

12 Immigration Trends and Integration Issues: More Than a Century of Change*

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Introduction

Record numbers of immigrants came to Canada in the early 1900s. During World War I and the Depression years, numbers declined, but at the beginning of the new millennium they again approached those recorded 100 years earlier (Figure 12.1). Despite the superficial similarities at the beginning and the end of a century of immigration, the characteristics of immigrants are quite different. This change reflects many factors: developments and modifications in Canada's immigration policies; the displacement of peoples by wars and political upheaval; the cycle of economic "booms and busts" in Canada and other countries; Canada's membership in the Commonwealth; and the growth of communication, transportation, and economic networks linking people around the world.

These forces have operated throughout the twentieth century to alter the basic characteristics of Canada's immigrant population in five fundamental ways. First, the numbers of immigrants arriving each year have waxed and waned, meaning that the importance of immigration for Canada's population growth

has fluctuated. Second, immigrants increasingly chose to live in Canada's largest cities. Third, the predominance of men among adult immigrants declined as family migration grew and women came to represent slightly over half of immigrants. Fourth, the marked transformation in the countries in which immigrants had been born enhanced the ethnic diversity of Canadian society. Fifth, alongside Canada's transition from an agricultural to a knowledge-based economy, immigrants were increasingly employed in the manufacturing and service sectors of the economy. In addition, immigrants also had children; how they are integrating is another measure of the legacy of immigration. This chapter provides an overview of these important changes over the last 110 years.

The Early Years: 1900–1915

The twentieth century opened with the arrival of nearly 42,000 immigrants in 1900. Numbers quickly escalated to a record high of over 400,000 in 1913. Canada's economy was growing rapidly during these years, and immigrants were drawn by the promise of good job prospects. The

* Adapted and updated from "100 Years of Immigration in Canada." *Canadian Social Trends*. Statistics Canada. Catalogue 11-008, Autumn 2000, pp. 2–11. Reprinted with permission.

building of the transcontinental railway, the settlement of the prairies, and expanding industrial production intensified demand for labour. Aggressive recruitment campaigns by the Canadian government to boost immigration and attract workers also increased arrivals: between 1900 and 1914, more than 2.9 million people entered Canada, nearly four times as many as had arrived in the previous 14-year period.

Such volumes of immigrants quickly enlarged Canada's population. Between 1901 and 1911, net migration (the excess of those arriving over those leaving) accounted for 38 per cent of population growth, a level not reached again for another 75 years (Figure 12.2). The share of the overall population born outside Canada also increased, so that while immigrants accounted for 13 per cent of the population in 1901, by 1911 they made up 22 per cent.

Most of the foreign-born population lived in Ontario at the start of the century, but many later immigrants headed west. By 1911, 41 per cent of Canada's immigrant population lived in the Prairie provinces, up from 20 per cent recorded in the 1901 census. This influx had a profound effect on the populations of the western provinces. By 1911, immigrants represented 41 per cent of people living in Manitoba, 50 per cent in Saskatchewan, and 57 per cent of those in Alberta and British Columbia. In contrast, they made up less than 10 per cent of the population in the Atlantic provinces and Quebec, and only 20 per cent in Ontario.

Men greatly outnumbered women among people settling in Canada in the first two decades of the twentieth century (Urquhart and Buckley 1965). The 1911 census recorded 158 immigrant males for every 100 females, compared with a 103:100 ratio for Canadian-born males and

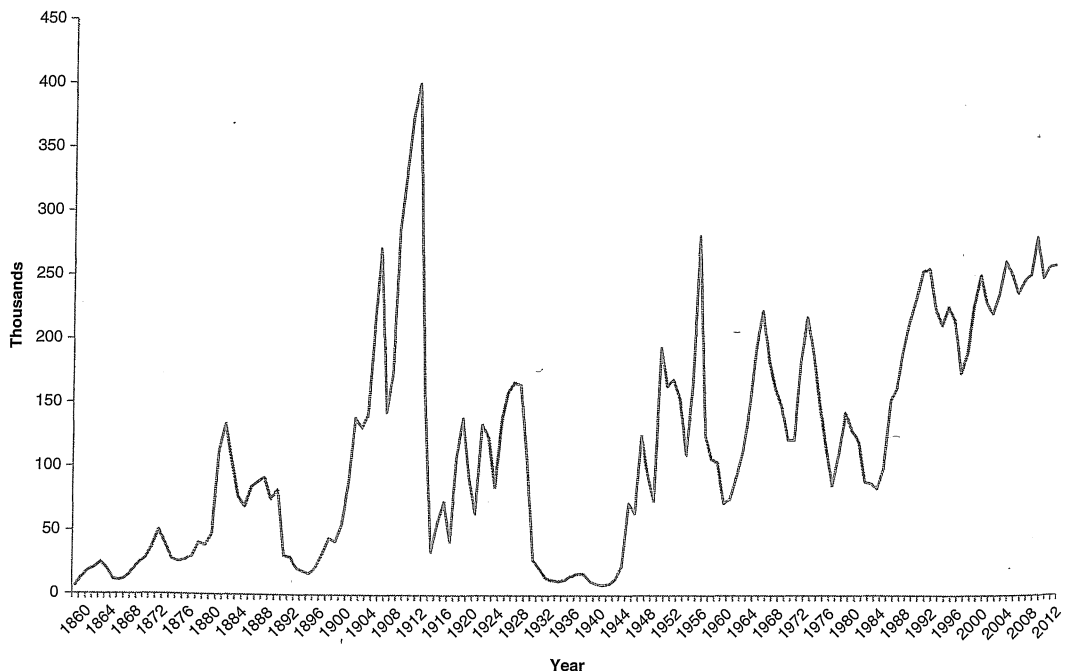


Figure 12.1 Total Number of Immigrants to Canada, 1860–2013

Sources: Canada, Citizenship and Immigration, *Facts and Figures 2002*, http://publications.gc.ca/collections/collection_2010/cic/MP43-333-2003-eng.pdf; Canada, Citizenship and Immigration, *Facts and Figures 2013*, <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/statistics/facts2013/permanent/01.asp>.

females. These unbalanced gender ratios are not uncommon in the history of settlement countries such as Canada, Australia, and the United States. They often reflect labour recruitment efforts targeted at men rather than women, as well as the behaviour of immigrants themselves. In migration flows, particularly those motivated by economic reasons, men frequently precede women, either because the move is viewed as temporary and there is no need to uproot family members, or because the man intends to become economically established before being joined by his family. By the time of the 1921 census, the gender ratio for immigrants had become less skewed, standing at 125 immigrant males for every 100 immigrant females. It continued to decline throughout the twentieth century, reaching 91 per 100 in 2011.¹

