Chapter 11

Immigrants in Canada: Trends and Issues

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Introduction

International migration, here defined as the movement of people across international borders for purposes of permanent settlement, has long contributed to Canada's population growth, to its economic and political development and to its demographic and social diversity. Following the ancient settlement of Canada by the Aboriginal peoples, British and French migrants began to arrive in the 1600s. Although migration from France virtually ceased after British victory in the Seven Years War (1756-1763), British migration continued; during the 1700 and 1800s, migrants also came from the United States, Ireland, Northern Europe, and by the second half of the 19th century, many migrants were from Eastern Europe (Kelley and Trebilcock 1998; Knowles 2007).

A century later, international migration continues; indeed, it is an enduring and defining characteristic of Canada. In fact, as shown in Chart 11-1, the numbers entering Canada throughout the 1900s often were higher than those observed earlier. Precipitous declines shown in the chart primarily

reflect the difficulties of travel associated with World War I and World War II, as well as the lack of economic opportunities in Canada during the Depression years of the 1930s. The flow of migrants increased again after World War II, and by the start of the 21st century, more than 200,000 people were entering Canada yearly for permanent residence.

Chart 11-1 here

However, for students of immigration, the second half of the 20th century is noteworthy for more than just the numbers of people migrating to Canada. Seismic shifts occurred within the immigrant population with respect to source country, racial and ethnic composition, language first learned, and destination in Canada. Further, although historically migration was encouraged for purposes of settlement and to supply labour for Canada's agrarian and manufacturing economy, by the end of the century those patterns had shifted and the type of labour altered (Boyd and Vickers 2000). A paradox emerged: although recent immigrants were better educated than those entering Canada in earlier decades, by the 1990s these new arrivals were doing less well in the labour force than earlier waves of migrants. Because today's new immigrants are overwhelmingly from areas other than Europe, these altered fortunes raise the possibility that the "vertical

mosaic" advanced by Porter (1965) as based on ethnic origins is now based on race. Moreover, the economic difficulties of new migrants, however caused, prompt the question of whether their children will do as well as immigrant offspring growing up in the 1950s and 1960s.

In this chapter, we use 2001 Canadian census data from the Public Use Microdata File on Individuals (PUMF) to demonstrate these changes. After a short overview of available census data, we examine immigrant characteristics and the temporal alterations in the economic well-being of immigrants. Reflecting immigration changes in source countries, we pay particular attention to the immigrant population that consists of members of visible minorities, a designation that refers to persons of colour. We also profile the demographic, social and economic characteristics of today's immigrant offspring.

Immigration and Canada's Census

Population growth occurs when new additions - either through births or in-migration - exceed departures occurring through deaths or out-migration. International migration has always been an important contributor to Canada's population growth; with the decline in the number of children being born to couples which began in the 1970s, net migration is the most important factor fueling population growth, currently accounting

for over two-thirds of Canada's annual increase (Belanger 2003; also see www.statcan.ca/Daily/English/060927/d060927a.htm). Immigration also now contributes to Canada's increasing labour force, and could account for all of Canada's net labour force growth by 2011 (Zietsman 2007, 7). This is because migration is most likely to occur in the adult years when labour force participation is most likely. As Chart 11-2 shows, permanent residents in Canada are much less likely to be under the age of 25 than are their non-immigrant, Canadian-born, counterparts.

Chart 11-2 here

Given the importance of immigration for population and labour force growth, the Canadian census now asks every respondent to indicate the following: place of birth; country(ies) of citizenship; permanent resident status (previously called landed immigrant status) which means that a foreign born respondent has been granted the right to live in Canada permanently by the immigration authorities; and the year a person became a landed immigrant. Because respondents are asked their birth dates, it is possible to calculate information on the age of arrival for the foreign-born with permanent resident status. In addition, the census collects a rich array of demographic, social, and economic information from all

respondents, ranging from marital status, home language, ethnic origins of the respondent's ancestors, educational attainment, labour force participation, occupation, industry, and various types of income including labour market earnings.

In our analysis, we use data for the immigrant population, which excludes those who are temporarily residing in Canada and who did not answer in the affirmative to the question on landed immigrant status. Throughout the chapter, we use the terminology employed by Statistics Canada: immigrant population refers to those who are permanent residents of Canada; "non-immigrant" population refers to those who are Canadian citizens by birth (also referred to in this chapter as the Canadian-born). Although most non-immigrants are born in Canada, a small number are born outside Canada to Canadian citizens.

The 1996 and 2001 censuses include three noteworthy additions to the extensive list of questions already in place. Most recently, the 2001 census added questions on the birthplaces of the respondent's mother and father for those respondents aged 15 and older. These questions had not been asked since the 1971 census. In combination with data on the respondent's birthplace and landed immigrant status, the birthplace of parent questions make it easy to identify whether Canadian-born respondents over age 14 are the offspring of immigrants. In addition, the 2001 census asks respondents to

report the languages used most often at work. The 1996 and 2001 censuses also ask each respondent to indicate the ethnic or cultural group(s) of his or her ancestors and to self identify as White, Chinese, South Asian, Black, Filipino, Latin American, Southeast Asian, Arab, West Asian, Japanese, Korean, or as a member of another group (the order of the groups is determined by their relative size in the previous census). This question provides data on Canada's "visible minority" population. The term "visible minority" was first used in the early 1980s to denote groups, other than the Aboriginal peoples, who are distinctive by virtue of their race, colour, or "visibility," and it was integral to the development of federal employment equity legislation and program requirements of the mid-1980s. In the 2001 PUMF, information is provided for the Chinese, South Asian and Black populations – the largest visible minority populations in Canada. The non-visible minority category includes those who identify as members of Canada's Aboriginal peoples, although most of the non-visible minority population is "white."

Entry Cohorts and their Demographic Footprints

The term "immigrant" or "permanent resident" population of Canada artificially creates an allusion of homogeneity. In fact, the immigrant population is an amalgamation of groups that have

entered at different times. These entry cohorts differ from each other with respect to demographic profile, stages of the life cycle, and related characteristics, such as home ownership.

To illustrate this point, consider comparisons between the non-immigrant (or Canadian-born) population and the immigrant population. Table 11-1 (Columns 1 and 2) tells us that in comparison with the Canadian-born population, the immigrant population is older, far more likely to be legally married, and less likely never to have been married. Although differences in family type are not large, the immigrant population has higher percentages with children over the age of 15, and the average size of immigrant economic families is larger, a fact consistent with a higher percentage living in multiple families. Compared to the non-immigrant or Canadian-born population, the immigrant population has slightly higher percentages who are renters and living in households with incomes below Statistics Canada Low Income Cutoffs. This term, often shortened to LICOs, represents a series of income thresholds, based on family expenditure data, below which families will devote a larger share of income to the necessities of food, shelter, and clothing than would the average family (Paquet 2002).

Table 11-1 here

Yet as noted previously, the total immigrant population is a composite of groups arriving in Canada at different times. Chart 11-3 shows that over one-third of Canada's immigrant population has arrived since the early 1990s. This figure attests to the increasing numbers of persons admitted to Canada late in the 20th century (see Chart 11-1). But earlier waves of migrants also are present – indeed almost two-thirds of Canada's immigrant population arrived before 1991. Because the prevalent pattern is to migrate in adulthood, many of these earlier migrants are now older. As shown in Table 11-1, the average age of those who arrive before 1961 is 67 compared to declining average ages for groups arriving thereafter. Many individuals in the pre-1961 cohort can be said to have aged "in place" after immigrating as adults, or to a lesser extent, as children. In contrast, the most recent entry cohort, those arriving in the 1990s, are primarily working-age adults, and the children who accompany them add to the more youthful age structure. Four decades from now, this cohort will represent a footprint of previous migration; the group now aged 0-14 will be 40-54, and those in their 40s will be 80 and older.

