethnic organizations. Some of them were primarily designed to further sociability among fellow ethnics, to offer entertainment in familiar German forms, or to cultivate German traditions. Others promoted cooperation among German ethnics in economic and financial matters and on welfare projects. Within this diversity of objectives, all these organizations appear to have fulfilled a latent need for some basis of association with others of the same ethnic background in the context of a Canadian city.[1] Yet, it was apparently never more than a small segment of the local ethnic population that became involved in this part of German ethnic life in Vancouver. Therefore, this chapter argues, the ethnic organizations were established by and responded to the instrumental and symbolic needs and ideas of only some German-Canadians rather than reflecting the significance of ethnic identity for the German population at large.

The oldest, most firmly established German association in Vancouver is the Alpen Club. Founded in 1935 under the motto "Art, Knowledge, Culture", it was the only local German organization to survive the trials and tribulations of the Second World War. After the war, the club adhered to its original, Bavarian-style, folkloristic outlook. As German ethnic life in Vancouver revived in the late 1940s, the club not only raised funds for the relief of Germans in war-torn Europe, but also acquired a club home at Victoria Drive and 33rd. Avenue.[2] In the Alpen Auditorium the club regularly staged evening entertainments, hosted special interest groups concerned with preserving German cultural traditions, maintained a German restaurant, and provided

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[1]Anthony H. Richmond, "Immigration and Pluralism in Canada," *International Migration Review,* vol.4 No.1 (1969), p.20.
[2]*Courier,* "Deutsche Vereine kamen und gingen – der Alpen Club blieb bestehen," 9 November 1967, p.11.

members with the opportunity to enjoy the leisure activities favoured by many Germans. Yet, despite its status as the largest social and cultural organization of Germans in Vancouver, club membership fluctuated considerably, ranging between 150 and 570 persons in the period from 1945 to 1970. Dissatisfied with the traditionalist style and leadership of the club, a group of postwar immigrants established the Club Berlin in 1963. Although handicapped by the lack of a club home, its 70 to 200 members met regularly and duplicated many of the Alpen Clubs' activities.

In contrast to these social organizations, the German–Canadian Cultural Society, founded in 1954 under the initiative of Pastor Marx of the Church of the Cross[3], saw the essence of the German cultural heritage in classical and contemporary art, music and literature. Its 80 to 130 members sought to cultivate this heritage by staging concerts and theatre performances and by inviting prominent speakers to lecture on German and German–Canadian cultural issues. Sociability and the cultivation of German traditions were also the focus of the Kolping Society, a Catholic German craftsmen association with strong affiliations to the Holy Family Church.[4] There also was a Vancouver branch of the Canadian Baltic Immigration Aid Society, whose 130 members throughout the province practised mutual assistance and endeavoured to preserve Baltic cultural traditions.[5]

The need for mutual financial aid and the opportunities offered by the rise of credit–cooperatives in the 1930s and 1940s were incentives for a small group of German–Canadians to establish the Edelweiss Credit Union in 1943. In time, it administered thousands of savings accounts and loans, served as the financial institution of German associations and community projects, and became the largest German

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[3]Wolfgang Junker, "Kulturarbeit ohne Maske und Make–Up: Der Deutsch–Kanadische Kulturkreis unter der Leitung von Eva Karstens," *German–Canadian Yearbook,* vol.2 (1975), p.241.
[4]*Nordwesten,* "Gruendung der Vancouver Kolpingsfamilie," 13 December 1956, p.14; "Das Kolpingswerk," 7 November 1957, p.14; 7 February 1961, p.5.
[5]See Canadian Baltic Immigration Aid Society. Papers. Public Archives of Canada. MG 28 v 99 vol.2 file: "Vancouver."

credit-cooperative in the country. The German-Canadian Business and Professional Association, founded in 1963, envisaged a different form of economic cooperation. Admitting only self-employed German-Canadians and those holding management positions, it hoped to further the business interests of its members and the economic relations between the German-Canadian public and Canadian society at large.[6] The association organized tours of its members' businesses, invited politicians and economists to speak at their meetings, and promoted social contacts between its few dozen members and their families. It made its first obvious public impact with the organization of the Vancouver Octoberfest in 1970.[7]

The German-Canadian Benevolent Association was founded in 1965 to establish a senior citizens' home for elderly. It raised sufficient funds in the following four years to build a home with the aid of provincial and federal financial support. The German press, other ethnic organizations, the German business community, and 3,000 members of the society supported this effort.[8]

The postwar decades also witnessed the emergence of a marginal political organization in Vancouver's German community. The Canada-GDR Society, which was formed in 1967, wanted to raise awareness in Canada of the existence of the other German state and advocated the recognition of the German Democratic Republic by the Canadian government.[9] Its establishment reflected the political development that resulted in the international recognition of the GDR in the late 1960s and the

[6]Trans-Canada Alliance of German-Canadians. Papers. Public Archives of Canada. MG 28 v 4 vol. 8 file: "GCBPA Vancouver"; *Nordwesten,* "Vereinigung deutschkanadischer Geschaeftsleute ins Leben gerufen," 25 June 1963, p.5; *Courier,* "Neue Chance fuer Deutsche Gesellschaft," 28 September 1967, p.10.
[7]*Vancouver Octoberfest 1970,* Playboard Special Issue (Vancouver: Archway Publ., 1970).
[8]See Trans-Canada Alliancce of German-Canadians. Papers. Public Archives of Canada. MG 28 v 4 vol.8 file: "B.C. German Benevolent Society"; *Vancouver Province,* "German Home Planned," 31 May 1967, p.2.; *Nordwesten,* "German Benevolent Society of B.C.," 13 April 1965, p.5; *Courier,* "Erfolgreichstes Project der Deutschcanadier," 29 August 1968, p.10.
[9]See *Pazifische Rundschau,* "Jahresversammlung des Kanada-DDR Kreises," 25 February 1969, p.3.; *Nordwesten,* 21 October 1969, p.5.

rapproachement between the two German states. In Vancouver, however, the society and its goals were endorsed by very few German-Canadians.

Finally, a number of the German organizations in Vancouver became affiliated with the German-Canadian umbrella organization, the Trans-Canada Alliance. Until the mid-1960s, only the Alpen Club maintained a connection to the Alliance with the aid of a 'liason officer'. As other clubs joined in Vancouver and in other parts of the province, a British Columbia Branch of the Trans-Canada Alliance was founded. It informed the local associations about the umbrella organization's educational, cultural, political, and economic goals and activities, passed on the concerns of the local Geman population, dealt with TCA membership fees, and organized charter flights to Germany.

Ethnic associations eased the general adjustment process of newcomers.[10] German-Canadians, however, seldom faced the forms of ethnic discrimination that would have forced them to take refuge within ethnic community boundaries. As a minority they rarely were united on issues which concerned them as members of the German population in Canada and which would have heightened their ethnic awareness and group cohesion.[11] Most Germans in Vancouver saw themselves as a well-accepted element in Canadian society and – according to the *Courier* – felt they did "not

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[10]D. H. Lawless, "Attitudes of Leaders of Immigrant and Ethnic Societies in Vancouver toward Integration into Canadian Life," *International Migration,* vol.2 No.3 (1964), p.202; *Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. vol.4. The Cultural Contributions of the Other Ethnic Groups,* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1967), p.112; For example, the *Nordwesten* description of an Alpen Club event: ""There they sat: workers, businesspeople, entrepreneurs, old successful immigrants mixed with new arrivals, who at this evening received plenty of good advice for their start in Canada, for their first job." – "4. Jahrestag des Alpen Auditoriums," 22 October 1954, p.4.