Of course, women also immigrated for economic reasons in the early decades of the twentieth century. There was strong demand for female domestic workers, with women in England, Scotland, and Wales being most often targeted for recruitment. Between 1904 and 1914, “domestic” was by far the most common occupation reported by adult women immigrants (almost 30 per cent) arriving from overseas. Men immigrating from overseas during that period were more likely to be unskilled and semi-skilled labourers (36 per cent) or to have a farming occupation (32 per cent) (Urquhart and Buckley 1965). Historians observe that, contrary to the image of immigrants being farmers and homesteaders, immigrants at the turn of the century were also factory and construction workers. And although many did settle in the western provinces, many

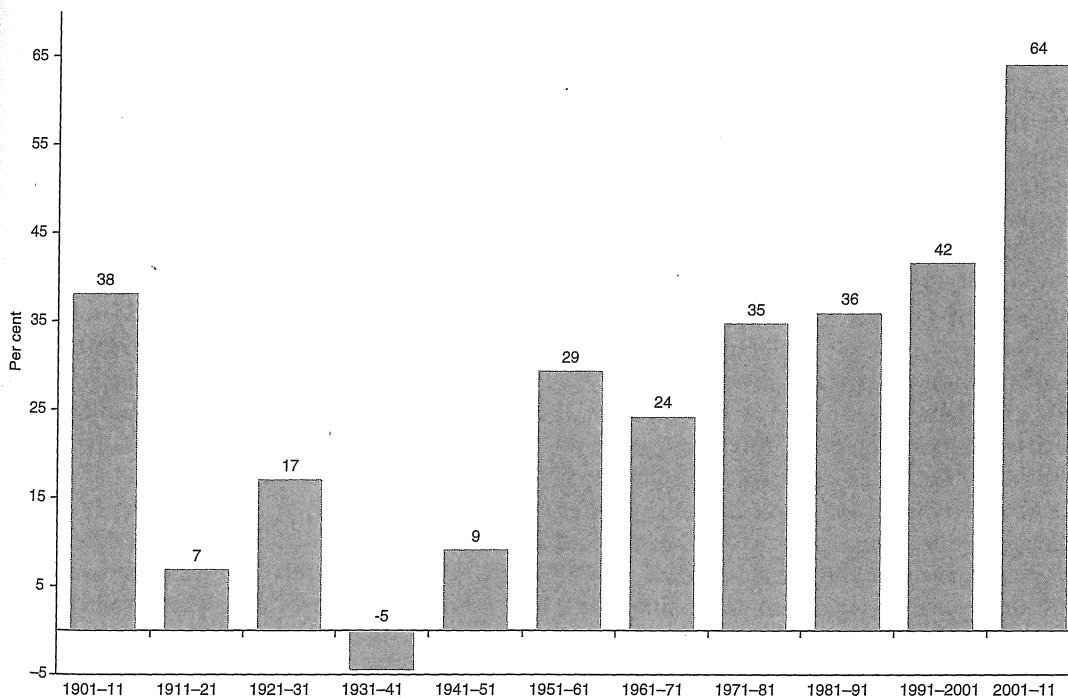


Figure 12.2 Immigration as a Percentage of Total Population Growth, 1901-11 to 2001-11

Source: Personal communication, Statistics Canada, Apr. 2015; based on Figure 1 in Statistics Canada, “Canadian Demographics at a Glance,” 2014, Catalogue no. 91-003-x, <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/91-003-x/2014001/c-g/desc/desc03-eng.htm>.

also worked building railroads or moved into the large cities, fuelling the growth of industrial centres.

Immigration from outside Britain and the US Begins to Grow in the 1910s

At the start of the century, the majority of immigrants to Canada had originated in the United States or the United Kingdom. However, during the 1910s and 1920s, the number born in other European countries began to grow, slowly at first, then rising to its highest levels in 1961 and 1971.

This change in countries of origin had begun in the closing decades of the nineteenth century, when many new groups began to arrive in Canada—Doukhobors and Jewish refugees from Russia; Hungarians; Mormons from the US; Italians; and Ukrainians. This flow continued until World War I. It generated public debate about who should be admitted to Canada: for some writers and politicians, recruiting labour was the key issue, not the changing origins of immigrants; for others, British and American immigrants were to be preferred to those from Southern or Eastern European countries.

By comparison, immigration from Asia was very low at this time, in dramatic contrast to the situation at the end of the twentieth century. Government policies regulating immigration had been rudimentary during the late 1800s, but when legislation was enacted in the early 1900s, it focused primarily on preventing immigration on the grounds of poverty or mental incompetence, or on the basis of non-European origins. Even though Chinese immigrant workers had helped to build the transcontinental railroad, in 1885 the first piece of legislation regulating future Chinese immigration required every person of Chinese origin to pay a tax of \$50 upon entering Canada. At the time, this was a very large sum. The “head tax” was increased to \$100 in 1900 and to \$500 in 1903. This fee meant that many Chinese men could not afford to bring brides or

wives to Canada. As evidence of this fact, the 1911 census recorded 2,790 Chinese males for every 100 Chinese females, a figure far in excess of the overall ratio of 158 immigrant males for every 100 immigrant females.

The Act of 1906 prohibited the landing of persons defined as “feble-minded,” having “loathsome or contagious diseases,” “paupers,” persons “likely to become public charges,” criminals, and “those of undesirable morality.” In 1908, the Act was amended to prohibit the landing of those persons who did not come to Canada directly from their country of origin. This provision effectively excluded the immigration of people from India, who had to book passage on ships sailing from countries outside India because there were no direct sailings between Calcutta and Vancouver. Also in the early 1900s, the Canadian government entered into a series of agreements with Japan that restricted Japanese migration (Calliste 1993; Kelley and Trebilcock 2010; Troper 1972). It should be noted that although Asians were the most severely targeted by efforts to reduce immigration by non-Europeans, other ethnic groups such as Blacks from the United States and the Caribbean also were singled out.

The Wars and the Great Depression: 1915–1946

With the outbreak of World War I, immigration quickly came to a near standstill. From a record high of over 400,000 in 1913, arrivals dropped sharply to less than 34,000 by 1915. Although numbers rebounded after the war, they never again reached the levels attained before 1914. As a result, net immigration accounted for about 7 per cent of Canada’s population growth between 1911 and 1921, considerably less than the contribution made in the previous decade. However, the influence of earlier foreign-born arrivals continued, reinforced by the more modest levels of wartime and post-war immigration. At the time of the 1921 census, immigrants still comprised 22 per cent of the population (Figure 12.3).