Chart 11-3 here

Chronological age is highly associated with stages in the life cycle. It therefore comes as no surprise to find that compared to more recent arrivals, immigrants arriving in earlier times are less likely to be single and more likely to be widowed, divorced, or separated. Reflecting the higher incidence of widowhood with advancing age, those arriving before 1961 are most likely to be living alone in non-family settings and to either have no children present or only children aged 15 and older. At the same time, they are more likely than those arriving in the 1980s and beyond to own their own homes. And compared to groups arriving in the 1980s and 1990s, those arriving before 1961 and during the 1960s and 1970s have lower percentages living in households with incomes below the low income cutoffs.

Immigrants arriving during the 1990s have an age profile that is close to that of the non-immigrant population. But while different age characteristics across entry cohorts help explain different marital patterns and family structure, on select dimensions, Canada’s newest immigrants are unlike the entry cohorts preceding them and unlike the non-immigrant population. Recent arrivals are the most likely to be part of multiple families residing together; over half are renting (compared to slightly over one-quarter of the non-immigrant population) and over one-third live in households with incomes below the low

income cutoffs. By definition, recent arrivals have not been in Canada very long, and these findings may simply reflect the initial adjustment stages that come with international migration. However, in combination with other indicators discussed later in this chapter, they fuel concern that immigrants arriving in today's Canada may not be doing as well as those arriving earlier in the 20th century.

Altered Geographies and Cultural Characteristics

Recent arrivals differ from the Canadian-born and earlier cohorts in other ways. For one thing, they are more likely to live in Canada's large cities. To be sure, immigrants have always located where work can be found. Early in the 20th century, this meant settling in both agrarian areas and industrial cities (Boyd and Vickers 2000). But today's immigrants are more likely to live in big cities (Schellenberg 2004). As shown in Chart 11-4, big-city residence is especially high for those arriving in the past ten years. Nearly three-quarters (73 percent) of those who entered Canada between 1991 and 2001 reside in Montreal, Toronto, or Vancouver. Toronto is the major residential and work area for permanent residents: nearly four out of ten of all permanent residents live there, with higher percentages for recent arrivals to Canada.

Chart 11-4 here

The concentration of immigrants in Toronto means that over half of all immigrants reside in Ontario, followed by British Columbia and Quebec (Table 11-2). These patterns of urban and provincial concentration are accompanied by increasing diversity in these areas.

As noted earlier, changes in Canada's immigration policy have transformed the places of immigrant origin. Starting in the 1960s, altered immigration regulations and legislation, enshrined in the 1976 Immigration Act, removed national origins as a criterion of admissibility. In *defacto* and *dejure* operation since Confederation, and reaffirmed in Canada's post-war 1953 Immigration Act, the national origin criterion restricted entry to persons from the UK and European countries. The new admissibility criteria adopted in the 1960s and thereafter are based on family reunification, economic contribution, and humanitarian concerns. Provided prospective immigrants or the principal applicant in their immediate family meet one of these criteria, persons from around the world can be granted legal entrance to Canada as permanent residents.

Table 11-2 here

The effects of theses changes were evident by the end of the 1970s and remained visible throughout the 1980s and 1990s. Table 11-2 shows the increasing percentages of immigrants born outside the USA or Europe by the decade of their legal admission into Canada. Of those immigrants enumerated in the 2001 census, 94 percent of those arriving before 1961 were born in the USA, the UK, or elsewhere in Europe; only 22 percent of immigrants arriving in the 1990s came from these areas, with the balance coming from other areas of the world. Of those arriving between 1991 and 2001, half were from Southern Asian and East and Southeastern Asian countries.

Country and region of origin are closely associated with membership in visible minority populations, and recent immigrants are also more likely to be visible minorities than were immigrants in earlier times. According to the 2001 census, of those arriving before 1961 only three percent are visible minorities, a figure slightly lower than today’s Canadian-born population (Table 11-2). However, with the increased admission of immigrants from Asia, Africa, the Caribbean, and Latin and South America, the near absence of visible minorities in the immigrant population is reversed: of those entering Canada in 1991-2001 and enumerated in the 2001 census, nearly three-quarters (74 percent) are members of visible minority groups, with Chinese and South Asian groups predominating.

Altered source countries are also associated with religious and linguistic diversity. Table 11-2 shows that slightly under one third of all immigrants have a religion that is not Catholic or Protestant compared to only six percent of the Canadian-born; the percentage declaring non-Catholic, non-Protestant religions increases with recent arrival. Of those arriving 1991-2001, over four out of ten declare themselves non-Catholic, non-Protestant. Immigrants also are more likely than the Canadian-born to declare no religious affiliation, and again percentages are highest for those entering Canada in the 1990s. Similar trends are found for indicators of language use. Table 11-2 shows that new arrivals are the most likely to have mother tongue languages – the first language learned and still understood – are not English and/or French; over three-quarters of those arriving in the 1990s speak a language other than English and/or French at home. Studies suggest that lack of language proficiency in host country language(s) can create barriers to learning for school-age children and may reduce economic opportunities for immigrants (Boyd 1999; Chiswick and Miller 2003).

Diversity and Diverse Outcomes

Chinese, South Asian, and Black populations are the largest visible minority groups in Canada (Table 11-2); most are foreign-born, although there is a sizeable Canadian-born Black

population as a result of early migration in the aftermath of the American Revolution. Having fought in the British Army, Black United Loyalists were promised land, and the majority settled in Nova Scotia. More came to Ontario via the Underground Railroad before the Civil War (Milan and Tran 2004; Walker 1980). More recently, Black immigrants have come from Caribbean countries, as well as Latin America and African countries. Chinese began arriving in the 1840s, although numbers were legislatively suppressed until immigration changes in the 1960s and 1970s. Most came from China, Hong Kong and Taiwan (Chiu, Tran, and Flanders 2005; Lindsay 2007). Similarly, the South Asian visible minority group comes from many different countries. Like Chinese, their migration was restricted by immigration laws before the regulatory and legislative changes of the 1960s and 1970s. Today, the largest groups are from India, Sri Lanka, and Pakistan, accounting for almost three-quarters (72.5 percent) of the immigrant population in Canada (Tran, Kaddatz and Allard 2005).

These visible minority groups differ from each other and from non-visible minority groups, not just in terms of their histories and geographical origins, but also in terms of demographic, social, and economic characteristics. Table 11-3 provides information on these groups aged 25-64 by sex and by period of arrival from the 1970s on. We see that Canadian-born

members of visible minority groups are younger than their foreign-born counterparts, with South Asians being the youngest. Their relative younger age profile reflects the fact that many are children of immigrants who arrived in the 1970s and 1980s. As observed in Table 11-1, among the immigrant populations, all groups entering earlier tend to be older than more recent arrivals.

Table 11-3 here

In terms of socio-cultural characteristics, educational attainments are highest for those arriving recently and for the Canadian-born. These trends are consistent with the younger age profiles of the Canadian-born and new arrivals, but they also reflect changes in immigration regulations from the mid-1990s on that give preference to the admission of high-skilled, and thus highly educated, immigrants. However, differences exist between the non-visible minority and visible minority populations in the percentages holding bachelor degrees or higher. Of the non-immigrant, non-visible minority population, a comparatively low percentage have bachelor degrees or higher; among visible minorities, Black Canadian-born and select entry cohorts have low percentages compared to Chinese and South Asian groups.

In part because of migration from English-speaking countries in the Caribbean, Black immigrants have the lowest percentages speaking languages other than English or French in the home. Chinese immigrants are most likely of all groups to speak a non-official language in the home, and 95 percent of those arriving during the 1990s do so.

The majority of all groups are in the 2001 labour force, but women are slightly less likely than men to be participants. Women are also more likely than men to be in part-time employment, a pattern thought to reflect their greater domestic responsibilities. Labour force participation rates are lower for recent arrivals of both sexes, with Chinese who arrived between 1991 and 2001 having the lowest rates of involvement. For all immigrant groups, the percentages unemployed or employed in part-time positions are highest for those who entered Canada during the 1990s; but the Black population tends to have higher unemployment rates than other groups. Explanations of the lower labour force participation of recent arrivals include the need to take time to get settled, language difficulties, general unfamiliarity with Canada, and employer-based discrimination against recent arrivals lacking Canadian experience.