[11]The matter that aroused the most widespread concern and reaction from German-Canadians and some of their ethnic institutions in them postwar period, was the imge of Germans as depicted in movies and television shows portraying the National Socialist era. The fact that discrimination and ethnic issues tend to strengthen ethnic communities has been stressed by several students of ethnic groups: see Gunter Baureiss, "Toward a Theory of Ethnic Organizations," *Canadian Ethnic Studies.* vol.14 No.2 (1982), p.32; Raymond Breton, "Institutional Completeness of Ethnic Communities and the Personal Relations of Immigrants," *American Journal of Sociology.* vol.70 No.2 (September 1964), p.196.

need a pressure group which has to take care that they receive their full rights."[12] This attitude accounted, at least to a some extent, for their limited support for the Trans–Canada Alliance, which conceived of itself as a guardian of the political interests of the German population and of German culture in Canada.[13] As the Alliance was based in Ontario, many Germans in Vancouver were also highly sceptical of the benefit of its work for ethnic individuals and associations in the West.[14] The willingness of the Alpen Club to forward its fees to the Trans–Canada Alliance, and the decision of four other German associations in Vancouver in the mid–1960s to join, appears to have been directly related to the new services supplied by the Alliance and its subsequently improved image in western Canada. Charter flights to Germany, textbooks and assistance for the German Saturday schools, group insurance, lobbying efforts with regard to German–Canadians' access to German and Canadians old age pension plans, and other activities demonstrated the functions of the Alliance better than its vaguer political and cultural aims.

As a well–integrated, economically resourceful, easily assimilated population, German–Canadians indeed were rarely the objects of discrimination, at least in the sense that as a group they were not denied full participation in Canada's economic, political, and social system.[15] German–Canadians were most often prepared to deal on an individual basis with the economic and social problems they encountered.[16] As no out–group hostility forced them into in–group solidarity and organizational cohesion,

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[12]*Courier,* "Deutsche 'Sprecher' koennen mehr schaden als nuetzen," 2 April 1964, p.11.
[13]Trans–Canada Alliance of German–Canadians. Papers. Public Archives of Canada. MG 28 v 4 vol.1 file: "Statutes". *Courier,* "Ziele und Aufgaben der TCV," 31 March 1955, p.16.
[14]See for example, Letter from Bernhard Hoeter, vice–president of the Alpen Club and liason officer to the TCA, to the TCA secretary, August 1957. TCA Paper. MG 28 v 4 vol.8 file:" B.C. Vancouver".
[15]Baureiss, p.30/31 stresses that ethnic associations have to be examined in the context of contemporary socio–economic structures and ideologies.
[16]Compare W. Junker, ""Largest Minority Happy," *Vancouver Sun,* 32 December 1967, p.6.

they could choose among a wide array of urban organizations and institutions[17], of which those based on German ethnicity were only one category.

German postwar arrivals often came with a working knowledge of the English language; their higher educational levels and professional qualifications permitted speedy integration into the Canadian economic system; they frequently had prepared themselves for their new environment with the aid of modern information, and they had already witnessed the considerable impact of North American culture in Europe after the war. Through the information provided by mass communications, they became familiar with the wide spectrum of entertainment opportunities and leisure time activities as well as with the broad array of social services available in Canada and often adjusted very quickly to their new life. This adaptability, in turn, permitted them to make critical choices between the facilities and the sociability offered by German ethnic organizations and the benefits and greater anonymity which flowed from participation in mainstream institutions.

Consequently, in order to attract members, German associations had to present ethnicity as a special feature by employing symbolic and instrumental concepts of Germanness. This meant that either they provided services not offered elsewhere which gave immediate benefits to German-Canadians, or that they promoted their concepts of German culture and thus appealed to prospective members' desire to cultivate and preserve their ethnic heritage. Concretely, this meant that on one hand, the organizations responded to humanitarian, economic, financial, social, and cultural needs among the German population, while on the other hand their membership strengths – and thus their capability to perform these functions – depended on their ability to compete with mainstream institutions. This ability, in turn, was intertwined with the

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[17]Compare with the similar circumstances of the Danish-Americans in the San Franzisco Bay area: Noel J. Crisman, "Ethnic Persistence in an Urban Setting," *Ethnicity.* vol.8 No.3 (September 1981), p.268.

ideas and the efficiency of the association leaders who carried a major portion of the organizational work and responsibility. By analyzing the concepts of ethnicity employed by the German organizations, their membership structures, and forms of leadership, the role of ethnic associational life in the German community becomes apparent.

Apart form the provincial branch of the Trans-Canada Alliance, German organizations in Vancouver fell into two categories: those offering specific services on the basis of trust, solidarity, and cooperation among German-Canadians, and those primarily offering social contact, entertainment, and the cultivation of German traditions. In these various organizations, the conception of what German ethnicity meant in the Canadian context differed considerably, and, judging by the numbers of their members, it seems that Germans in Vancouver were much more interested in the financial, economic, and humanitarian projects than in the organized social and cultural aspects of ethnic community life.

In general, ethnic-oriented welfare and mutual assistance societies are more likely to be supported by minority populations lacking resources of their own and facing socio-economic disadvantages.[18] German-Canadians, in contrast, were a comparatively well-integrated, resourceful group. Yet, both the Edelweiss Credit Union and the Benevolent Society attracted thousands of members because they responded to obvious needs within the local ethnic population, offered concrete objectives, and appealed to the trust and self-identification of German ethnics in Vancouver.

The Edelweiss Credit Union was formed by a small group of individuals who were united by their ethnic bond and social as well as financial interests.[19] The

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[18] Baureiss, pp.33.

[19] The B.C. Credit Union Act of 1938 stipulates that members of a credit union have to be qualified by a common bond, based on a). religious, social or ethnic interests, or b). by occupation, or c). a community or geographic area of the province. The Edelweiss Credit Union defined its members as people of German ethnic origin or linguistic ability and their immediate families residing in Vancouver. Their common heritage was symbolized by the Edelweiss, a flower that flourishes in the Alps. For a comprehensive history of the Edelweiss Credit Union, see *Edelweiss Echo.* vol.12 No.2 (1979). Special Report Commemorating the 35. Anniversary of the ECU.

decision to pool their savings and provide each other with credit was based on trust which, in turn, was reinforced by the credit union's own social gatherings and by many of the original members' simultaneous affiliation with the Alpen Club and the Catholic Holy Family Church. Many postwar immigrants were brought into the credit union by relatives and friends; they were supplied not only with credit and economic advice, but also with social and moral support.

The Credit Union competed with other financial institutions in terms of interest rates and customer service. Moreover, it actively sought new members through the inauguration of its charter flights to Europe in 1962.[20] While the charter flights had no direct connection with the purposes of the credit union, they provided an additional service that responded to needs within the ethnic population and encouraged membership growth. The Edelweiss Credit Union grew from 14 members in 1943 and 200 members in 1948 to well over 4,000 by 1970, at which point its assets had surpassed $3,500,000. Its steady growth suggests that the Credit Union successfully met the financial requirements of many German Vancouverites in private, business, and communal matters.

The German-Canadian Benevolent Society addressed the problem of care for the elderly, an issue of growing importance in most industrialized countries during the 1960s. At a time when the aged increasingly were institutionalized in special care homes, the specific problems of ethnic minorities often commended an "ethnic approach" to geriatric care. The Vancouver German community, through the cooperation of individual businesses, ethnic associations, the ethnic press, and thousands of members as well as the financial assistence of the federal and provincial governments, was the

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[20]Many German-Canadians were interested in visiting their homeland and eagerly seized upon the opportunity of inexpensive travel, thus being enticed to join the Edelweiss Credit Union. *Nordwesten*, 4 April 1962, p.5 and 12 April 1969, p.4. The programme ws successfully pursued until the federal government substantially restricted the charter flight industry in 1973. – Charter flights were also organized by the Trans-Canada Alliance and the Benevolent Association as a means of raising funds and attracting members.

first in Canada to establish such a home for elderly Germans who needed light care and belonged to the lower income category.