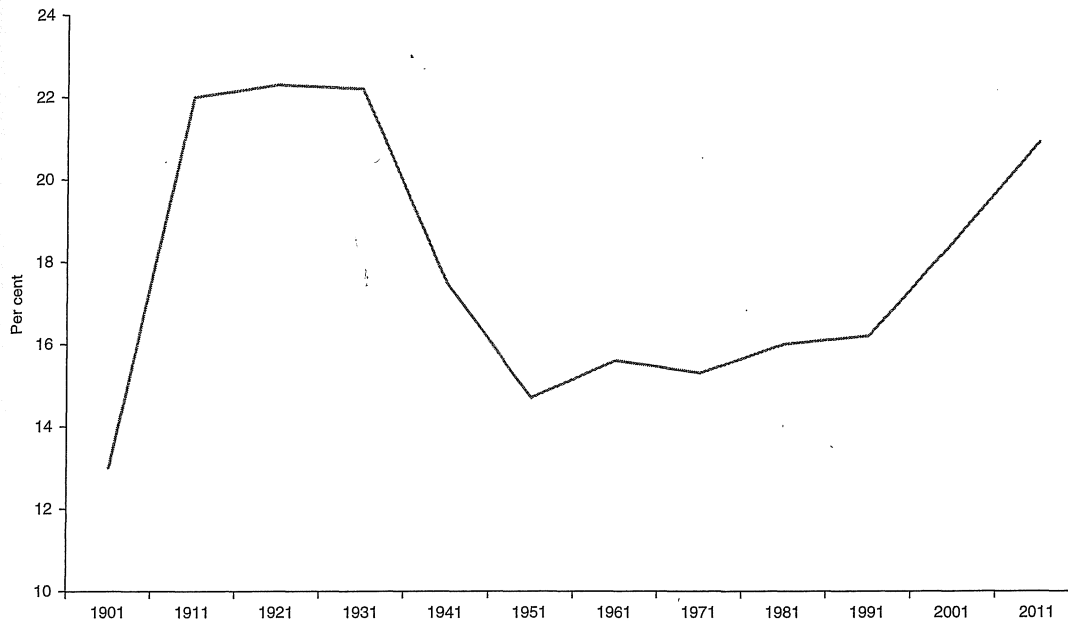


Figure 12.3 Immigrants as a Percentage of Total Canadian Population, 1901–2011

Sources: Statistics Canada, Catalogue nos 99-936, 97-557-XCB2006006, and 99-010-X2011026.

The number of immigrants coming to Canada rose during the 1920s, with well above 150,000 per year entering in the last three years of the decade. But the Great Depression and World War II severely curtailed arrivals during the 1930s and early 1940s—numbers fluctuated between 7,600 and 27,500. Furthermore, there was actually a net migration loss as more people left Canada than entered between 1931 and 1941. The 1930s is the only decade in the twentieth century in which this occurred. By the time of the 1941 census, the percentage of the total population that was foreign-born had fallen to just under 18 per cent.

While more men than women had immigrated to Canada in the first three decades of the century, the situation was reversed when immigration declined in the 1930s and 1940s. During this period, women outnumbered men, accounting for 60 per cent of all adult arrivals between 1931 and 1940, and for 66 per cent between 1941 and 1945 (Urquhart and Buckley

1965). As a result of these changes, the overall gender ratio of the immigrant population declined slightly.

While lower numbers and the predominance of women among adult immigrants represented shifts in previous immigration patterns, other trends were more stable. The majority of immigrants continued to settle in Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia. Increasingly, though, they gravitated to urban areas, foreshadowing the pattern of recent immigration concentration in large cities that became so evident in the last years of the twentieth century.

Britain was still the leading source of immigrants, but the arrival of people from other parts of the globe also continued. During the 1920s, the aftershocks of World War I and the Russian Revolution stimulated migration from Germany, Russia, Ukraine, and Eastern European countries including Poland and Hungary (Kelley and Trebilcock 2010). During the Depression, the

majority of immigrants came from Great Britain, Germany, Austria, and Ukraine. Fewer than 6 per cent were of non-European origin.

Public debate over whom to admit and the development of immigration policy to regulate admissions was far from over. Regulations passed in 1919 provided new grounds for deportation and denied entry to enemy aliens, to those who were enemy aliens during the war, and to Doukhobors, Mennonites, and Hutterites (Kalbach 1970). The 1923 Chinese Immigration Act restricted Chinese immigration still further (Avery 2000). Responding to labour market pressures following the stock market crash of 1929 and the collapse of the prairie economy in the drought-stricken 1930s, farm workers, domestics, and several other occupational groups, as well as relatives of landed immigrants, were struck from the list of admissible classes. Asian immigration was also cut back again (Kalbach 1970).

Then, with the declaration of war on Germany on 10 September 1939, new regulations were passed to prohibit the entry or landing of nationals of countries with which Canada was at war. In the absence of a refugee policy that distinguished between immigrants and refugees, the restrictions imposed in the inter-war years raised barriers to those fleeing the chaos and devastation of World War II. Many of those turned away at this time were Jewish refugees attempting to leave Europe (Abella and Troper 1982). War-related measures also included the forced relocation—often to detention camps—of Japanese Canadians living within a 100-mile area along the British Columbia coastline. It was argued that they might assist a Japanese invasion.

The Boom Years: 1946–1970

The war in Europe ended with Germany's surrender on 6 May 1945; in the Pacific, Japan surrendered on 14 August. With the return of peace, both Canada's economy and immigration boomed. Between 1946 and 1950, over 430,000

immigrants arrived, exceeding the total number admitted in the previous 15 years.

The immediate post-war immigration boom included the dependants of Canadian servicemen who had married abroad, refugees, and people seeking economic opportunities in Canada. Beginning in July 1946 and continuing throughout the late 1940s, Orders-in-Council paved the way for the admission of people who had been displaced from their homelands by the war and for whom return was not possible (Kalbach 1970; Knowles 2007). The ruination of the European economy and the unprecedented boom in Canada also favoured high immigration levels.

Numbers continued to grow throughout most of the 1950s, peaking at over 282,000 admissions in 1957. By 1958, immigration levels were beginning to fall, partly because economic conditions were improving in Europe, and partly because, with the Canadian economy slowing, the government introduced administrative policies designed to reduce the rate of immigration. By 1962, however, the economy had recovered and arrivals increased for six successive years. Although admissions never reached the record highs observed in the early part of the century, the total number of immigrants entering Canada in the 1950s and 1960s far exceeded the levels observed in the preceding three decades.