When people face difficulty in finding employment, some may choose self employment. Low levels of language proficiency in the host country language(s) may cause others to look for work

in an ethnic setting that does not require host country language skills. The two responses may be intertwined – some analysts suggest that self-employment is an indicator of ethnic entrepreneurial activities and participation in an ethnic-based economy (Li 2000; Mata and Pendakur 1999). But defining participation in an ethnic economy requires information on the ethnicity of co-workers, and the Canadian census does not collect this information. However, as shown in Table 11-3, self-employment rates are low for all groups, with the exception of men who are non-visible minorities and Chinese immigrants. Over half of Chinese immigrants arriving between 1991 and 2001 are working in settings where neither English nor French is most often used; this is also true for one in five recently arrived South Asian immigrants (Table 11-3, last row). Canadian research further suggests that Chinese are among the groups most likely to work in settings where co-workers are also Chinese (Fong and Ooka 2002).

Labour Market Inequalities

Judging from labour force participation rates, unemployment rates and the percentages in part-time work, recently arrived immigrants do not seem to be doing as well as those who arrived earlier. However, because census data at one point in time is cross-sectional, this conclusion risks confounding age and

period effects. We have already seen that persons who arrived earlier are older, and this might underlie their improved economic status compared with more recent arrivals. As well, immigrants who entered Canada in the 1970s came in a different economic time that may have influenced the rapidity with which they became economically established. Meanwhile, the recession of the early 1990s may have been a factor suppressing the economic integration of those who arrived during or shortly after this time.

That said, a number of indicators and studies that compare recent arrivals across censuses confirm that today's arrivals are not doing as well as previous entry cohorts. As our findings suggest, immigrants who entered Canada in the 1990s were less likely to be employed in 2000 compared to the Canadian-born or to immigrants who arrived earlier. Additionally, comparisons across censuses show that the employment gap between those arriving within ten years of each specific census and either the Canadian-born or immigrants arriving earlier widens with each successive census, and the employment gap is largest in 2001 (Heisz, LaRochelle-Côté, Bordt and Das 2005).

Multivariate analyses of immigrant earnings strongly support an image of recently arrivals not doing as well as groups who entered Canada in previous decades. Comparisons of the earnings of new arrivals across censuses from 1961 on

indicate that the relative entry earnings of those who arrived in the 1990s have declined over time. Immigrant men who arrived between 1995 and 1999 had estimated earnings in their first year in Canada that were, on average, 24 percent lower than their counterparts who arrived between 1965 and 1969 (Aydemir and Skuterud 2005; also see Frenette and Morissette 2005 for comparisons of entry cohorts between 1981 and 2001).

Further, the earnings gap between immigrant and Canadian-born men widened from 11 percent in 1980 to 33 percent in 1995, before declining to 22 in 2000. Similar trends exist in the Canadian-born/immigrant earnings gap for women. Studies also suggest that the time it takes for the wages of new cohorts to catch up to those of the Canadian born is getting longer (Frenette and Morissette 2005).

Table 11-4 provides additional evidence for the deteriorating condition of new arrivals, using cross sectional data for 2001. Again, data are provided for the Canadian-born and immigrant groups, distinguished by membership in visible and non-visible groups for women and men aged 25-64. The table provides information on percentages employed in management and high-skill occupations, using the National Occupational Classification developed by Human Resources and Social Development Canada (no date). High-skill occupations usually require a university degree. The wages and self-employment

earnings of the population in 2000, asked of respondents to the 2001 census, also are provided. Persons who arrived in 2000 or 2001 are omitted, since they would not have a full year of potential earnings in Canada.

Table 11-4 here

For persons who have bachelor degrees or higher and have worked in 2000 and/or 2001, Table 11-4 gives the percentages employed in managerial or high-skill occupations. These show that employment in these occupations declines for recent arrivals; moreover, visible minority immigrants are less likely to be employed in these occupations. If the percentages are expressed as a ratio to that observed for non-immigrants (Canadian-born) who are not members of visible minority groups, the pattern becomes even clearer. Only immigrant Chinese men arriving in the 1970s and non-immigrant Chinese men do as well or better than this reference group; compared to non-visible non-immigrant men, recently arrived South Asian and Black men who hold bachelor degrees are substantially less likely to be in managerial and high-skill employment. Recently arrived South Asian immigrant women also are very unlikely to hold such employment.

The second panel of Table 11-4 shows the wage and self-employment earnings, first for all earners and then for those who are full-time, full-year workers. This latter designation removes variations that might stem from differences between groups with respect to part-time work (see Table 11-3) and the number of weeks worked in 2000. Again, selecting non-immigrants who are not visible minorities as the reference group shows declining earnings for recent arrival cohorts. Even among full-time, full-year workers, those arriving in Canada in 1991-1999 earn far less than do immigrants arriving earlier and the non-visible minority Canadian-born. The population of Black men arriving in 1991-1999 earns 58 percent while South Asian women earn 64 percent of the wages and salaries received by non-visible Canadian-born men and women.

A number of explanations exist for the declining labour market conditions for immigrants. A recent report concludes that approximately one-third of the deterioration in the earnings of new immigrants appears to be the result of a decline in the value of foreign labour market experience. This decline has occurred almost exclusively among those from Canada's non-traditional source regions, which include Eastern Europe, Africa, and Asia. The report finds that the group of immigrants who arrived during the late 1990s came from different nations and spoke different languages than those of the late 1960s.

Roughly one-third of the earnings deterioration was associated with these compositional factors.

Other factors have contributed to the earnings decline. Young Canadian-born workers have not done well in recent years when they first enter the labor force, for example, and the possibility remains that all new entrants, including immigrants, are having entry related difficulties (Picot and Sweetman 2005). In addition, immigrants today are competing against Canadian-born workers who are much better educated than in the past; as a consequence, the relative educational advantage enjoyed by immigrants has shrunk, and this may be affecting their employment opportunities (Reitz 2001). In particular, there is evidence that foreign degrees are discounted by employers (Alboim, Finne and Meng 2005). Finally, discrimination – defined as treating people with equal skills differently with respect to hiring, promotion, and pay - may be an important factor, particularly for visible minorities (Pendakur and Pendakur 1998; but see Yoshida and Smith 2008).

The Next Generation: Immigrant Offspring

Growing awareness that immigrants, particularly recent immigrants, are not doing as well as the Canadian-born in the labour market of the 1990s and beyond raises the question of whether their offspring will share the same fate. At the heart

of the question are two competing perspectives. One argues that while immigrants bear the transition costs of changing countries, in a receiving society like Canada which is governed by principles of equal opportunity and fairness, children raised in Canada will do much better and be indistinguishable from generations more removed from the migration experience. The second emphasizes that ethnic and racial diversities can serve as markers of difference and can become the basis of discrimination and thus stratification. According to this second perspective, the offspring of visible minority immigrants will continue to do less well than the white majority precisely because racialization will affect all facets of their lives, including their labour market experiences.

These two perspectives are at the heart of three different models, developed initially by American researchers, regarding the futures of immigrant offspring. The first is termed the straight-line model; it depicts the steady socio-economic improvement and upward social mobility of each successive generation further removed from the migration experience. The second model also envisions growing improvement across generations, but sees this improvement as occurring within the confines of a well-developed ethnic community, complete with ethnic businesses and institutions. The third sees stagnation and even downward mobility that derive from the racialization of

immigrant offspring who develop cultures oppositional to participation in main-stream institutions, including schools and the labour force (Boyd 2000, 2002; Portes and Zhou 1993).

Because of the type and limited number of questions asked in the census, our PUMF data offer incomplete insight into which perspectives and which models best describe the experiences of today's immigrant offspring in Canada. However, census data provide socio-demographic profiles and allow us to focus on those outcomes that are measured by the census, such as educational attainment, labour force participation, occupations, and earnings. These indicators can yield preliminary insight into how well or poorly the children of immigrants are doing.

In keeping with previous research, successive generations of immigrant offspring are divided into three main groups. The 1.5 generation refers to persons who immigrated as children, usually before the age of 12. They are called the "1.5 generation" since they are like their first-generation parents in being foreign-born; however, they share with the Canadian-born many of the childhood socializing influences of the receiving society, including education. The second generation consists of immigrant offspring who are born in the receiving country but who have one or both foreign-born parents. The third-plus generation describes the Canadian-born with Canadian-born parents.