In some respects, ageing German–Canadians like other minority group members, were subjected to a triple jeopardy: the consequences of being, old, poor, and of minority status.[21] On one hand they faced the common effects of retirement: departure from active working life and the subsequent feeling of redundance and isolation, medical problems, financial difficulties, and a generally increasing dependence on outside help. Yet, as members of an immigrant minority in Canada, their situation in old age was particularly precarious. For example, access to funds paid into German pension plans prior to immigration, as well as eligibility for Canadian old age benefits could be severely restricted.[22] Moreover, as preoccupations with socio–economic mobility subsided and new dependencies developed among the elderly ethnics, their cultural differences from the dominant society were often more painfully perceived, in particular when the effect of aging and illness precipitated the disintegration of the learned language and necessitated communication with the affected elderly in their mother tongue.[23] Even aside from linguistic matters, ethnic origin often regained importance for the elderly as a means of self–identification and as a basis for interpersonal contact when other social roles had been lost.[24]

Pensioner clubs offered one means of dealing with the social situation of elderly Germans.[25] Yet, for those in need of more care and financial assistance, a

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[21]Danny R. Hoyt and Nicholas Babchuck, "Ethnicity and the Voluntary Association of the Aged," *Ethnicity.* vol.8 No.1 (March 1981), pp. 68.
[22]Until a reciprocal social security agreement between Canada and West Germany in 1970, German immigrants who had become Canadian citizens were unable to collect their German benfits; also, Canada required its aged to have resided in the country for at least twenty years to be eligible.
[23]Karl J. Trabold, "Altenbetreuung in der Muttersprache," *German–Canadian Yearbook.* vol.1 (1973), pp.297; see also reports and memos collected in the Emil Kutscha Papers. MG 30 v 132 vol.4 file: Care for the Aged. Kutscha was director of the Portfolio Senior Citizen Homes of the Trans–Canada Alliance of German–Canadians.
[24]See Hoyt and Babchuck, pp.65.
[25]In Vancouver, German elderly met in the Club Erika, a subsidiary of the Alpen Club, and they also united in the "B.C. Old Age Pensioners' Organization".

seniors' home was seen as a more adequate solution.[26] The Benevolent Society was thus conceived in response to an obvious social and economic need among the local German population,[27] and the project of building an ethnic senior citizens home serves as an example of how a specific end was successfully pursued on the basis of German ethnicity. The Soceity received widespread support because it was directed at a generally respected humanitarian and ethnic purpose, because the home was of potential use to any member of the German population in Vancouver, because its fundraising methods – such as charter flights and bazars – also offered direct benefits for members, and because its organizers proved very efficient.

In contrast to the economic and benevolent organizations, German social and cultural associations had to rely almost exclusively on the symbolic power of ethnicity. As they were competing with other Canadian organizations and institutions offering sociability and entertainment, they tended to develop complex organizational structures that gave members the opportunity to attend theatre and dance events and to enjoy a range leisure activities such as soccer, choral singing, producing crafts for chrismas bazars, and evenings of chess or cards in the company of fellow ethnics.[28] In pursuing this approach, however, they had to struggle with the fundamental question of what, in fact, constituted German culture in postwar Canada. Though their answers differed – the Alpen Club and the Club Berlin concentrated on popular culture, the Cultural Society on high culture – they shared a common resort to styles and activities that were readily identifiable as German.

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[25](cont'd) *Nordwesten*, "Rentner schliessen sich zusammen," 23 January 1968, p.6.
[26]*Courier*, "Deutsches Altenheim wuerde sehr begruesst werden," 17 December 1964, p.11.
[27]For the position of welfare societies within the ethnic community, see Breton, pp.201; Robert F. Harney, "Benevolent Societies," *Polyphony*. vol.2 No.1 (1979), p.2.
[28]Compare Baureiss,p.36; D. Sherwood and A. Wakefield, *A Study of Voluntary Associations Among Ethnic Groups in Canada,* (Research Report Prepared for the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 1967), pp.46 found that a misture of activities, including sports and drama groups, was quite typical of German ethnic associations in Canada.

The Alpen Club, for example, adhered to its traditional Bavarian style, with folk dance and folk theatre, brass music, ethnic food, ethnic dress, and German festivals such as carnival and Octoberfest. However, these expressions of popular culture hardly reflected contemporary German social relations, styles of entertainment, or forms of cultural identity. Rather, modern social, economic, political, and ideological developments and the effects of the mass media were promoting an international convergence of culture. Thus in Germany itself trends in music, film, theatre, or clothing were increasingly measured by the standards of international industries, whereas folk dance, music, and dress were increasingly regarded as picturesque rememberances of a past, idealized, pastoral life–style, celebrated in part to attract national and international tourists. Consequently, German postwar immigrants would often feel more familiar with, and attracted by, mainstream Canadian institutions among which they could select according to personal taste and quality rather than by the ethnic culture offered in the German clubs.

In 1969, the *Courier* summed up the difficulty facing ethnic social and cultural organizations:

> Those who still believe that one can offer people something 'German' in an unacceptable quality and still receive appreciation and profit in return, will be painfully surprised. Those times are definitely over.[29]

In light of German immigrants' speedy acculturation to the Canadian environment and their selectivity with regard to the kinds of entertainment they patronized, German social and cultural organizations were faced with a difficult task. The quality of the entertainment they could offer was restricted by the costs involved. Thus, social and cultural societies were often discouraged from innovative approaches and, rather, adhered to old, proven forms of activities. The *Courier* reminded critics of Alpen Club and Cultural Society performances of the fact that the ethnic associations had to carry the full financial responsibility of these expensive and frequently not very well attended

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[29]*Courier*, "Sind Deutschcanadier wenig vereinsfreudig?", 27 February 1969, p.11.

events. Theatre evenings and concerts repeatedly exceeded the associations' resources even when performed by unpaid amateurs.[30] Such financial problems, which were intimately related to the attitudes of German postwar immigrants who had relied on the subsidized arts in their homeland, account for the rising hopes in the 1960s among many German–Canadians that the prospering West German state would increase its monetary support for German culture in Canada. The *Courier* also expressed this expectation:

> Will some of the wealth accumulated as a result of the German economic miracle possibly be used to establish a cultural fund that may well yield good dividends? International tours of theatre, opera, ballet, concert, and cabaret groups would not only prove interesting for German artists, and heighten the respect for Germany in foreign countries, but also give German–Canadian life a more solid basis.[31]

Many of those concerned with the persistence of German culture in Canada seem to have felt that the proper celebration and preservation of German traditions and artistic achievements were dependent on aid from the mother country. Thus, throughout the 1960s the Cultural Society requested that a "Goethehaus" be established in Vancouver as it had been in Toronto (1962) and Montreal (1963), and that financial assistance to the cultural projects organized by the Cultural Society be increased.[32] Such requests confirm the high expectations harboured by many German–Canadians with respect to the entertainment organized for, not by them, and the societies' tacit acceptance of their role as cultural agents.