During this time, net migration was higher than it had been in almost 50 years, but it accounted for no more than 30 per cent of total population growth between 1951 and 1971. The population effect of the large number of foreign-born arrivals was muted by the magnitude of natural growth caused by the unprecedented birth rates recorded during the baby boom from 1946 to 1965.

Many of the new immigrants settled in cities, so that by 1961, 81 per cent of foreign-born Canadians lived in urban areas, compared with 68 per cent of the Canadian-born. The proportion of the immigrant population living in Ontario continued to grow, accelerating a trend that had begun earlier in the century; in contrast, the proportion living in the Prairie provinces declined (Figure 12.4).

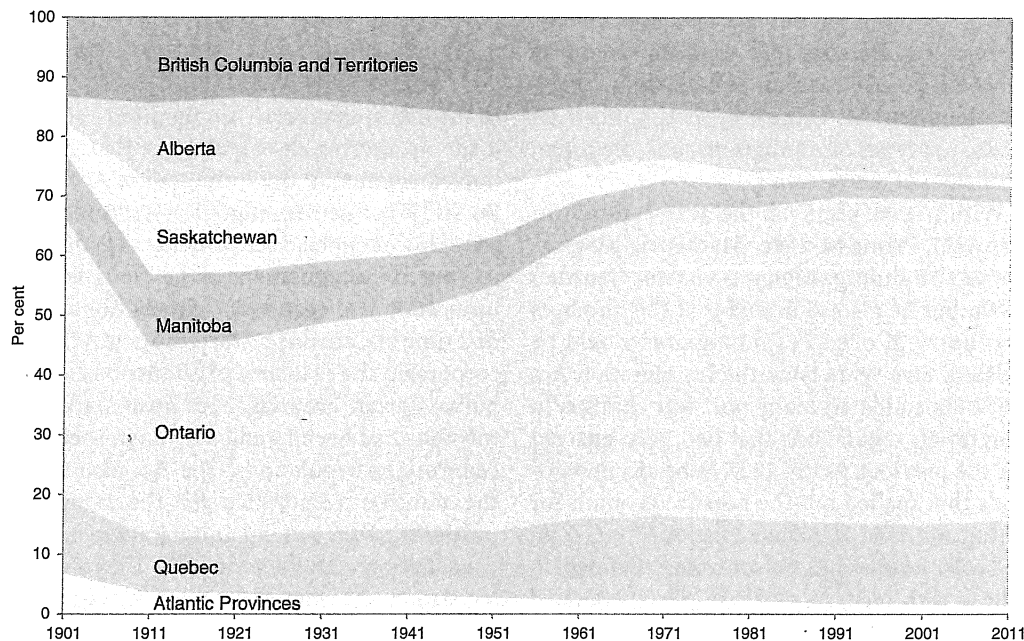


Figure 12.4 Provincial Distribution of Immigrants, 1901–2011

Source: Statistics Canada, *1901 Census of Population* (Bulletin VIII), and Product nos 93F0020XCB, 97F0009X2001040, and 99-010-X2011033.

Such shifts in residential location went hand in hand with Canada's transformation from a rural agricultural and resource-based economy in the early years of the century to an urban manufacturing and service-based economy in the later years. Post-war immigrants were important sources of labour for this emerging economy, especially in the early 1950s. Compared with those arriving at the turn of the century, the post-war immigrants were more likely to be professional or skilled workers, and they accounted for over half of the growth in these occupations between 1951 and 1961.

Although the largest numbers of immigrants arriving after World War II were from the United Kingdom, people from other European countries were an increasingly predominant part of the mix. During the late 1940s and 1950s, substantial numbers also arrived from Germany, the Netherlands, Italy, Poland, and the USSR.

Following the 1956 Soviet invasion of Hungary, Canada also admitted over 37,000 Hungarians, while the Suez Crisis of the same year saw the arrival of almost 109,000 British immigrants (Kalbach 1970; Kelley and Trebilcock 2010; Avery 2000). During the 1960s, the trend increased. By the time of the 1971 census, less than one-third of the foreign-born population had been born in the United Kingdom; half came from other European countries, many from Italy.

New Policies Help Direct Post-War Immigration Trends

Much of the post-war immigration to Canada was stimulated by people displaced by war or political upheaval, as well as by the weakness of the European economies. However, Canada's

post-war immigration policies also were an important factor. Because they were statements of who would be admitted and under what conditions, these policies influenced the numbers of arrivals, the types of immigrants, and the country of origin of new arrivals.

Within two years of the war ending, on 1 May 1947, Prime Minister Mackenzie King reaffirmed that immigration was vital for Canada's growth, but he also indicated that the numbers and country of origin of immigrants would be regulated. Five years later, the Immigration Act of 1952 consolidated many post-war changes to immigration regulations that had been enacted since the previous Act of 1927. Subsequent regulations that spelled out the possible grounds for limiting admissions included national origin; on this basis, admissible persons were defined to be those with birth or citizenship in the United States, the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, and selected European countries.

In 1962, however, new regulations effectively removed national origin as a criterion of admission. Further regulations enacted in 1967 confirmed this principle and instead introduced a system that assigned points based on the age, education, language skills, and economic characteristics of applicants. These policy changes made it much easier for persons born outside Europe and the United States to immigrate to Canada.

The 1967 regulations also reaffirmed the right, first extended in the 1950s, of immigrants to sponsor relatives to enter Canada. Family-based immigration had always coexisted alongside economically motivated immigration, but now it was clearly defined. As wives, mothers, grandmothers, aunts, and sisters, women participated in these family reunification endeavours: women accounted for almost half of all adult immigrants entering Canada during the 1950s and 1960s. As a result of this gender parity in immigration flows, sex ratios declined over time for the foreign-born population.

Growth and Diversity: 1970–2011

In the 1960s, changes in immigration policy were made by altering the regulations that governed implementation of the Immigration Act of 1952. But in 1978, a new Immigration Act came into effect. This Act upheld the principles of admissions laid out in the regulations of the 1960s: family reunification and economic contributions. For the first time in Canada's history, the new Act also incorporated the principle of admissions based on humanitarian grounds. Previously, refugee admissions had been handled through special procedures and regulations. The Act also required the minister responsible for the immigration portfolio to set annual immigration targets in consultation with the provinces. The most recent legislation, the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act, effective in June 2002, keeps these three criteria of admission. However, refugee and humanitarian admissions are only a small share of yearly immigration, representing between 9 and 14 per cent during the 2000–14 period. That share is likely to increase in 2015–16, as it has before when global crises have displaced people, with the admission of 25,000 Syrian refugees. Since the mid-1990s economic migrants have outnumbered those entering on the basis of family reunification or humanitarian concerns (Boyd and Alboim 2012; Kelley and Trebilcock 2010). Since 2008 the policy emphasis on recruiting migrants to meet labour needs and to stimulate the economy has increased with the enactment of additional regulations, including new guidelines for the admission of economic migrants (Boyd and Alboim 2012; Picot and Sweetman 2012).