As is true when studying immigrants, research into successive generations of their offspring must contend with the demographic footprint or the legacy of past immigration flows. Children of immigrants who entered Canada in the post-World War II period primarily were born in the late 1940s through the 1960s. As a result, they are much older than the children of immigrants who arrived from the mid-1970s on. We see these differences in age composition in Chart 11-5 for the 1.5, second and third-plus generations aged 15 and older (questions about parental birthplace were not asked of those under 15). The vast majority of the non-visible minority population is age 35 and older (between 64 and 71 percent). By comparison, less than two out of ten (17 and 15 percent) of the 1.5 and second generation who are members of visible minority groups are age 35 and older. Over half are between 20 and 34, and another third are between 15 and 19. The older age profile of the third-plus generation reflects the predominance of Chinese and Black populations; as indicated previously, their migration began in the late 1700 and 1800s, respectively.

Chart 11-5 here

As well, because immigrants arriving at different times have had somewhat different settlement patterns, there are

differences between the non-visible and visible minority generations in the propensity to live in Census Metropolitan Areas. As shown in Chart 6, the third-plus non-visible minority population is the least likely to be living in one of the 22 CMAs found in the 2001 PUMF, with barely half living in the designated cities. In contrast, over nine out of ten of the 1.5 and second-generation visible minority offspring live in these areas, with most concentrating in Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver.

Chart 11-6 here

These demographic footprints affect socio-economic comparisons of visible minority offspring with non-visible minority offspring. One group is younger and living in large urban areas; the other is older and less likely to live in cities. These differentials can affect conclusions derived from comparisons between the two. Distortion is particularly likely if the older, less urban non-visible minority third-plus generation is selected as the reference group, representing the dominant main-stream population in Canada. To minimize these distortions, we study only the generations aged 20-34 who are living in Census Metropolitan Areas. Table 11-5 shows some of

the differences and similarities between generations distinguished by visible minority status for this population.

Table 11-5 here

The data in Table 11-5 produce three conclusions. First, the third-plus generation non-visible minority population is the least likely of all generational and visible minority groups to have been attending school in the previous year, the most likely to be in the labour force, the least likely to work part-time or be unemployed. Second, and conversely, for the most part, the 1.5 and second-generation visible minority groups are more likely than the non-visible minority, third-plus generation group to be attending school, holding bachelor degrees or higher, and working part-time. However, compared with Chinese and South Asian 1.5 and second generations, the Black population is slightly less likely to be attending school, less likely to hold bachelor degrees or higher, and slightly more likely to be unemployed. In the US, the Haitian 1.5 and second generation is used as the template for the model that posits racialization, exclusion, and downward mobility (Portes and Zhou 1993). In Canada, further analysis is hampered by small numbers and the absence of information on many specific origin countries for Black immigrant offspring in the Public Use Microdata Files.

Nonetheless, our findings show that of all visible minority groups, Black immigrant offspring are doing less well on select indicators associated with labour market success.

Although Table 11-5 provides information on school attendance, labour force participation, and part-time work, these activities are intertwined for populations who are primarily in their 20s. Persons attending school often work part-time, and as new labour force entrants or as returning entrants during the summer months, they may experience relatively high unemployment rates. Table 11-5 confirms this by showing the percentages actually working full-time, full-year jobs and not attending school for 2000. Approximately 40 percent of the non-visible minority generational groups aged 20-34 are full-time, full-year workers who also are not attending school. Percentages are lower for the 1.5 and second-generation visible minority groups, suggesting that many of these individuals are still at the starting gate, not fully incorporated into the labour market.

Such group differences can distort occupational and earnings comparisons, particularly when one group is more likely to be working part-time in occupations viewed as temporary and not likely to be held after schooling is complete. To standardize such comparisons, occupation and earnings are examined for generational and visible minority groups aged 20-34

who work full-time, full-year, are not attending school, and are living in CMAs. Mirroring data presented in Table 11-4 for non-immigrants and immigrants, Table 11-6 gives the percentages of this core labour force population employed in managerial or high-skill occupations for those holding bachelor degrees or higher. Average annual wage and self-employment earnings also are presented.

Table 11-6 here

Comparing these indicators of labour market success in relationship to the indicators observed for the non-visible, third-plus generation generates two conclusions. First, variations exist across generation and visible minority groups with respect to the percentages holding managerial or high-skill occupations. The 1.5 and second-generation women who are members of visible minority groups other than Chinese, South Asian, and Black are far less likely to hold managerial or high-skill occupations, as are Black second-generation men. Conversely, the following groups are more likely than the third-plus non-visible minority group to hold these occupations: 1.5 generation Chinese women; 1.5 and second-generation Chinese men; 1.5 generation South Asian men. Second, the generational and visible minority group variability with respect to occupation exists to a lesser

extent with respect to earnings. Relative to the third-plus non-visible minority female population, women who are 1.5 and second-generation Chinese or South Asian have annual earnings that are often substantially higher. For men, those who are 1.5 or second-generation Chinese have higher earnings on average than third-plus non-visible minority men. However, among women, Black 1.5 and second-generation populations have lower earnings on average, as do 1.5 generation Black men (the Black second generation has higher earnings).

In sum, when third-plus non-visible minority women and men are the comparison groups, the occupational and earnings profiles for visible minority immigrant offspring are highly variable. Some groups, particularly Chinese women and men have earnings that exceed that of their third-plus non-visible minority counterparts. For other groups, patterns are less straight-forward, demonstrating both under- and over-achievements. In the absence of clear-cut patterns, one possible conclusion is that it is premature to study the labour market fortunes of immigrant offspring, given their relative youth. Nonetheless, the one group that appears least well off is the Black immigrant offspring population, although even here, variations exist depending on the generation and the indicator.

Conclusion

Canada's immigrants are not a homogenous group. In response to revised immigration policies, immigrants to Canada now come from many different countries all over the world. Even so, migrants who arrived earlier in the 20th century have contributed to the diversity of the immigrant population. In its most common Canadian usage, the term "diversity" refers to the kaleidoscope of ethnic and phenotypic characteristics that underlie racial categorization. This chapter demonstrates that immigrants are diverse in other ways – in their age composition, family characteristics, geographical location, religions, languages, educational attainments, and labour market characteristics. Such variation is especially evident when we distinguish among immigrants on the basis of when they first arrived in Canada.

The growth in the visible minority immigrant population has coincided with the growing concern that arrivals during the 1990s are not doing as well economically as earlier cohorts. This chapter confirms this trend of diminishing fortunes by comparing the occupation and earnings of non-immigrant and immigrant groups, defined for both groups by non-visible and visible minority status and for immigrants by period of arrival.

The experiences of recent immigrants direct attention to the fate of their offspring. Here too, Canada's 1.5 and second generation bear the imprint of previous immigration patterns. Admittedly, visible minority immigrant offspring are still quite

young, having been born in the 1980s and beyond; most live in census metropolitan areas. Many are still attending school and with the exception of the Black population, they are more likely than the non-visible minority population to seek bachelor degrees or higher. At this point, few are working at full-time, full-year jobs, and many are still in transition from school to work. How will these young people fare in the workforce of tomorrow? This will only be known when we see the results of future censuses.