The willingness to support ethnic social and cultural associations was apparently also linked to German–Canadians' gradual adjustment to the Canadian environment. For many German immigrants, the social and psychological disorientation that resulted from the transition process may have encouraged affiliation with the Alpen Club or the Club Berlin. However, with increasing length of residence in Canada such motivations

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[30]*Courier,* "Deutsche Kultur muss teuer bezahlt werden," 12 April 1962, p.12.
[31]Ibid.
[32]*Nordwesten,* "Kein Goethehaus fuer Vancouver," 23 June 1965; *Courier,* "Bockwurst und Schuhplattler kontra Goethe," 24 June 1965, p.11.

diminished. Thus, the membership crises experienced by the Alpen Club and Club Berlin in the late 1960s was probably attributable to three developments: the passing away of loyal pre–World War II immigrants among the members, the progressive assimilation of German postwar arrivals into Canadian society, and the reluctance of professionals and technicians among the immigrants of the 1960s to become involved in the associational life of the German community.

Length of residence and integration particularly affected the attitude of young, second–generation German–Canadians toward the concepts of ethnicity and the activities offered by social clubs. They often did not speak the ethnic tongue, had only vague memories of the homeland, and usually identified completely with Canada.[33] This generational gap with regard to ethnic identity was enhanced by normal generational conflicts, as the values, concepts of leisure time, and artistic tastes of the young differed considerably from those of their parents. Thus, young German Vancouverites, who might have attended some events at the ethnic clubs as children, were embarrassed to bring Canadian friends to the clubs in their more mature years. For them, the clubs lost their important function as loci of social contact and of shared entertainment on the basis of common ethnic traditions. As with other ethnic activities and institutions, flourishing social and cultural societies were an aspect of life largely for the immigrant generation.[34]

Unlike the Alpen Club and the Club Berlin, the German–Canadian Cultural Society did not attempt to define the content of modern German popular culture.

[33] K. G. O'Bryan et al. *Non–Official Languages: A Study in Canadian Multiculturalism* (Ottawa: Information Canada, 1976), pp. 97.

[34] *Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Bilculturalism*, p.110 found that Canada–wide some 11% of the Association members in German societies had been born in Canada. Compare Bernd G. Laengin, "Die Deutschen in Kanada: Eine Volksgruppe im Vakuum," Peter E. Nasarski, ed, *Wege und Wandlungen: Die Deutschen in der Welt Heute*, vol.2 (Berlin und Bonn: Westkreuz Verlag, 1983), p.43 on the the inability of the German clubs in Canada to replenish their membership from the second generation; also *Courier*, "Sind Deutschcanadier wenig vereinsfreudig?", 27 February 1969, p.11.

Rather, it focussed on German high culture – what it considered as the best of German music, literature, and theatre – and thereby filled a gap between the folk culture of the social clubs and the predominantly English-speaking high culture found in many Vancouver theatres, galleries, and concert halls. Members of the well-educated middle class appreciated this celebration of German artistic achievements and encouraged their offspring to attend and even perform at these events. The Cultural Society altered between amateur performances and the engagement of professionals, and between classical and modern works and frequently received donations from friends of the Society. This way it was able to keep entrance fees affordable and to maintain the support of a heterogeneous, loyal audience of Germans and non-Germans.[35] Its efforts to keep in touch with modern artistic developments among German and German-Canadian artists attested to the Society's recognition that "culture" and "art" were evolving phenomena, a view which contrasted with the concepts of other ethnic clubs.[36]

The Cultural Society's long-standing president, Eva Karstens, emphasized the role of immigrants as cultural ambassadors and of the Society as a forum of integration, not segregation.

> We, who are living between the cultures, experience more than those who did not leave home that enrichment that emanates from this mutual cultural impregnation. All great works of art and literature have long left the purely national sphere and have become the common property of all nations.[37]

Guided by this concept of culture, the Society abstained from ethnic self-centredness, featured works of other nationalities, and made non-German audiences welcome. It

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[35]It was important to avoid expensive performances as the German-Canadian public could prove as too unreliable. *Courier,* "Deutsche Kultur muss teuer bezahlt werden," 12 April 1962, p.12.

[36]Junker, p.243. *Courier,* "Deutschcanadischer Kulturkreis – ein Band zwischen alter und neuer Welt," 6 February 1964, p.11. Laengin, p. 42 in the early 1980s characterizes the activities and styles of most German clubs in Canada as a kind of "collective cultivation of traditions that takes places in a hermeutically sealed space."

[37]*Nordwesten,* "Jahresversammlung des Kulturkreises," 5 December 1968, p.4.

arranged well-attended, open celebrations of music, literature, and theatre not only because they formed part of their German heritage, but also — and perhaps more importantly — because these works represented an eternal moral and aesthetic value.

As much as the concepts of culture and the activities of the various German ethnic organizations in Vancouver differed from each other, they shared one common structural feature: as is the case in most voluntary associations[38], small group of leaders and organizers managed the work and responsibiltiy involved in the clubs and societies. The vast majority of Germans who joined as members or participated in open events usually preferred to consume the services, activities, and entertainment offered rather than taking a active role in the shaping of the organizational forms of German culture in Canada. Consequently, the caucus of leaders and organizers in any given German association exerted a crucial influence on the concepts of ethnicity and the activities and goals pursued.

Typically, the idea for an ethnic organization would emerge among a small group of individuals who then sought to interest their fellow ethnics. Larger memberships and more funds permitted the development of programmes and goals, the staging of events to attract more members and raise more funds, and perhaps the acquisition of a club hall. They also gave the organization a broader influence in the community. In most organizations, up to three levels of involvement can be identified: a core group of leaders, the membership, and a wider segment of the ethnic population that participated in one way or another. The implications of this organizational structure may be examined most fruitfully in the example of the Vancouver Alpen Club.

In return for their membership fee, members of the Alpen Club enjoyed reduced entry charges at the club's social and cultural events as well as the privilege

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[38]John C. Scott, "Membership and Participation in Voluntary Associations," *American Sociological Review*. vol.22 No.3 (June 1957), pp.316.

of bringing guests; they had access to special activity groups and the club's Auditorium facilities; they could vote at club elections and on issues raised at the annual meeting; and they had the opportunity to become club officers and thus take an active role in the development and execution of club policies. Members often invested time and energy in the attempts of the club to preserve ethic traditions and promote sociability among fellow ethnics, and they carried a certain degree of responsibility for and identitification with the club.

At the same time, however, membership in the Alpen Club fluctuated considerably, reaching a peak of 565 and a low of some 150 paid memberships between 1945 and 1970. Most of the annual meetings attracted no more than quarter of the members, and on several occasions the club had difficulties filling its offices.[39] In particular, postwar immigrants were reluctant to be nominated for office, arguing that they were too preoccupied with their settlement and adjustment process.[40]

On the other hand, a wider section of the local German population than suggested by the membership figures alone gave sporadic support to the Alpen Club through participation in open events and their contributions to fundraising drives. In fact, the club depended on the financial support of participating non-members to sustain its programmes, its special interest groups, its expensive theatre performances, its soccer teams, and its auditorium. It measured its success in terms of its ability to organize well-attended, financially rewarding events even at times when its membership was diminishing.[41]

Like members, participants in club activities came into closer contact with fellow closer contact with fellow ethnics, cultivated traits and traditions, gave testimony

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[39]For example, *Nordwesten,* "Jahresversammlung des Alpen Clubs," 29 January 1957, p.20.
[40]Ibid.
[41]See *Nordwesten,* "Was wird aus den Alpen Club?" 16 January 1962, p.5; *Courier,* "Erfolgreichstes Jahr fuer de Alpen Club," 5 February 1970, p.10. The latter articles referred to 1969 as the most successful year for the Alpen Club due its considerable financial gains, while membership stood at 312.

to their ethnic identity and their place in the ethnic community, and helped the association to survive. Thus, one may interprete their open, informal participation as being as significant as membership.[42] Yet, the participants in Alpen Club events were in general mere consumers of the activities arranged by the membership core; they could withdraw their support at any time; they took no role in shaping and expressing the functions of German ethnicity in Canada. Their committment to the association and its concepts of culture was relatively low.