From the 1970s through the 1990s, immigration numbers fluctuated. The overall impact, however, continued to be a significant contribution to Canada's total population growth that increased as the century drew to a close. With consistently high levels of arrivals after the mid-1980s, immigration accounted for over 40 per cent of the population growth between 1991 and

2001 and nearly two-thirds between 2001 and 2011. These percentages exceeded those recorded in the 1910s and the 1920s. The cumulative effect of net migration from the 1970s onward was a gradual increase in the percentage of foreign-born Canadians. By the time of the 2011 National Household Survey,² immigrants comprised just under 21 per cent of the population, the largest proportion in more than 60 years. The number of temporary migrants living in Canada also grew; by 2011, they represented 1 per cent of Canada's population. When combined, immigrants and non-permanent residents made up almost 22 per cent of the 2011 population, approximately the percentages of foreign born found in 1911 and 1921.

Having an immigration policy based on principles of family reunification and labour market contribution also recast the composition of the immigrant population. It meant that people from all nations could be admitted if they

met the criteria as described in the immigration regulations. The inclusion of humanitarian-based admissions also permitted the entry of refugees from countries outside Europe. As a result, the immigrants who entered Canada from 1966 onward came from many different countries and possessed more diverse cultural backgrounds than earlier immigrants. Each successive census recorded declining percentages of the immigrant population that had been born in European countries, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

Meanwhile, the proportion of immigrants born in Asian countries and other regions of the world began to rise, slowly at first and then more quickly from the 1980s on (Figure 12.5). By 2001, 36.5 per cent of the immigrant population in Canada had been born in Asia and another 17 per cent came from places other than the United States, the United Kingdom, or Europe. Ten years later, just under half of the immigrant population

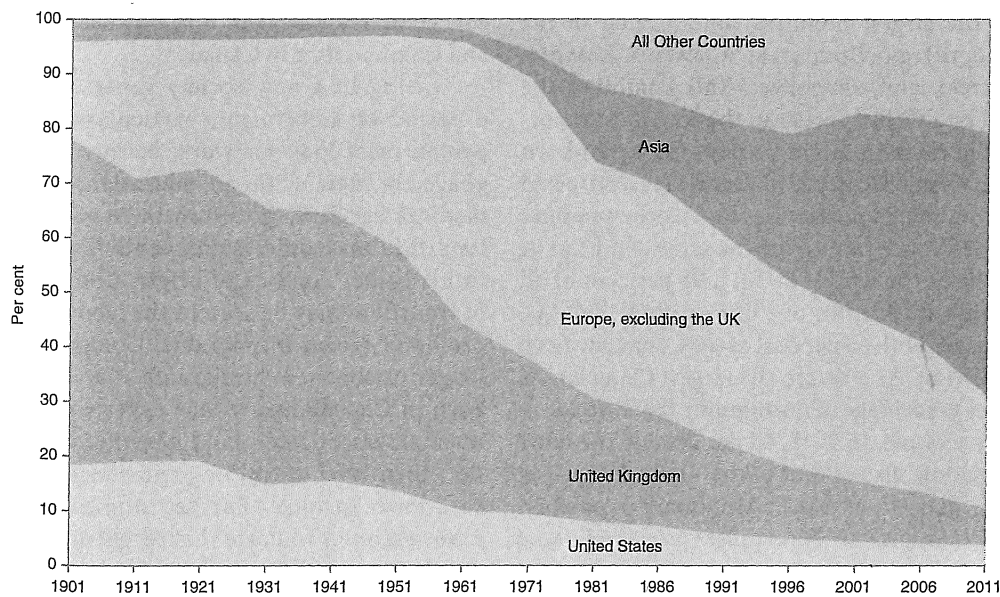


Figure 12.5 Birthplaces of Immigrants to Canada, 1901–2011

Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue nos 99-517 (Vol. VII, Part 1), 92-727 (Vol. I, Part 3), 92-913, Catalogue no. 97F0009XCB2001002 97-557-XCB2006007, and Product nos 93F0020XCB and 99-010-X-2011026.

had been born in Asia. According to the 2011 National Household Survey, the top three places of birth for immigrants arriving between 2001 and 2011 were the People's Republic of China, India, and the Philippines. Together, these three countries accounted for almost one-quarter of all immigrants who arrived in that decade.

Immigration and Canada's Growing Visible Minority Population

The visible minority population³ has grown dramatically in the last two decades. In 2011, just over 19 per cent of Canada's population—nearly 6.3 million people—identified themselves as members of a visible minority group, up from under 5 per cent in 1981. Immigration has been a big contributor to this growth: nearly two-thirds of visible minorities are immigrants, with four out of 10 arriving between 2001 and 2011.

Most immigrants live in Canada's big cities, with the largest numbers concentrated in the census metropolitan areas (CMAs) of Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver. This continues the trend established earlier in the century. Proportionally more immigrants than Canadian-born have preferred to settle in urban areas, attracted by economic opportunities and by the presence of other immigrants from the same countries or regions of the world. In 2011, 91 per cent of all immigrants lived in one of Canada's 33 CMAs, compared with 63 per cent of the Canadian-born population. As a result, the largest CMAs have a higher percentage of immigrants than the country as a whole. In 2011, 46 per cent of Toronto's population, 40 per cent of the Vancouver population, and 23 per cent of Montreal's population were immigrants. Newcomers are even more likely to live in Canada's large urban areas (Statistics Canada 2013). The attraction to urban centres helps to explain the provincial distribution of immigrants. Since the 1940s, a disproportionate share has lived in Ontario and the percentage has continued to rise over time. By

2011, 53 per cent of all immigrants lived in Ontario, compared with nearly 18 per cent in British Columbia and 14 per cent in Quebec.

Recent Immigrants' Adjustment to the Labour Force

Just as immigrants have contributed to the growth in Canada's population, to its diversity, and to its cities, so too have they contributed to its economy (Figure 12.6). During the last few decades, most employment opportunities have shifted from manufacturing to service industries, and immigrants are an important source of labour for some of these industries. However, compared with non-immigrants, they are more likely to be employed in the personal services industries, manufacturing, and construction. Moreover, the likelihood of being employed in one industry rather than another often differs depending on the immigrant's sex, age at arrival, education, knowledge of English and/or French, and length of time in Canada.