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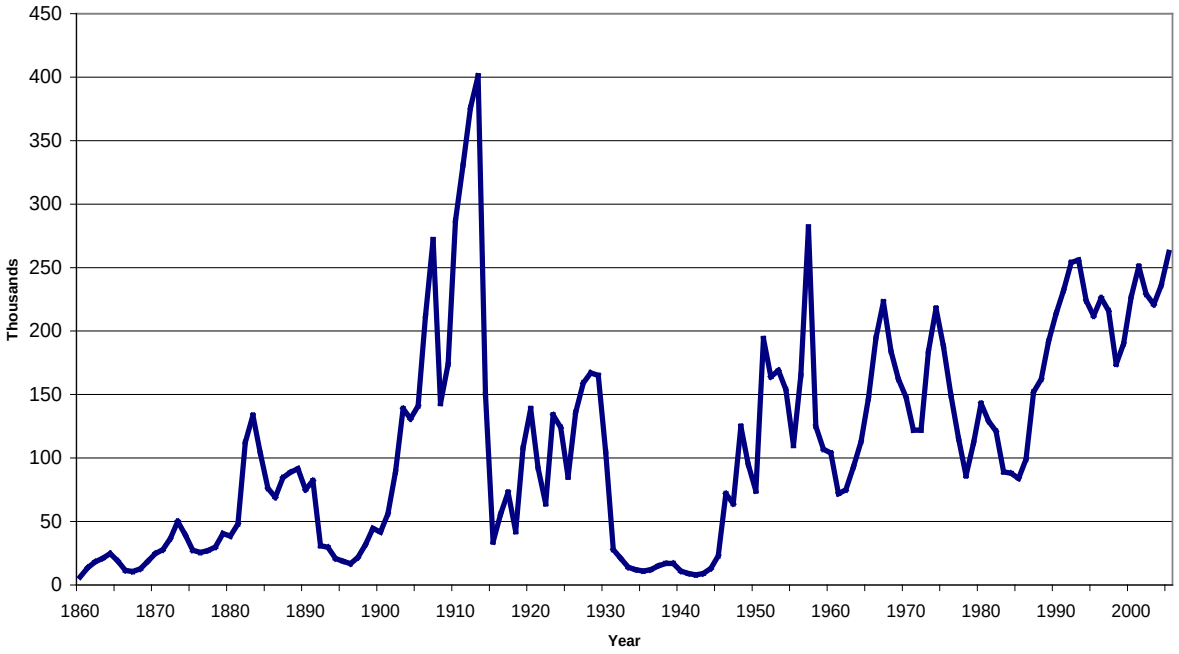
Chart 11-1: Canada's International Migration Flows, 1860-2005



Source: Canada. Citizenship and Immigration. 2002. Facts and Figures 2002. www.cic.gc.ca/english/pub/facts2002/immigration/immigration_1.html and Canada. Citizenship and Immigration. 2005. Facts and Figures 2005. www.cic.gc.ca/english/pub/facts2005/overview/01.html

Chart 11-2: Age-Sex Pyramid for Immigrants and Non-immigrants[(a)], Canada, 2001

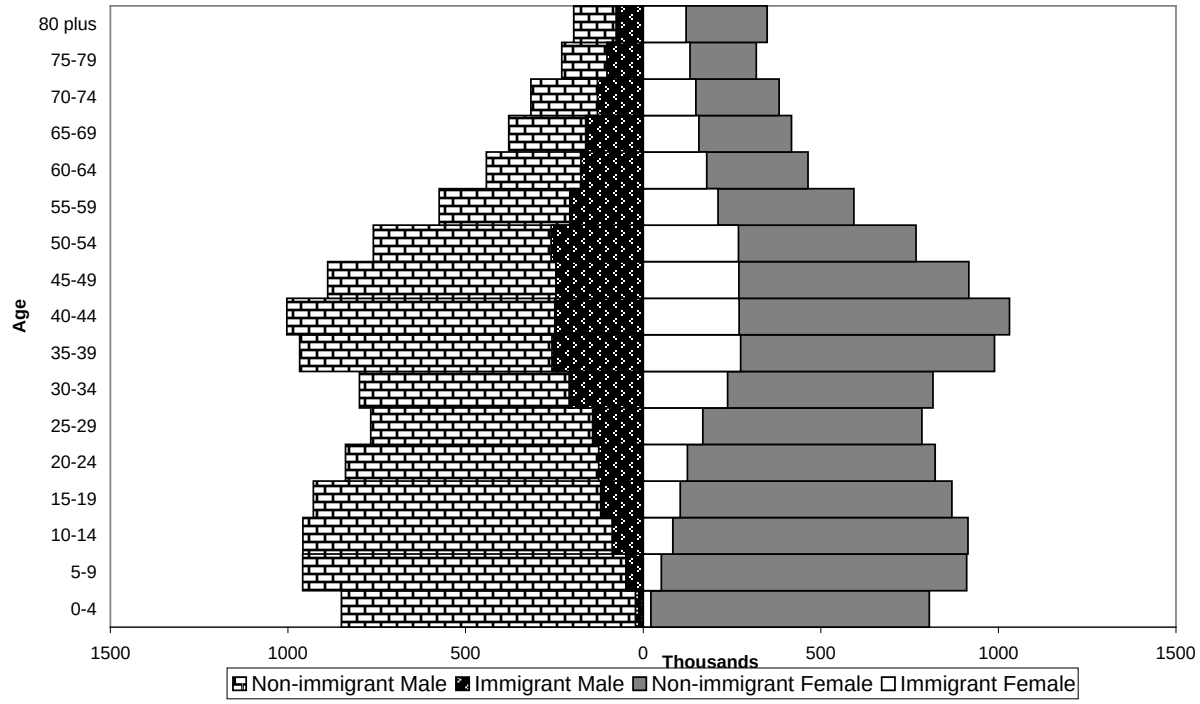


Chart 11-3: Percentage of the Immigrant Population by Period of Arrival, Canada 2000

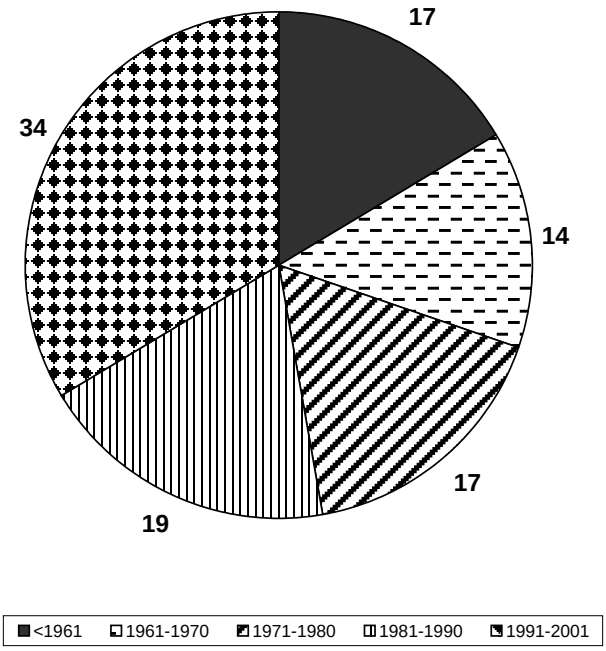


Chart 11-4: Census metropolitan Area of Residence for Non-Immigrants and Immigrants, by Period of Arrival, Canada, 2001