Because most members and participants preferred to remain passive and free to choose the kinds of activities and events in which they wished to take part, it was a core group of leaders and members who carried on the club's multifold adminstrative and organizational work. They had to safeguard its financial concerns, maintain the Alpen Auditorium, recruit new members, attract German–Canadians to their events and special activity groups, correspond and co–operate with other ethnic organizations, the ethnic press, and government agencies, and account to the annual meeting. Their ideas, social skills, and bureaucratic efficiency exerted a crucial influence on the club's policies, activities, financial base, and public image.[43] In order for them to accept the responsibility for these numerous tasks and the great demands on their time and energy, the leaders must have harboured a high degree of dedication to the cause of the organization and to the ethnic community at large. Moreover, they must have enjoyed the trust of others in representing this cause, for the club not only tended to adhere to proven, traditional forms, but also preferred to rely on established leaders. Their responsibility was rewarded with prestige in the community and the opportunity to realize their concepts of the meaning of German ethnicity in the

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[42]This approach has been taken by Ianni Lambrou, *The Greek Community in Vancouver: Social Organization and Adaptation* (Master's Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1974), p.130.
[43]See Alan B. Anderson and J. Frideres, *Ethnicity in Canada: Theoretical Perspectives* (Toronto: Butterworths, 1981), p.115 on the importance of an effective leadership and of the ethnic elite's interest in ethnic identity preservation for the persistence of the ethnic community.

Canadian context.

The organizational structure of the Vancouver Alpen Club appears to have been fairly typical of other local German associations in the postwar period. Leadership positions tended to be dominated by a pool of long-standing, highly respected members of the German community.[44] For example, between 1945 and 1970 the Alpen Club elected twelve different presidents, and its directory council of up to fifteen persons was drawn from a core group of some thirty prominent community and association members. Many of these directors at times held offices in other local German organizations as well. For example, Jacob Klett was a founding member of the Alpen Club and its president in 1947 and 1950; he also was first president of the Edelweiss Credit Union in 1943/44 and subsequently occupied other posts in the credit union. The postwar immigrant Kurt Maurer acted as treasurer of the Alpen Club in 1955, became vice-president of the German-Canadian Business and Professional Association in 1963, and served on the credit union's board of directors between 1964 and 1975. Bernhard Hoeter was vice-president of the Alpen Club in 1957 and treasurer in 1967; he served as president of the Business Association in 1967 and on the credit union's board of directors in 1962 and 1963. He also acted as liason officer between the Trans-Canada Alliance and the Alpen Club in the late 1950s. Baldwin Ackermann, secretary of the British Columbia branch of the Trans-Canada Alliance from 1963 to 1966, sat on the credit union's board of directors in 1959 and served briefly as Alpen Club president in 1967.

Alpen Club, Edelweiss Credit Union and the Business Association were characterized by a rotating leadership. In contrast, the Club Berlin and the Cultural Society were for many years led by their long-standing presidents, Guenther Schubert

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[44]"Leadership group" refers to Vancouver Alpen Club presidents. treasureres and executives, Edelweiss Credit Union presidents, executives of the Business Association and of the Benevolent Soceiey, and the presidents of the Club Berlin and of the Cultural Society. Altogether, some forty persons holding such positions could be identified so far.

and Eva Karstens respectively. However, their presidential style also reflected the high degree of continuity and influence in the leadership of German organizations in Vancouver.

As the ethnic organizations were among the most visible manifestations of the German community, their leaders were often perceived as representatives of the ethnic population and at times came to act as brokers between the minority and the host society.[45] Yet, even though association leaders tended to speak with a certain authority about ethnic concerns, they were not always able to enlist sufficient support among the German-Canadian public for those projects and issues which they and their associations endorsed. In particular, ambitions of making public statements about the ethnic population by trying to enlist the financial support but not the opinion of the ethnic populations as a whole, were met by most German-Canadians' stoic indifference or disapproval.

For example, on the occasion of British Columbia's centennial celebration in 1958, the Alpen Club engaged the local historian, Bruce Ramsey, to write an account of German-Canadians in the province, and appeals were made to the German public for support of the project. The *Courier* urged: "It is in your interest that it is plainly shown to the Canadian public what a large contribution the German-origin element has made to the development of our province."[46] However, donations and German-Canadian's willingness to purchase the 85-page booklet both fell far behind the club's expectations, so that the project eventually came to cost the Alpen Club over $2,000.[47]

The fact that the German association leaders did not necessarily reflect the

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[45]See Lawless, pp.202 who asserts that the leader is often more accepted that other ethnic individuals by the broader society.

[46]*Courier*, "Jahrhundertfeierproject des Alpen Clubs," 5 December 1957, p.9.

[47]Ramsey's work, which features prominent Germans in the economic, cultural, and political domains of the province as well as highlighting the role of the Vancouver Alpen Club, is the only general history of German ethnics in British Columbia.

views of the ethnic population at large was also very obvious in the case of the fountain gift. In 1966, delegates of the Cultural Society, the Alpen Club, the Club Berlin, the Business Association, the Tyrol Ski and Mountain Club, the Swiss Club, and the British Columbia Branch of the Trans-Canada Alliance founded the United German-Canadian Centennial Committee and decided to present a $20,000 fountain to the city of Vancouver as the ethnic community's contribution to the Canadian Centennial.[48] While the participating organizations each donated between $100 and $250 and also hoped that government assistance would be obtained, the major part of the cost had to be raised through donations.

But the ethnic leaders who initiated the fountain project had acted without securing community suport in advance. Only after the proposal had been launched did the Centennial Committee stress that it was very important for the image of the ethnic population that all German-Canadians helped to realize the fountain gift,[49] that it was a means of demonstrating the German community's strength, generosity, and affection for their chosen land.[50] Yet, despite widespread advertising of the project in the ethnic and mainstream Vancouver press and continuous appeals for donations, insufficient funds prevented the project from being completed in 1967. Only in 1971, at the centennial of British Columbia's entry into the Canadian federation, was a fountain costing $10,000 erected in front of the Queen Elizabeth Theatre.[51] The limited success of the Committee's appeals revealed the gulf which existed between the aspirations and ideas of the community leaders and the willingness of

[48] *Pazifische Rundschau,* "United German-Canadian Centennial Committee gegruendet," March 1966.
[49] *Pazifische Rundschau,* "Aufruf," April 1967.
[50] *Courier,* "Ein Dank and unsere neue Heimat," 6 April 1967, p.10, *Pazifische Rundschau,* "Haben Sie schon gespendet?" 5 December 1968, p.9.
[51] *Courier,* "Stuermische Gipfelkonferenz um einen ' deutschen Brunnen," 31 March 1966, p.10; *Vancouver Sun,* "Council okays plaza fountain," 25 January 1967, p.22; *Courier,* "Neuer deutscher Brunnen soll 1971 stehen," 4 June 1970, p.10.

German-Canadians to offer their support.[52]

Association leaders were thus in a rather awkward position. On one hand they carried the main responsibility for their ethnic organizations and were called upon by their own group and by government agencies to take initiatives in such matters as centennial celebrations.[53] But on the other, they had to deal with the passivity of most German-Canadians and their unpredictable support for ethnic projects. Thus, the willingness of some leaders to accept responsiblity for the organizational work of the ethnic community was probably not exclusively based upon their dedication to the ethnic cause, but also related to their personal and professional interests. Involvement in ethnic societies and projects could provide social entrepreneurs with benefits for themselves, including monetary advantages and more prestige or power in the ethnic community and the society at large.[54] Leadership offices in Vancouver's German organizations were often occupied by individuals whose engagement in the ethnic cause merits to be seen against their occupational background. For example, the economic interests of newspaper editors and small business-owners may well have served as an important motivation for dedicating time and energy to German associational life.