Living in a new society generally entails a period of adjustment, particularly when a person must look for work, learn a new language, or deal with an educational system, medical services, government agencies, and laws that may differ significantly from those in his or her country of origin. The difficulty of transition may be seen in the labour market profile of recent immigrants: Compared with longer-established immigrants and with those born in Canada, many may experience higher unemployment rates, hold jobs that do not reflect their level of training and education, and earn lower incomes. Further, studies of immigrant earnings indicate that recent arrivals are not doing as well as newly arrived groups that entered Canada in previous decades. Comparisons of the earnings of new arrivals to those of the Canadian-born indicate lower earnings for immigrants, especially for those arriving in the 1990s. The earnings gap between

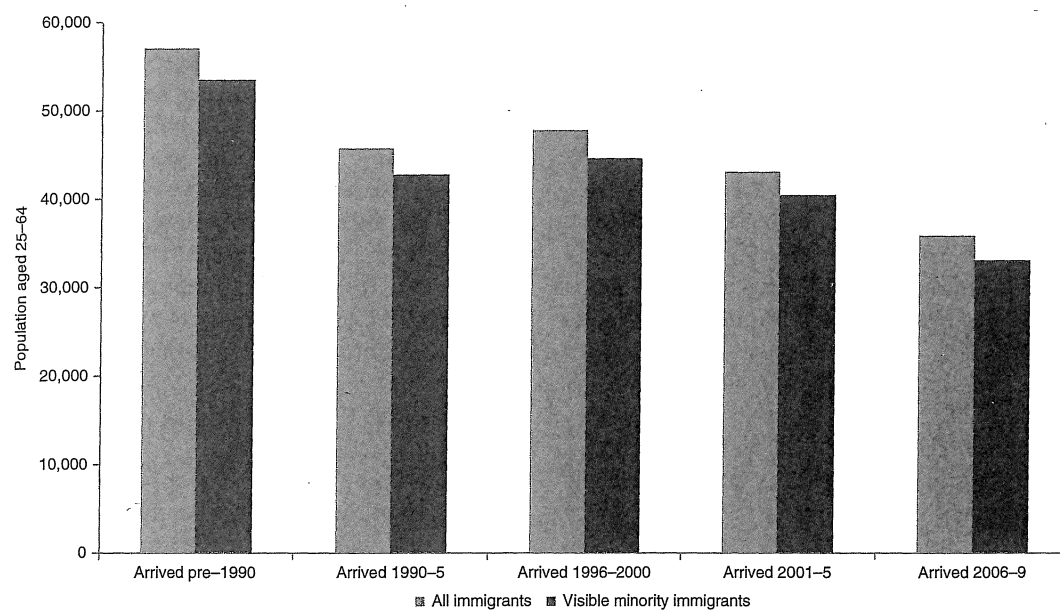


Figure 12.6 Average Annual Wages and Salaries of All Immigrants and Visible Minority Immigrants, pre-1990 to 2006-9

Source: Statistics Canada, 2011 National Household Survey Public Use Microdata File for Individuals; special tabulations by Monica Boyd.

immigrant and Canadian-born men widened from 11 per cent in 1980 to 33 per cent in 1995, before declining to 22 per cent in 2000. Similar trends exist for the earnings gap between Canadian-born and immigrant women. The time necessary for the wages of new cohorts to catch up to those of the Canadian-born also is getting longer (Aydemir and Skuterud 2005; Frenette and Morissette 2005). During the recessionary period of 2008-9, the economic outcomes for immigrants arriving within the previous five years deteriorated (Picot and Sweetman 2012).

In the past, the disparities between recent immigrants and the Canadian-born have often disappeared over time, indicating that initial labour market difficulties reflect the adjustment process. The differences in the 1990s and in the early 2000s may also result from the diminished employment opportunities available during recessions, which also affect the Canadian-born

who were new entrants to the job market. Nevertheless, other possible explanations include changing countries of origin, which in recent years are associated with non-English/non-French language skills, non-recognition of professional and trades credentials by employers and professional associations, and employer discounting of foreign experience. In other words, immigrants often are treated as if they are new entrants to the labour force instead of being simply new arrivals in Canada (Picot and Sweetman 2005, 2012).

The Immigrant Legacy: Children of Immigrants

Immigrants either bring children with them or build their families in Canada. As a result, a growing population either immigrated as children (the 1.5 generation) or are Canadian-born

and had at least one foreign born parent. On the whole, the 1.5 and second generations are younger than the third-plus generation and this is especially true for visible minorities. Reflecting the settlement patterns of their parents, the 1.5 and second generations are more likely to live in Canada's largest provinces and cities (Dobson et al. 2013).

One of the main reasons why people choose to uproot themselves and immigrate to another country is their desire to provide greater opportunities for their children. Thus, one measure of the success of an immigrant's adaptation to Canadian society is the degree of success their children achieve. This focus is consistent with the "straight-line" theory of the process of immigrant integration, which asserts that integration is cumulative: with each passing generation since immigration, the measurable differences between the descendants of immigrants and the

Canadian-born are reduced until they are virtually indistinguishable. However, this theory's dominance has been challenged in recent years by analysts who argue that it is based primarily on the experiences of immigrants who were largely White and European, and whose children grew up during a period of unprecedented economic growth. They argue that this theory applies less well to more recent immigrants because it ignores changes in the social and economic structure of Canada in the latter half of the twentieth century. Also, it discounts the impact of barriers facing young immigrants, who are predominantly visible minorities.

Evidence of barriers to the socio-economic integration of the children of immigrants is not uniform, varying by the indicator (i.e., education, occupation, or earnings), age, sex, residential location, and visible minority membership or parental country of origin. However, if the