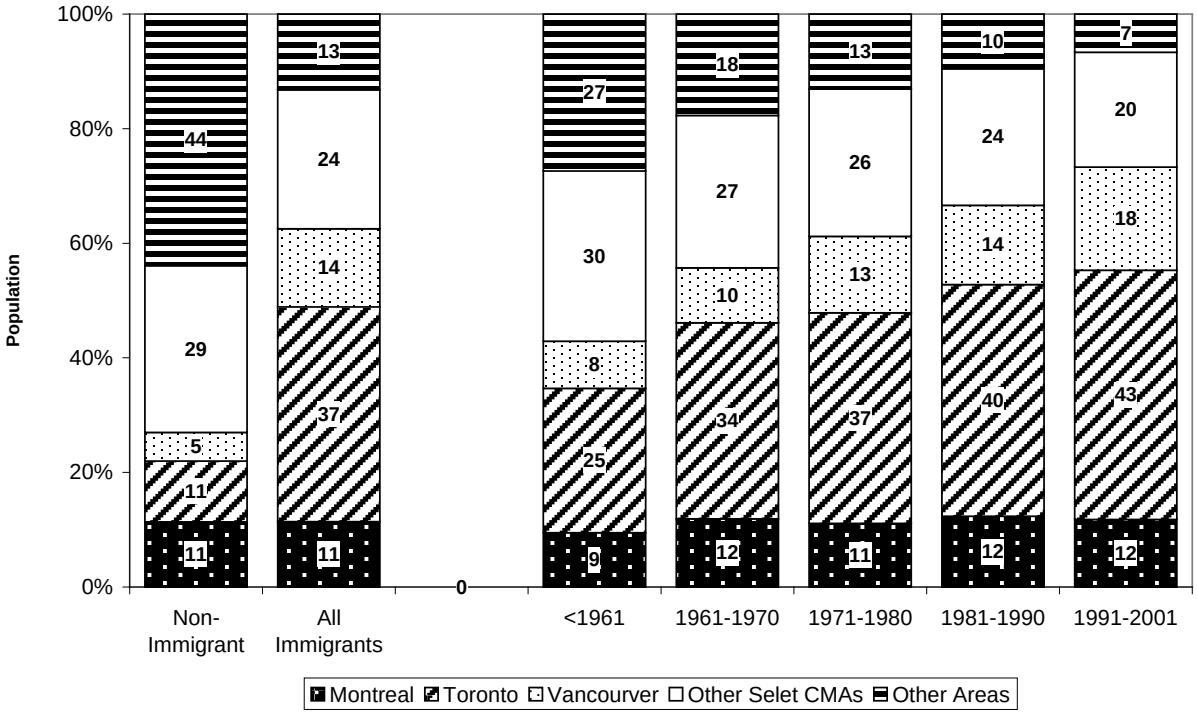


Chart 11-5: Age Distribution of Non-Visible and Visible Minority Populations for the 1.5, 2nd and 3rd-Plus Generations, Age 15 and Older, Canada, 2001

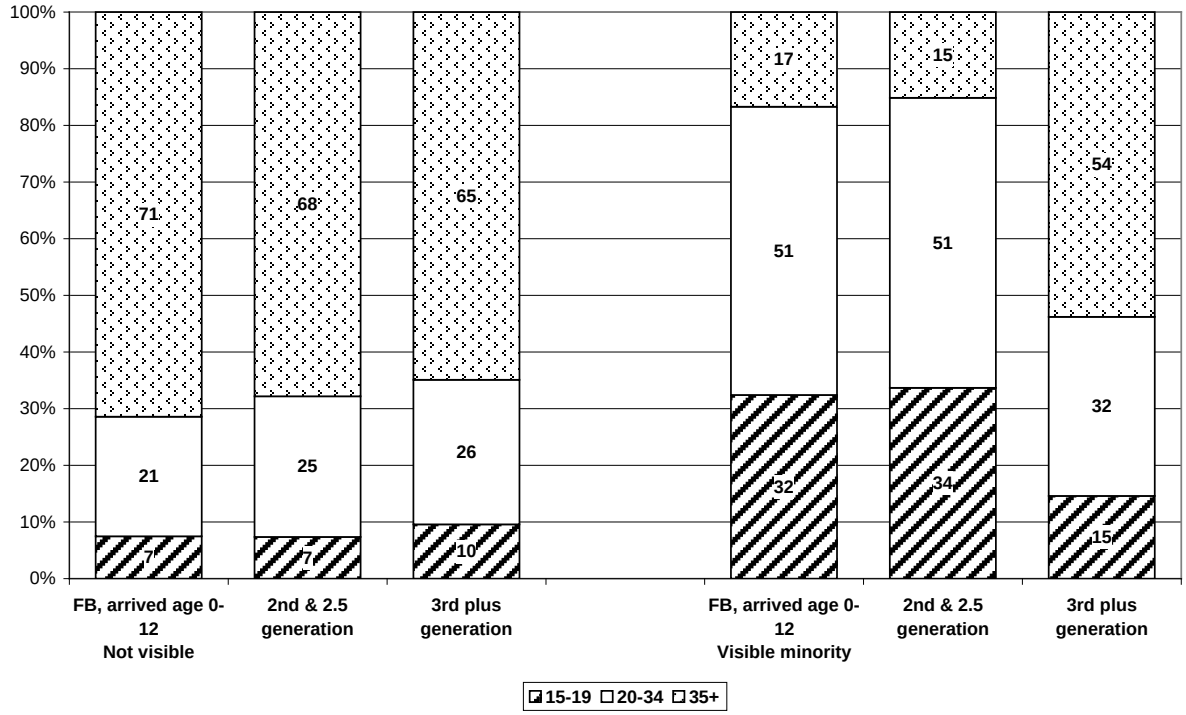


Chart 11-6: Percentages Living in CMAs for Non-Visible and Visible Minority Populations for the 1.5, 2nd and 3rd-Plus Generations, Age 15 and Older, Canada, 2001

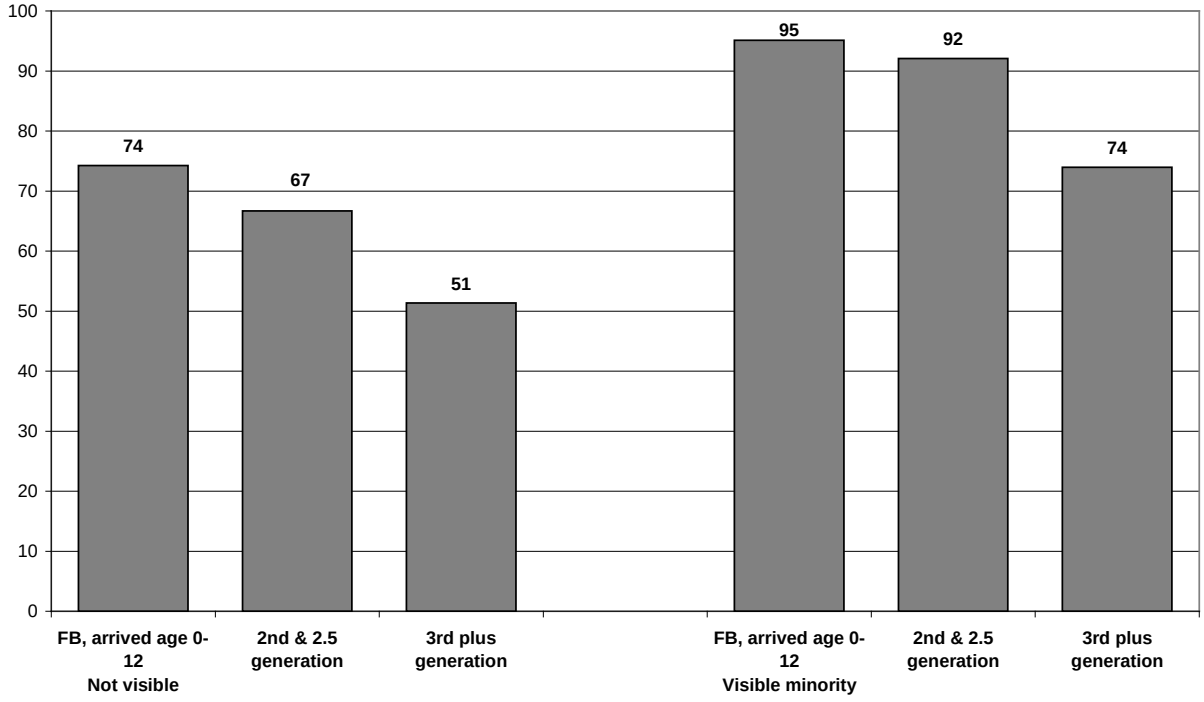


Table 11-1: Select Demographic, Family andd Household Characteristics for the Non-Immigrant and Immigrant Populations, by Period of Arrival, Canada 2001