The German-Canadian media personnel not only exerted an influence on ethnic affairs through their articles and commentaries, but in the course of the postwar period they also became increasingly prominent in the organizations themselves. For example, Horst Koehler, broadcaster of German radio and television programmes, held offices in the Business Association and headed the British Columbia branch of the

[52]In the ethnic press, the debacle over the project became knwon as the "the big well-poisoning" of the German community in Vancouver, see *Courier*, "Die grosse Brunnenvergiftung," 18 July 1967, p.5; "Wir fallen all, alle in den deutschen Brunnen," 7 December 1967, p.11; "Naechste Runde – deutschcanadisches Brunnendrama," 28 December 1967, p.11.

[53]The *Courier*, "Deutsche Geschichtsschreibung – ein heikles Theme," 6 January 1966, p.11 commented on the government appeal for ethnic groups to make contributions to the celebrations: "The active work [for the contributions] will probably again be left with the leaders of the minority societies.

[54]Breton, p.196.

Trans-Canada Alliance from 1967 to 1970; Bernhard Hoeter, *Nordwesten* editor, was deeply involved in the leadership of the Alpen Club, the Business Association, the Edelweiss Credit Union, and the Trans-Canada Alliance, and so was Baldwin Ackermann, publisher of the *Pazifische Rundschau* and radio broadcaster.[55] This prominence of media personnel in ethnic societies was intimately related to their prominence in the ethnic community as a whole, which, in turn, derived from the nature of their occupation and their perpetual concern with ethnic affairs: they had personal contacts with many German-Canadians; they were present at and held an intimate knowledge of club meetings and events; and they published their reflections about the state and the problems of the local and national German community. The media personnel would thus frequently appear as champions of the ethnic cause, both with regard to German-Canadians' interests within Canadian society as a whole and to the preservation of cultural traditions and strong ethnic community networks.[56]

At the same time, the media personnel constituted an economic group with its own professional interest in all ethnic developments. Their programmes and newspapers, and thus their economic existence, depended upon the continued existence of ethnic associations as generators of ethnic news and as proponents of German ethnicity in Canada. They also relied on the interest of the German-Canadian public in ethnic affairs and on its continuing ability to speak their mother tongue. Active involvement in ethnic associations, particularly in leadership roles, therefore not only permitted them to express their ethnic culture and meet their social needs, but also reflected part of the attempt to maintain their economic base and to gain prestige while furthering

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[55]Wolfgang Junker, provincial editor of the *Courier*, abstained from active involvement in local club affairs.

[56]The fact that the freedom of the press could come into conflict with its representatives' role and responsibility in the ethnic organizations was exemplified when Baldwin Ackermann's publication of articles taken from an East German newspapers in the *Pazifische Rundschau* led to the interception of his Alpen Club presidency and the detachment of the Club Berlin from his newspaper. *Courier*, "Fuer Trennung von Club und Geschaeft (article submitted by Club Berlin), 15 June 1967, p.10; *Nordwesten*, "Neuwahlen im Alpen Club," 18 July 1967, p.5.

ethnic cohesion.

A combination of idealistic and socio–economically motivated attachments to ethnic organizations and a prominent standing in the German community at large also characterized the business people in the leadership group. Aside from those affiliated with the Business and Professional Association, a considerable number of small merchants and independent artisans held offices in local German organizations.[57] While for all leaders work in associational affairs was rewarded by prestige in the German community, small business–owners had a a particular interest in playing a prominent role in the societies. For example, occupation of association officers would permit them to make business contacts, establish personal ties, and gain publicity, effects that all could yield economic benefits. Moreover, businesses that catered to a German clientele depended on the persistence of the particualr ethnic needs and tastes of their customers, and the owners thus had a vested interest in promoting German ethnicity in Canada through their active engagement in German clubs and societies.[58]

Like the media personnel, the prominence of business–owners in the ranks of the association leaders was also related to their social and economic characteristics. Because of their experience with business management, for example, they may have seemed particularly apt at administering association assets, fundraising drives, or the organization of new community projects. Such skills were especially called for in the Alpen Holdings Society and in the Edelweiss Credit Union. Also, small merchants and independent artisans were often elected to office because they usually belonged to the politically conservative, average income portion of the ethnic population and thus to a

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[57]For example, Jacob Klett (owned tailor shop); Otto Tiedje (painting contractor), Adolf Williams (Proprietor of Carall Shoe Repairs), Kurt Maurer (owner of Hagen's Travel Service), R. P. Mervin (Owner of Intercity Motel), Rudy H. Werk (President of Werk Construction), Clarence Loehr (director of Earl's Machine Shop), T. P. Lipp (Manager of Seymour Jewellers). Of some thirty association leaders identified – aside from those in the Business Association – twelve were self–employed.

[58]Compare Jeffrey G. Reitz, *The Survival of Ethnic Groups* (Toronto: McGraw–Hill Ryerson Press, 1980), p.22.

certain extent typified the social, economic and ideological characteristics of the association memberships at large.[59] By contrast, of the considerable number of professionals among the German immigrant cohort, few became involved as members or leaders of these organizations, with the exception of the Business Association.[60]

The ethnic organizations constituted a crucial component of German ethnic life in Vancouver. They brought widely dispersed residents of German ethnic origin together and reinforced among them a sense of belonging and solidarity. They offered sociability and an opportunity to speak with others in the ethnic tongue, and thus a substitute for the kind of social life left behind in the homeland. They responded to members' desire to preserve their German cultural heritage and their ethnic traditions as well as meeting specific economic, social, and financial needs. Through the language used, the matters discussed, the promotion of contacts between fellow ethnics, the cultivation of German traditions and the organization of co-operation on the basis of a common ethnic origin, they helped to bring German ethnic citizens together into an ethnic commmunity system.[61]

On the other hand, the German organizations in Vancouver supplied a forum in which newcomers could informally become acquainted with aspects of the new environment. Thus, disorientation as a result of immigration could be minimized and

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[59]Canada Census, 1951-1971; the same was noted by Lambrou, p.37 with regard to the leaders of the Greek organizations in Vancouver.

[60]Aspiring politicans are another group of individuals that might benefit from leadership in ethnic organizations. However, the German community appears to have never produced or supported an "ethnic candidate" in the postwar decades, thereby confirming the political void in the ethnic population's group consciousness.

[61]That ethnic associations are retarding the assimilation process of minority immigrants and that their presence may be interpreted as a direct indication of ethnic community strength and persistence has been opined by a number of students of ethnicity, for example Anderson and Frideres, p.110; Breton, pp.197; Ruth Johnston, "The Influence of the Ethnic Association on the Assimilation of Its Immigrant Members," *International Migration.* vol.5 No.1 (1967), p.147; Leo Driedger and Glenn Church, "Residential Segregation within Ethnic Groups in Toronto," *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology.* vol.11 No.1 (1974).

the new arrivals could receive important information on job opportunities, Canadian social services, customs and conventions, and other pertinent pieces of advice that would help them in their settlement process. In this way, the ethnic organizations promoted immigrants' integration into both the ethnic community and the society at large.

Recruitment into the Alpen Club, the Cultural Society, or the Edelweiss Credit Union was, however, not an automatic consequence of immigrant status or ethnic origin. As a result of the ease with which most of them integrated into Canadian society, German-Canadians generally did not depend upon help or representation through ethnic organizations or on social life within the bounds of the ethnic community system. It was thus only a small portion of the ethnic population in the city that sought association with the various organizations, and most of them preferred to chose freely whether or not they wished to support the events and projects organized by a core group of social entrepreneurs in the community.