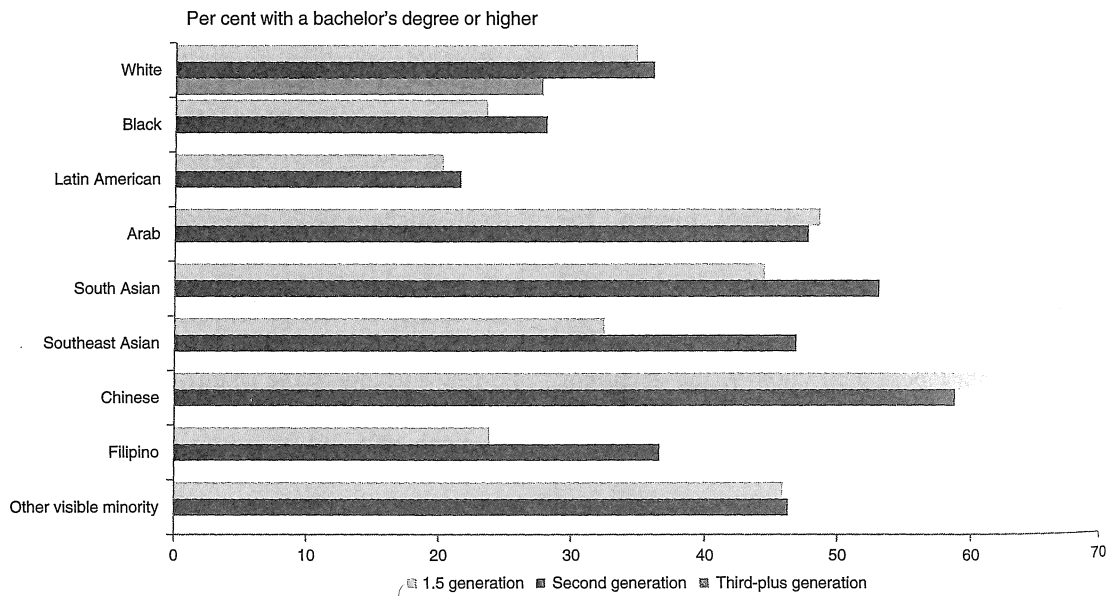


Figure 12.7 University Education of 1.5 and Second-Generation Whites and Visible Minorities Compared to the Third-plus Generation White Population, Ages 25–39

Source: Statistics Canada, 2011 National Household Survey Public Use Microdata File for Individuals; special tabulations by Monica Boyd.

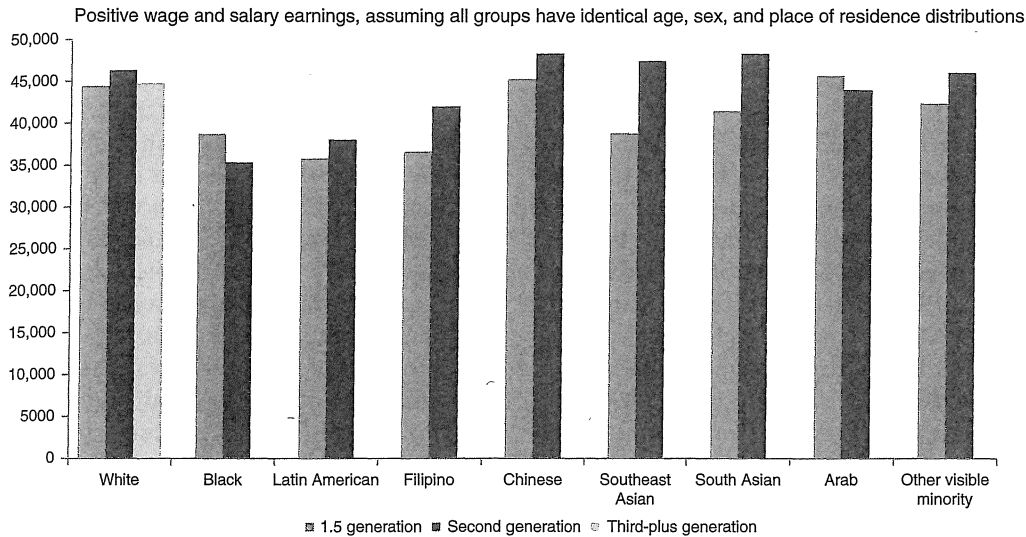


Figure 12.8 Average Earnings of 1.5 and Second-Generation Whites and Visible Minorities Compared to the Third-plus Generation White Population, Ages 25–39

Source: Statistics Canada, 2011 National Household Survey Public Use Microdata File for Individuals; customized multivariate MCA analysis by Monica Boyd.

third-plus generation whites, which consists of the Canadian-born with Canadian-born parents, is taken as the standard, the 1.5 generation (those immigrants who arrived as children) and the second generation have higher educational attainments, and this is particularly true for some—but not all—visible minority groups, as shown in Figure 12.7 (Boyd 2002; Picot and Sweetman 2012). One reason for the variation is that educational attainments of children are influenced by the education of parents. In recent years, highly educated immigrants are coming to Canada and they may pass on high educational expectations and aspirations to their children.

The least consensus exists on the similarity of wages between generation groups (Figure 12.8). Some studies find lower wages for the children of immigrants than for the third-plus generation. However, others do not. Such differences between studies depend on the age, gender, country of origin or visible minority status, place of residence

in Canada, and educational attainments of the immigrant offspring (Picot and Sweetman 2012).

New Trends and Issues on the Horizon

Most arrivals to Canada are admitted as legally entitled to reside permanently in Canada. However, people also enter on a temporary basis. The architecture of the current temporary admissions program began in 1973 with the introduction of the Employment Visa Regulations; but in addition to persons destined to the labour force, students and those seeking admission on humanitarian grounds are allowed to reside in Canada temporarily. In addition, some people may be in Canada without legal authorization; the size of the undocumented migrant population (sometimes called illegal migrants) is not known with any certainty, but is popularly thought to be between 200,000 to 500,000 persons.

The number of temporary residents is increasing over time (Figure 12.9). A sharp increase in the number of humanitarian admissions occurred in the early 1990s as a result of the dissolution of the former USSR and the 1989 Tiananmen Square massacre in China. Thereafter, growing numbers of international students and workers also increased the size of the temporary resident migrant population. The temporary worker program is highly diverse, consisting of two small groups entering as live-in caregivers and as agricultural workers, a larger group admitted under bilateral or trade agreements such as NAFTA, and a group recruited by employers for jobs where local labour is scarce and where the government authorizes such employment. Some of the more highly skilled international students and workers are permitted to transition and become permanent

residents in Canada. Others are expected to return to their countries when their visas expire.

Temporary workers do not necessarily receive the same employment rights, such as employment insurance, as others in Canada, and they may not access other benefits, such as health care, because they fear employment-related consequences (Nakache 2012). In addition, low-skilled temporary migrant workers may be in jobs that are poorly paid and have bad working conditions, and these workers have precarious employment where they lack guarantees about the permanency of the work and are subject to changing hours of work. Undocumented workers are thought to be at risk for such employment conditions as well. These precarious work conditions appear to persist even if permanent residency is granted (Goldring and Landolt 2012).