		Immigrant Population[(b)]					
	Non-Immigrant[(a)]	Total	<1961	1961-1970	1971-1980	1981-1990	1991-2001
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Numbers, in '000s	24004	5434	898	741	926	1036	1833
Percentage		100	17	14	17	19	34
Average Age	35	46	67	56	49	41	33
Age Groups	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
0-14	22	6	- - -	- - -	- - -	2	16
15-24	14	9	- - -	- - -	2	15	16
25-64	52	67	39	76	85	73	63
65 and Older	11	19	61	24	13	9	5
Marital Status	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Single, Never Married	45	22	4	7	13	28	39
Legally Married	36	60	66	71	66	57	52
Common-Law	9	4	3	4	5	4	2
Other [(c)]	10	14	27	17	15	11	7
Family Type	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Married or Common-Law	72	71	68	74	71	69	70
Single Parent Family	11	9	6	7	9	11	9
Multiple Family	3	9	2	5	7	11	13
Non-Family, 1 Person	10	9	21	12	9	6	4
Non-Family, 2 Persons	3	3	2	2	3	3	3
Presense of Children	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
No Child Present	54	43	64	43	34	39	41
One or More < Age 6	14	16	1	7	13	19	26
One or More, Ages 6-14	16	17	6	14	20	23	18
One or More, Ages 15 Plus	16	25	30	36	34	19	15
Average Size of Economic[(d)] Family	3.2	3.4	2.3	2.9	3.3	3.8	3.9
Average Size of Census[(e)] Family	3.1	3.0	2.1	2.6	3.0	3.3	3.4
Accomodation	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Renter	28	32	16	16	23	32	51
Owner- Condominium	4	8	8	7	8	9	9
Owner - Other Types	69	60	76	76	70	59	40
Density (rooms per person)	2.6	2.3	3.4	2.9	2.4	2.0	1.7
% in Households with 2000 Income $50,000 or More	58	54	46	62	67	61	45
% Living in Households Below the Low Income Cutoffs[(f)]	15	22	14	12	14	20	35

(a) The non-immigrant population refers to those who are Canadian citizens by birth.
(b) The immigrant population refers to those who are landed immigrants; these individuals have been granted the right to live in Canada permanently by immigration authorities.
(c) Includes legally separated, divorced and widowed who are not in common-law unions.
(d) An economic family consists of two or more household members who are related to each other by blood, marriage, common-law or adoption.
(e) A census family is composed of a married couple or two persons living common-law, with or without children, or of a lone parent living with at least one child in the same dwelling).

Table 11-2: Select Geographical and Socio-Cultural Characteristics of the Non-Immigrant and Immigrant Populations, by Period of Arrival, Canada 2001

		Immigrant Population[b]					
	Non-Immigrant[a]	Total	<1961	1961-1970	1971-1980	1981-1990	1991-2001
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
CMA Place of Residence	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Montreal	11	11	9	12	11	12	12
Ottawa-Hull	4	3	3	3	3	4	4
Toronto	11	37	25	34	37	40	43
Calgary	3	4	3	3	4	4	4
Edmonton	3	3	3	2	4	4	2
Vancouver	5	14	8	10	13	14	18
Other select CMAs[c]	19	14	21	18	14	12	10
All Other Areas	44	13	27	18	13	10	7
Provincial Place of Residence	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Altantic	9	1	2	2	2	1	1
Quebec	27	13	11	13	13	14	13
Ontario	34	56	56	58	53	56	56
Prairie	18	11	13	10	14	12	9
British Columbia	12	19	18	17	19	17	20
Territories & Nunavut	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Birthplace		100	100	100	100	100	100
USA, UK &Other Europe	(nr)	46	94	76	42	29	22
West Central Asia & Middle East	(nr)	5	1	2	3	7	9
South Asia	(nr)	9	0	4	9	10	16
East & SE Asia	(nr)	22	2	7	22	30	34
Central & S. America & Caribbean	(nr)	11	1	8	17	17	11
Oceania,Africa and Other	(nr)	6	1	4	7	7	8
Visible Minority Status	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Not a Visible Minority	95	51	97	81	48	35	26
Chinese	1	14	2	5	13	17	22
South Asian	1	12	0	4	13	13	18
Black	1	6	0	5	9	8	8
Other Visible Minority	2	17	1	5	17	27	26
Religion	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Catholic	46	33	41	44	34	33	24
Protestant	31	20	39	27	21	15	11
Other religions[d]	6	30	9	15	28	35	44
No religious affiliation	16	17	11	14	16	18	21
Mother Tongue	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Eng, Fr. or Aboriginal	94	30	37	43	41	27	19
Other	6	70	63	57	59	73	81
Home Language[e]	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Eng, Fr. or Aboriginal only	95	41	64	58	51	34	22
Other	5	59	36	42	49	66	78
Official Language Knowledge[f]	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
English and/or French	100	94	98	96	95	93	91
No English or French	0	6	2	4	5	7	9

(c) Consists of Halifax, Québec, Sherbrooke, Trois-Rivières, Oshawa, Hamilton, St. Catharines – Niagara, Kitchener, London, Windsor, Sudbury, Thunder Bay, Winnipeg, Regina, Saskatoon and Victoria.

(d) Includes Christian Orthodox Muslim, Jewish, Buddhist, Hindu, Sikh, Baha'i, Jains, Shinto, Taoïst, Zoroastrian, Zoroastrian and smaller Eastern religions, and religions as Pagan, Scientology, and Rastafarian.

(e) Refers to language regularly used at home. The "Other" category includes persons who speak at least one language other than English, French and/or Aboriginal languages regularly in the home.

(f) Respondents were asked if they could speak English and/or French well enough to carry on a conversation.

Table 11-3: Select Demographic, Social and Economic Characteristics for Non-immigrant and Immigrant Populations, Age 25-64 by Period of Arrival[a], Sex, and Visible Minority Group Membership, Canada 2001

	Women					Men				
	Not Visible Minority (1)	Chinese (2)	South Asia (3)	Black (4)	Other Visible Minorities (5)	Not Visible Minority (6)	Chinese (7)	South Asia (8)	Black (9)	Other Visible Minorities (10)
Mean Age										
Nonimmigrant	43	36	31	37	36	43	37	31	37	37
Immigrant[a]	43	42	41	41	41	43	42	42	41	41
1971-1980	46	45	46	46	45	46	45	47	46	45
1981-1990	42	43	41	40	42	43	43	41	40	41
1991-2001	39	40	39	37	39	39	41	39	38	39
Percent Age 25-34[b]										
Nonimmigrant	25	49	81	52	57	25	46	79	52	55
Immigrant[a]	25	26	33	32	29	24	23	29	29	29
1971-1980	17	14	16	17	17	19	15	15	18	20
1981-1990	21	21	27	32	23	21	23	22	30	27
1991-2001	38	33	45	46	39	35	27	39	39	35
Percent with Bachelors Degree or Higher										
Nonimmigrant	18	51	54	19	35	17	48	42	17	37
Immigrant[a]	26	29	27	11	27	30	39	34	19	32
1971-1980	20	25	26	10	23	22	34	33	17	29
1981-1990	24	24	22	11	21	26	32	27	14	25
1991-2001	36	33	30	12	32	42	45	39	25	39
Percent with Home Language including Other										
Nonimmigrant	3	30	36	4	13	2	28	29	1	16
Immigrant[a]	50	91	77	32	78	49	92	79	33	79
1971-1980	36	80	66	15	67	33	80	66	16	66
1981-1990	49	90	75	30	77	55	92	77	34	80
1991-2001	69	95	84	48	84	65	96	87	46	85
Percent in the Labour Force										
Nonimmigrant	75	85	82	77	79	87	88	87	86	87
Immigrant[a]	74	65	67	79	71	90	80	88	88	87
1971-1980	75	77	75	83	78	89	87	88	89	89
1981-1990	76	70	74	81	76	91	86	90	89	88
1991-2001	71	58	59	73	65	90	74	88	87	84
Percent Unemployed										
Nonimmigrant	6	4	5	9	7	6	4	8	8	5
Immigrant[a]	6	8	11	11	9	5	7	7	10	8
1971-1980	5	4	6	7	5	4	4	5	6	5
1981-1990	5	5	9	11	7	4	5	5	9	7
1991-2001	10	11	16	16	12	8	9	8	13	11
Percent Part Time										
Nonimmigrant	25	18	18	20	26	7	7	16	12	11
Immigrant[a]	25	19	17	20	20	6	9	6	11	8
1971-1980	24	17	17	18	17	6	6	6	9	6
1981-1990	25	17	16	20	20	6	8	5	9	7
1991-2001	26	21	18	23	21	7	12	7	14	10
Percent Self-Employed										
Nonimmigrant	7	7	4	4	6	10	8	5	8	7
Immigrant[a]	9	7	4	3	7	12	10	8	6	9
1971-1980	8	8	5	3	7	11	10	9	7	10
1981-1990	10	7	4	3	6	13	10	7	7	9
1991-2001	9	7	4	3	6	12	11	7	5	8
Percent with Non-English/French Workplace Language										
Nonimmigrant	1	5	5	1	4	1	6	8	1	4
Immigrant[a]	13	46	16	3	18	15	43	17	3	18
1971-1980	9	29	10	2	14	11	28	9	1	13
1981-1990	13	42	15	3	18	17	40	16	4	18
1991-2001	17	55	21	6	20	17	52	21	5	21

(a) Refers only to the immigrant population arriving from 1970 on.