This membership or participation in the German organizations could be sought for many reasons, only one of which may have been a desire to interact with fellow ethnics or a belief in the persistence of a German sub-culture in the city. Through the high membership figures of the Benevolent Society and the Edelweiss Credit Union as opposed to membership and financial crises of the Alpen Club and Club Berlin or the difficult execution of such ethnic projects as the history of the Germans in British Columbia or the centennial fountain, Germans in Vancouver showed generally more interested in the financial, economic, and humanitarian benefits of cooperation on the basis of ethnicity than in attempts to organize the ethnic population on social, cultural, or political matters. This preference, in turn, reflected on most Germans' unwillingness to become visibly involved in activities that would have set them apart from Canadian society unless these activities rendered practical advantages such as a place in an affordable senior citizens' home, eligibility for inexpensive charter flights to Germany,

or access to credit though collateral given by fellow ethnics.

The German clubs and associations were each formed by a small group of individuals who were often connected by personal ties, who employed their common ethnic origin to meet social, cultural, economic, financial, and other needs, and who recruited others to join in these organizational expressions of ethnic identity and ethnic cohesion. The fact that the majority of Geman–Canadians in Vancouver showed indifference toward these associational forms did not necessarily reflect their completed assimilation process or a weak sense of ethnic identity. However, participation in this aspect of the German community probably tended to strengthen and increase the feeling of sharing a common culture and common needs with fellow Germans, to promote the preservation of the ethnic tongue, and to reinforce one's sense of ethnicity.

CONCLUSION

In the postwar era hundreds of thousands of German immigrants came to Canada in search of a new future. Their attempts to adapt to Canadian life resulted in two simultaneous and seemingly contradictory outcomes. One one hand German newcomers supported existing ethnic social, economic, religious, cultural, and educational institutions and also established new ones. On the other they integrated into the mainstream of Canadian society, apparently abandoning many of their ethnic traits and traditions.

German ethnic institutions were not simply transferred from the old land to the new, but emerged and developed in response to conditions encountered during settlement in Vancouver.[1] German immigrants founded their own parishes in which they could pursue religious activities in familiar forms and organize social assistance. Ethnic businesses permitted newcomers to employ their occupational expertise and ethnic connections in establishing an economic existence in Canada and to supply the local German clientele with goods and services. German language schools tried to recruit the younger generation into the German religious and linguistic community and to counteract some of the assimilating influences of the public school system. Ethnic organizations fulfilled a wide variety of ethnic needs, from entertainment to economic co–operation and the organization of welfare. The ethnic media served as a means of communication between German ethnic individuals and institutions, informed readers about aspects of life in Canada, and raised issues of concern to German–Canadians. Finally, the ethnic neighbourhood represented an economic, social, and cultural centre of the German community.

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[1] *Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalsim,* vol.4 *The Cultural Contributions of the Other Ethnic Groups* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1967), p.110; Roberto Perin, "Clio as an Ethnic: The Third Force in Canadian Historiography," *Canadian Historical Review,* vol.64 No.3 (1983), p.466; for similar perspectives on German ethnic institutions on the United States, Agnes Bretting, "Die Konfrontation der deutschen Einwanderer mit der amerikanischen Wirklichkeit in New York City im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert," *German–American Studies,* vol.27 (1982), pp.250.

Thus, German ethnic institutions and the ethnic neighbourhood performed a broad range of social, cultural, economic, and psychological functions. Together they established a buffer between the old world and the new and could help newcomers to adjust to the new world. However, immigrants of German origin did not automatically join ethnic institutions and settle in the ethnic neighbourhood. In fact, most German postwar arrivals assimilated very quickly into Canadian life, and their low degree of participation in the ethnic community seems to indicate that they often regarded ethnic structures as of little relevance for their successful settlement.

To a certain extent, the newcomers' adjustment to Canadian realities was mandated by law or required for the establishment of a new existence. Immigrants had to accept and integrate into the country's political system, economic organizations, educational system, and urban space. They also had to acquire new linguistic abilities in order to interact with other Canadians.[2] Germans' integration was facilitated by the relative absence of structural constraints in Canada,[3] and by their social, economic, and cultural characteristics. As a highly diversified and stratified group in terms of occupation, education, and social status, with a considerable proportion of skilled manual and professional manpower, they arrived at a time when the Canadian economy was open and expanding. They entered the Canadian socio-economic structure at all levels and quickly achieved incomes surpassing the average Canadian level.

German postwar immigrants also adjusted well to the linguistic requirements of the English-dominated environment. Emphasis on modern languages in the German school system, the rising educational levels of German arrivals in the 1960s, and the general impact of English in West Germany as a result of military occupation and

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[2]Cf. Edward N. Herberg, *Ethnic Groups in Canada: Adaptation and Transition* (Scarborough, Ont.: Nelson Canada, 1989), p.8; Tomatsu Shibutani and Kian M. Kiwan, *Ethnic Stratification: A Comparative Approach* (New York: Macmillan, 1965), p.55.
[3]Some economic discrimination, based on their immigrant status, seems to have occurred initially in the economic sphere; as a result of the Second World War and the atrocities committed during the National Socialist era, some social and political prejudice also may have existed.

political integration after the war, gave many German immigrants a basic knowledge of English. Most of them did not need to seek the linguistic familiarity of the ethnic community, but in fact quickly adopted the new language for their daily use.

In terms of their settlement patterns, Germans' socio-economic heterogeneity and social acceptance, in combination with their housing needs, promoted a wide residential distribution over the Greater Vancouver area, particularly in the expanding suburban municipalities. The traditional German neighbourhood in Vancouver South attracted only a very small portion of the new arrivals. Most postwar immigrants saw that it did not offer adequate accommodation, nor did they seek the ethnic solidarity and comfort the area had to offer.

The cultural similarity of Germans to the mainstream of Canadian society facilitated their widespread, individual assimilation. Generally, the postwar period witnessed the movement of cultural values and life-styles toward more universalistic patterns through influences exerted by the mass media, international popular culture, rising educational standards, and mass travel.[4] This international convergence of culture helped Germans to feel somewhat familiar with many Canadians customs and cultural institutions. Contrary to earlier immigrants who had often come from rural areas and had adhered to a conservative, tradition-bound outlook, the new immigrants increasingly came from urban centres where they had already become accustomed to a cosmopolitan style of living.

Moreover, Germans' individualistic attitudes toward marriage, combined with cultural similarities and their invisibility as a minority, resulted in a high proportion of them choosing exogeneous marriage partners. Intermarriage, in turn, promoted biological amalgamation into Canadian society, and religious as well as linguistic accommodations. Immigrant churches did not attract more than a fraction of the ethnic population.

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[4]Stephen Steinberg, *The Ethnic Myth: Race, Ethnicity, and Class in America* (New York: Atheneum, 1981), p.56, Shibutani and Kiwan, p.474.

Large sections of nominal believers among the German immigrant cohort did not seek religious guidance after their arrival in Canada, and with the exception of Mennonites, the religious orientation of those who did was usually not ethnically exclusive. Thus, dwindling fluency in the ethnic tongue, exogamy, and other aspects of assimilation led many Germans to join mainstream religious institutions such as the United Church of Canada. This religious acculturation and integration again reduced the distinctiveness of German immigrants and encouraged their interaction with non-Germans.