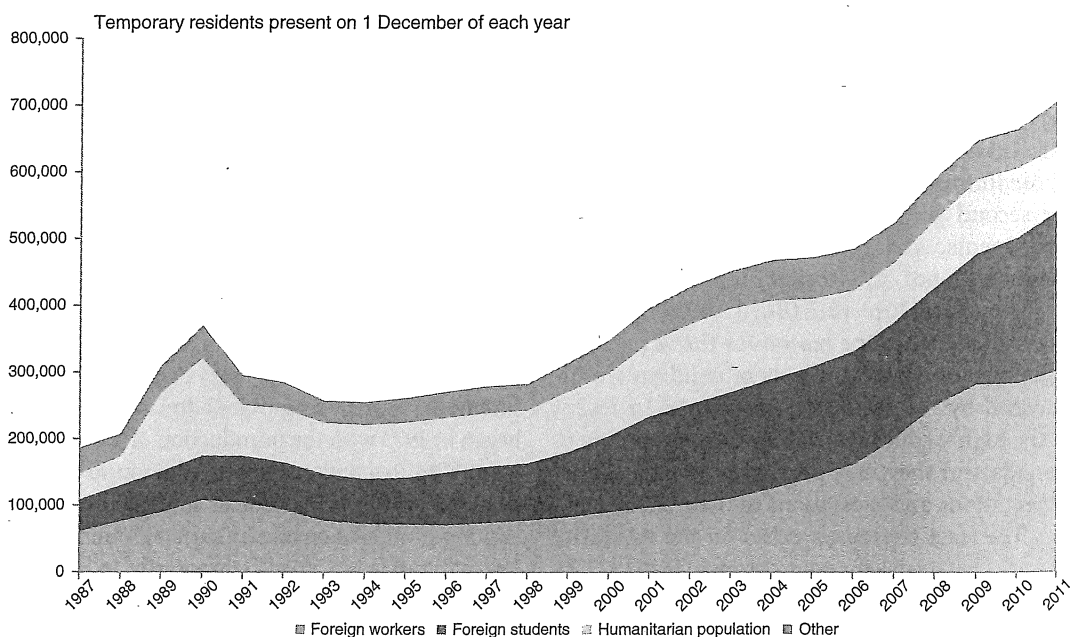


Figure 12.9 Temporary Migrant Population, 1987–2011

Source: Canada Citizenship and Immigration, *Facts and Figures 2011—Immigration Overview: Permanent and Temporary Residents*, "Temporary residents present on December 1st by gender and yearly status, 1988–2011," <http://www.cic.gc.ca/English/resources/statistics/facts2011/index.asp.v>

Summary

Few would quarrel with the statement that the twentieth century in Canada was an era of enormous change. Every area of life, ranging from the economy to family to law, was altered over the course of 100 years. Immigration was not immune to these transformative forces. The size and character of immigration flows were influenced by economic booms and busts, by world wars and national immigration policies, and indirectly by expanding communication, transportation, and economic links around the world.

The ebb and flow of immigration has presented volatile changes over the last 115 years. The twentieth century began with the greatest number of immigrant arrivals ever recorded. Thereafter, levels fluctuated, often with dramatic swings from one decade to the next. The lowest levels were recorded in the 1930s during the Depression. By 2011, though, the number of immigrants arriving annually was again sufficiently large that net migration accounted for nearly two-thirds of Canada's population growth.

Other changes in immigration are better described as trends, for they followed a course that was cumulative rather than reversible. The high ratio of men to women immigrants dropped steadily throughout the century. There were two main reasons for this decline. First, the number of men immigrating fell during the two wars and the Depression; and second, the number of women immigrants increased in the last half of the century as a result of family reunification after World War II and of family migration, in which women, men, and their children immigrated together.

Even in the 1900s and 1910s, the foreign-born were more likely to live in urban areas. After

the initial settlement of the prairies in the early 1900s, the trend towards urban settlement accelerated. By 2011, the vast majority of recent immigrants were residing in census metropolitan areas, mainly those of Toronto, Vancouver, and Montreal, although immigrants also were settling in smaller cities such as Edmonton, Calgary, and Hamilton.

Government policies regulating who would be admitted and under what conditions also evolved. Much of the effort during the first 50 years of the century focused on restricting immigration from regions of the world other than the US, Britain, and Europe. This position changed in the 1960s, when national origin was removed as a criterion for entry. The policies enacted thereafter entrenched the basic principles guiding admissions, such as family reunification, economic contributions, and humanitarian concerns. With these changes, the source countries of immigrants to Canada substantially altered. By 2011, 69 per cent of the foreign-born in Canada were from places other than the UK, the US, and Europe.

As a result of these changes, Canada at the close of the twentieth century contrasted sharply with Canada 100 years before. Immigrants had increased the population; they had diversified the ethnic and linguistic composition of the country; and they had laboured both in the agrarian economy of old and in the new industrial and service-based economy of the future. Their children, the 1.5 and second generations, are also part of the Canadian fabric and their experiences illustrate the multi-generational process of integration. Those admitted on humanitarian grounds, as well as students and temporary workers, further add to the complexity of Canada as the twenty-first century unfolds.

Questions for Critical Thought

1. The countries of origin of Canada's immigrants have changed greatly over time. Indicate why it changed. What do these changes imply for Canada as a nation and for the immigrants themselves?

2. Immigration regulations and laws always have the potential for creating inequalities. Looking at the history of Canada, can you identify inequalities in the treatment of people that made it easier or harder for some to be admitted to Canada?
3. Discuss the inequalities between immigrants and the Canadian-born in the labour force—what are they and what are the explanations for these inequalities?
4. Who are the children of immigrants? How are they doing in terms of educational attainments and what are the possible reasons?
5. What types of temporary residents exist? Why does a concern exist about the low-skilled temporary workers?

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Recommended Websites

Citizenship and Immigration Canada:
<http://www.cic.gc.ca/>

Institute for Research on Public Policy:
<http://irpp.org>

Maytree Foundation:
<http://maytree.com/>

Statistics Canada:
<http://www.statcan.gc.ca/>

Notes

1. Prior to the 1991 census, data combined people who were immigrants with those who were non-permanent residents. Immigrants are people who are granted the right to live in Canada permanently by the immigration authorities. Some are recent arrivals; others have resided in Canada for many years. Non-permanent residents are people from another country who live

in Canada and have permission from the immigration authorities to work or study or to claim refugee status. They are not included in the immigrant population after 1986 except in growth projections.

2. The 2011 National Household Survey was a voluntary survey of one in three Canadian private households; it replaced the previous long form of Canada's quinquennial censuses where respondents were required by law to answer the census questionnaire. The new Trudeau Liberal

government has promised to return to the mandatory long-form census for the collection of more reliable and complete demographic data.

3. The Employment Equity Act defines visible minorities as "persons, other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour." The visible minority population includes the following groups: Blacks, South Asians, Chinese, Koreans, Japanese, Southeast Asians, Filipinos, Arabs and West Asians, Latin Americans, and Pacific Islanders.

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