(b) For example, of those age 25-64 who are non-immigrants and also are not members of visible minority groups, 25 percent are age 25-34.

Table 11-4: Percentages in Managerial and High Skill Occupations and Average Wage, Salary and Self Employment Earnings for Non-Immigrant and Immigrant Populations, Age 25-64 by Sex, Visible Minority Status and Period of Arrival, Canada 2001

	Women					Men				
	Not Visible Minority (1)	Chinese (2)	South Asia (3)	Black (4)	Other Visible Minorities (5)	Not Visible Minority (6)	Chinese (7)	South Asia (8)	Black (9)	Other Visible Minorities (10)
Percent in Managerial and High Skill Occupations										
Bachelors and Higher										
Nonimmigrant	71	66	66	65	63	74	75	66	68	72
Immigrant[a]	62	56	39	53	39	71	68	53	57	53
1971-1980	69	67	51	67	47	77	75	64	67	61
1981-1990	62	60	41	52	44	73	71	54	60	56
1991-2001	57	50	32	43	34	65	65	48	51	49
Ratio, Bachelors and Higher										
Nonimmigrant	(rg)	93	93	92	90	(rg)	101	89	92	97
Immigrant[a]	87	79	55	75	55	95	92	71	77	72
1971-1980	97	95	72	95	66	104	102	87	91	83
1981-1990	87	84	57	74	63	99	95	72	81	75
1991-2001	80	71	45	61	47	88	88	65	69	66
Wages & Self-Employment Earnings, 2000[a]										
All Workers										
Nonimmigrant	40,540	42,890	34,010	35,390	36,270	62,930	54,310	44,090	48,630	54,630
Immigrant[a]	36,610	34,460	29,990	32,440	28,620	57,990	46,390	45,590	37,010	41,180
1971-1980	40,990	44,020	37,410	38,260	36,380	68,520	64,000	59,710	45,570	53,790
1981-1990	38,550	40,930	32,760	34,270	33,100	59,320	51,470	46,950	39,140	43,850
1991-1999	31,550	26,770	23,450	24,890	22,810	48,620	35,550	37,170	30,020	33,210
Full Time, Full Year Workers[b]										
Nonimmigrant	49,370	52,530	42,600	43,780	45,090	69,280	59,420	56,900	54,770	65,140
Immigrant[a]	46,280	44,920	38,370	41,980	35,980	65,610	56,280	53,530	45,480	48,630
1971-1980	49,860	53,110	43,750	45,930	42,540	74,810	68,210	66,510	50,730	59,340
1981-1990	46,670	46,800	41,410	40,180	38,770	65,830	58,660	52,770	46,350	50,160
1991-1999	42,690	38,800	31,650	37,980	29,870	56,940	46,630	45,300	40,050	40,460
Ratio, Full Time, Full Year Workers[b]										
Nonimmigrant	(rg)	106	86	89	91	(rg)	86	82	79	94
Immigrant[a]	94	91	78	85	73	95	81	77	66	70
1971-1980	101	108	89	93	86	108	98	96	73	86
1981-1990	95	95	84	81	79	95	85	76	67	72
1991-1999	86	79	64	77	61	82	67	65	58	58

(a) Omits persons immigrating in 2000 or 2001 and persons living in the Atlantic provinces, the territories or Nunavut; persons who did not work at least one week in 2000 are also omitted. For ease of reading,earnings are rounded to the nearest 10 dollars.

(b) Full Time consists of working 30 hours or more per week and full year consists of working 49 weeks or more.

Table 11-5: Select Characteristics for the 1.5, Second and Third-Plus Generations, Age 20-35, and Living in Census Metropolitan Areas, by Visible Minority Status, Canada 2001

	Not Visible Minority (1)	Chinese (2)	South Asia (3)	Black (4)	Other Visible Minorities (5)
Mean Age					
Immigrant, Arrived Age 0-12	28	26	27	27	25
Second Generation	27	25	24	25	24
Third-plus Generation	27	26	(a)	27	27
% Attending School in Past 12 Months					
Immigrant, Arrived Age 0-12	30	49	38	35	41
Second Generation	29	53	56	43	51
Third-plus Generation	27	33	(a)	19	28
% with Bachelors Degrees or Higher					
Immigrant, Arrived Age 0-12	26	38	33	16	22
Second Generation	27	45	36	15	26
Third-plus Generation	21	19	(a)	9	29
% in the Labour Force					
Immigrant, Arrived Age 0-12	86	75	83	82	81
Second Generation	88	81	80	83	80
Third-plus Generation	88	82	(a)	78	88
% of Labour Force that is Unemployed					
Immigrant, Arrived Age 0-12	7	9	7	12	10
Second Generation	6	9	11	12	9
Third-plus Generation	7	7	(a)	16	9
% of Labour Force that is Part Time					
Immigrant, Arrived Age 0-12	21	28	25	27	29
Second Generation	22	31	36	33	37
Third-plus Generation	21	25	(a)	21	24
% that is Full Time, Full Year & Not Attending School in 2000					
Immigrant, Arrived Age 0-12	41	31	34	33	30
Second Generation	41	29	21	27	22
Third-plus Generation	41	40	(a)	36	41

(a) Not reported; fewer than 50 cases in the Public Use Microdata File of Individuals.

Table 11-6: Percentages in Managerial and High Skill Occupations and Average Wage, Salary and Self Employment Earnings for the 1.5, Second and Third-Plus Generations, Age 20-34, Working Full Time, Full Year[(a)] and Not Attending School in 2000, by Sex and Visible Minority Status, for Select Census Metropolitan Areas, Canada 2001

	Women					Men				
	Not Visible Minority (1)	Chinese (2)	South Asia (3)	Black (4)	Other Visible Minorities (5)	Not Visible Minority (6)	Chinese (7)	South Asia (8)	Black (9)	Other Visible Minorities (10)
Percent in Managerial and High Skill Occupations										
Bachelors and Higher										
Immigrant, Arrived Age 0-12	60	73	64	65	48	69	76	74	68	67
Second Generation	67	67	67	68	55	69	75	67	61	74
Third-plus Generation	70	(c)	(c)	(c)	(c)	71	(c)	(c)	(c)	(c)
Ratio, Bachelors and Higher										
Immigrant, Arrived Age 0-12	86	105	92	94	70	97	107	104	96	94
Second Generation	97	97	96	98	79	96	106	94	86	104
Third-plus Generation	(rg)	(c)	(c)	(c)	(c)	(rg)	(c)	(c)	(c)	(c)
Wages & Self-Employment Earnings, 2000[(b)]										
Immigrant, Arrived Age 0-12	34,378	37,681	35,884	28,374	29,635	38,561	46,945	34,374	35,798	42,449
Second Generation	33,513	43,057	36,166	28,662	31,473	43,019	43,458	33,037	39,661	41,731
Third-plus Generation	30,515	(c)	(c)	(c)	(c)	37,578	(c)	(c)	(c)	(c)
Ratio of Earnings										
Immigrant, Arrived Age 0-12	113	123	118	93	97	103	125	91	95	113
Second Generation	110	141	119	94	103	114	116	88	106	111
Third-plus Generation	(rg)	(c)	(c)	(c)	(c)	(rg)	(c)	(c)	(c)	(c)

(a) Full Time consists of working 30 hours or more per week and full year consists of working 49 weeks or more.

(b) For ease of reading,earnings are rounded to the nearest 10 dollars. Persons living in the Atlantic provinces, the territories or Nunavut are omitted from the earnings data.

(c) Not reported. Fewer than 50 cases in the Public Use Microdata File on Individuals.