In addition, postwar immigrants usually were not dependent on the social assistance of the ethnic community. The rise of the welfare state and the high social status of many German arrivals in the 1950s and 1960s eroded the role of immigrant associations in individual adjustment and economic reorientation. As Germans were well-accepted and rarely faced the disadvantages often associated with minority status, they generally also did not share political objectives and gave only fledgling support to the Trans-Canada Alliance, the national umbrella organization that was intended to guard the rights of the ethnic population.

German postwar immigrants generally adjusted easily and speedily to Canadian economic and social structures and encountered little rejection from their hosts of the sort which would have forced them to take refuge within the bounds of the ethnic community. Association with fellow ethnics in German institutions was largely a matter of choice. Consequently, ethnic organizations had to compete with other other urban institutions which offered religious services, entertainment, sociability, financial services, and welfare to Vancouver society at large. The persistence of a German community in Vancouver at the same time as Germans assimilated rapidly into the mainstream of Canadian society appears to have been based on three interdependent factors: the role of personal ties among the core group of leaders and loyal members of ethnic organizations, the ability of ethnic structures to meet the basic needs of local German-Canadians, and belief in shared ethnicity as the underlying foundation of the

community.

Evidence on the closely-knit character of the leadership within German organizations and of the connections between various components of the community structure[5], strongly suggests that personal ties were an important influence on the emergence and survival of the ethnic community network.[6] Chain migrants, that is, those who had been sponsored by their German-Canadian relatives, may have been introduced into the community network by members of the organizations and parishes.[7] But while personal ties seem to have been instrumental in the formation and persistence of some ethnic structures, the viability of most German institutions in Vancouver appears to have been directly related to their ability to meet basic economic, social, and cultural needs of members of the ethnic population.

Hundreds of ethnic businesses, often located in proximity to German residential areas, were patronized by a sizeable German clientele that appreciated both the German-style goods offered and the ability to carry on economic activities in the mother tongue. The Edelweiss Credit Union attended to the banking requirements of thousands of German ethnic members. The Benevolent Society received the support of thousands of members and donors for its humanitarian project. Ethnic parishes held a cumulative membership of between 3,000 and 4,000 by the early 1970s, at which point German Saturday schools were attended by approximately 850 students. By contrast, membership and support for ethnic projects with far less tangible benefits for the

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[5]For example, Pastor Marx of the Church of the Cross was instrumental in founding the Cultural Society; Vancouver Alpen Club, Edelweiss Credit Union, and Holy Family Church shared many loyal supporters.

[6]Noel J. Crisman, "Ethnic Persistence in an Urban Setting," *Ethnicity,* vol.8 No.3 (1981), p.260, in his study of Danish-Americans in the San Fransisco Bay area, concluded that personal ties among the participants in ethnic associations were "the key to understanding community persistence in well-integrated ethnic populations."

[7]Cf. Walter D. Kamphoefner, "'Entwurzelt' oder 'verpflanzt'? Zur Bedeutung der Kettenwanderung fuer die Einwandererakkulturation in Amerika," Klaus J. Bade, ed., *Auswanderer, Wanderarbeiter, Gastarbeiter. Bevoelkerung, Arbeitsmarkt und Wanderung in Deutschland seit der Mitte des 19. Jahrhundert,* vol.I (Ostfildern: Scripta Mercaturae Verlag, 1984), pp.322.

ethnic public and for institutions that relied on the symbolic power of German ethnicity and traditions was far more limited and inconsistent.

All German structures were characterized by "ethnic diacritical markers"[8], including language, ethnic food, emphasis on common national origin and a common ethnic culture. Thereby, they appealed to German–Canadians who believed in the significance of their ethnicity as a basis for engaging with others in economic, religious, cultural, and social activites. Involvement in the ethnic community thus would appear to have been intertwined with a positive sense of ethnic origin. Yet, the correlation between involvement in the ethnic community and an awareness of one's ethnic identity was far from perfect, particularly with regard to postwar arrivals. The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Bilculturalism observed in 1967:

> The tendency of immigrants to form colonies or ghettos has been diminishing as new immigrants have become less exclusive and more sophisticated. These same factors have probably decreased interest in ethnic associations. This may not necessarily indicate that new immigrants have become less eager to maintain their cultural heritage, but only that they wish to maintain it by other means.[9]

Among many German newcomers, the cultivation and preservation of their mother tongue, their customs and traditions, predominantly took place in the home, within the circle of family and friends.[10]

The German community in Vancouver was bound together by a network of interactions among the people involved in various ethnic organizations – often simultaneously – and also among the groups and institutions of which the ethnic community system was composed. Yet, there were many forms and causes for participation, and the community itself was far from monolithic or static. Organizations consisted of a core groups of individuals who were exceptionally active in promoting a

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[8] Crisman, p.269.
[9] *Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Bilculturalism,* p.112.
[10] Cf. *Courier,* "Ethnisches Mosaik sollte sich nicht in Volkskunst erschoepfen," 14 September 1967, p.12.

German sub-culture in Canada.[11], and a larger group of passive members and marginal participants. Also, there were many causes for involvement, ranging from practical advantages such as charter flights or access to an affordable senior citizens' home to non-material ethnic needs such as the desire to enjoy German-style entertainment or to retain a sense of German culture in the second generation. Though the ethnic structures were often linked to one another and at times even shared a a symbiotic relationship, participation in one institution did not necessarily indicate acceptance of other organized expressions of German ethnic origin.

Moreover, participation in the ethnic community did not necessarily spring from resistance to aspects of Canadian society at large. The German ethnic institutions and the neighbourhood as well as the personal relations formed within them, were not incompatible with successful integration into Vancouver. In fact, the ethnic community was to a high extent integrated into, and dependent upon, the institutions of the surrounding society,[12] and ethnic institutions also changed their approaches to ethnicity in accordance with the increasing assimilation of their members.[13] The boundaries of the German ethnic community were marked by membership and participation rather than by the ethnic identity that may have characterized German-Canadians and separated them from other fellow citizens.

Ethnic identity formed a part of the individual immigrant's personality, yet it was not always operative in determining social behaviour and in shaping social organizations. Other sources of group identification, such as sex, occupation, religion, ideology, or generation, could supersede ethnic origin as the basis of association with

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[11]Cf. Hermino Schmidt, "The German-Canadians and Their Umbilical Cord: An Analysis of Immigrant Behaviour and Its Implications for Canada and Germany," Peter G. Liddell, ed., *German-Canadian Studies: Critical Approaches* (Vancouver: Canadian University Teachers of German, 1983), p.74.

[12]For a comparative perspective, see Steinberg, pp.46.

[13]For example, the ethnic parishes introduced English in their services in order to retain those members not fluent in German, such as non-German marriage partners and second generation German-Canadians.

others, especially as the cohesiveness as the German immigrant cohort was not reinforced by a high degree of residential concentration, religious monopoly, endogamy, or discrimination. Yet, although German–Canadians were highly assimilated, they may well have preserved a sense of ethnic identity that did not manifest itself visibly.

In historical studies of immigration and ethnic populations, inquiry tends to focus either on indications that ethnic culture was transferred from the old country to the new and that ethnicity served as a basis for the formation of distinct sub–communities, or on signs of immigrant assimilation. The postwar German immigrants to Canada, however, cannot be located on any one point in the continuum between the development of ethnic institutions and assimilation into mainstream structures. Ethnic institutions proliferated in response to the various needs of certain members of the ethnic population. while successful settlement and personal readjustment to the chosen environment also included most newcomers' abandonment of some of their ethnic traits and acceptance of Canadian ways. Ethnic identity and assimilation were thus not mutually exclusive phenomena. Instead, they reflected the immigrants' emancipation from habitual patterns of behaviour and their opportunity to weigh alternatives with regard to social forms and institutions, personal values, and the role of their ethnicity in the new life offered by Canada.

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