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2000

A NATIONAL CONFERENCE
ON CANADIAN IMMIGRATION

CONFÉRENCE NATIONALE
SUR L'IMMIGRATION



AS THE WORLD TURNS: A PROFILE OF CANADIAN IMMIGRATION AT CENTURY'S END

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The Council for Canadian Unity



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BACKGROUND PAPER 3

AS THE WORLD TURNS: A PROFILE OF CANADIAN IMMIGRATION AT CENTURY'S END

INTRODUCTION

In a widely quoted speech made in 1904, Prime Minister Wilfrid Laurier declared that if the nineteenth century belonged to the United States, the twentieth century would belong to Canada. Rarely have historians examined what the Prime Minister meant when he made this pronouncement. Perhaps greater insight for Laurier's vision may be found in a much lesser cited declaration in which the Prime Minister predicted that by the end of the twentieth century, Canada's population would surpass that of its mother country, Great Britain and be inhabited by some fifty million persons. Of course, that is not quite the way things turned out. Over the last hundred years, Canada's population has indeed increased significantly and as we enter the twenty-first century, there are over thirty million persons in the country. With a presumably more scientific method our contemporary experts believe that there will be fifty million people in Canada by the end of the 21st century. In retrospect, therefore, Laurier was only a century off in his forecast.

There were two reasons for Laurier's optimism about Canada's prospect for such growth. First was the high birth rate of the French Canadian population. According to an article in May 1900 in the newspaper *La Presse*, the number of births amongst French Canadian woman was such that, at the time, some predicted that within a few decades this group would become the majority in both Ontario and the Eastern parts of the United States. But for Laurier perhaps the more important factor was the significant influx of immigrants into the country during his mandate (c.1896-1913). As we can observe in the table below, he oversaw what was, until recently, the most important wave of immigration in the history of Canada (*Table 1*).

From 1867-1991, there was no single decade in which more immigrants arrived in the country than in the ten years between 1901 and 1911. Those who arrived over that period fundamentally altered the country's economic condition and had a profound impact on the identity of a nation that was not yet a half-century old. Indeed, Laurier's record on immigration remained unbroken until the last decade of the 20th century (c.1991-2001) when for the first time in its history Canada will see two million immigrants entering the country over a ten year period.

This conference background report was prepared by Jack Jedwab, Executive Director of the Association for Canadian Studies, for the Organizing Committee of Pioneers 2000, a national conference on immigration. Because of the independence given the author in preparing this report, the opinions and recommendations expressed within are those of the author only, and do not necessarily reflect the opinions of the conference Organizing Committee, the hosting organizations and their members and donors, or the sponsors of the conference. Permission is hereby given by the copyright owner for any and all reproduction of this document in its entirety for educational and non-profit purposes.



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TABLE 1: Immigration, Emigration, & Contribution to Population Growth (1851-1996)

	Immigration	Emigration	Contribution to Population Growth
1851 - 1861	352,000	170,000	23.0%
1861 - 1871	260,000	410,000	- 32.6%
1871 - 1881	350,000	404,000	- 8.5%
1881 - 1891	680,000	826,000	- 28.7%
1891 - 1901	250,000	380,000	- 24.2%
1901 - 1911	1,550,000	740,000	44.1%
1911 - 1921	1,400,000	1,089,000	19.7%
1921 - 1931	1,200,000	970,000	14.5%
1931 - 1941	149,000	241,000	- 8.1%
1941 - 1951	548,000	379,000	7.9%
1951 - 1961	1,543,000	463,000	25.5%
1961 - 1971	1,429,000	707,000	21.7%
1971 - 1981	1,824,000	873,000	28.6%
1981 - 1991	1,866,000	640,000	27.7%
1991 - 1996	1,170,000	480,000	50.9%

SOURCE: Statistics Canada and Roderic Beaujot, *Immigration and Canadian Demographics*, 1998.

Canada's Immigration Minister, Elinor Kaplan, recently described the decade of the 1990's as the country's most sustained period of substantial immigration. Of course, as a percentage of the total population, the number of immigrants who arrived at the start of the 20th century was considerably more important relative to the total Canadian population than in the last decade (*Kaplan, 1999*). Yet, as we can see in *Table 1*, from 1991–1996 immigration represented the most important aspect of population growth. This was the result of the considerable decrease in the birth rate as a contributing factor to population growth. At no other point in the history of the country will immigration have made a larger contribution to the growth of the Canadian population. Some analysts predict that in three decades, immigration will be the only source contributing to the growth of the Canadian population (*Beaujot, 1998*).

The influx of immigrants during the 1990's was unique in several ways. It will undoubtedly have an important impact on the Canadian economy, but will also bring about important demographic change and very much influence the national identity. In that which follows, we will offer a profile of the immigrant population and look at how it may affect the future growth of the country. We will focus on the economic and educational characteristics of recent immigrants as well as their settlement pattern. We will further examine how immigration affects Canada's principal metropolises. We will conclude by presenting a number of scenarios on the impact of immigration on the future population of Canada and compare the situation with that in a number of other countries.

In the early 1990's the government described its immigration objective as 1% of the total Canadian population. Had this objective been reached the country would have received some three million immigrants (approximately 300,000 per year) over that ten-year period. This was not the case. The real number of immigrants who came to Canada each year failed to reach the annual targets established by the federal Ministry of Immigration. In the last few years of the decade, the numbers of persons who entered the country has decreased rather sharply.

CANADIAN-BORN vs. IMMIGRATION

In 1996 there were some five million immigrants in the country, up 14.5% in five years. The increase was just over three times the growth rate of the Canadian population (*Statistics Canada, The Daily, November 4, 1997*). The ratio of the foreign-born to the Canadian-born population has fluctuated somewhat over the course of the century depending on the levels of immigration. With the exception of the period 1911-31, those born outside the country represented less than one out of five Canadians. By the end of WWII the proportion of foreign-born Canadians fell to 15% and it is only over the past fifteen years that it has been steadily increasing. As we observe in the figure below, it currently stands at 17.4%.

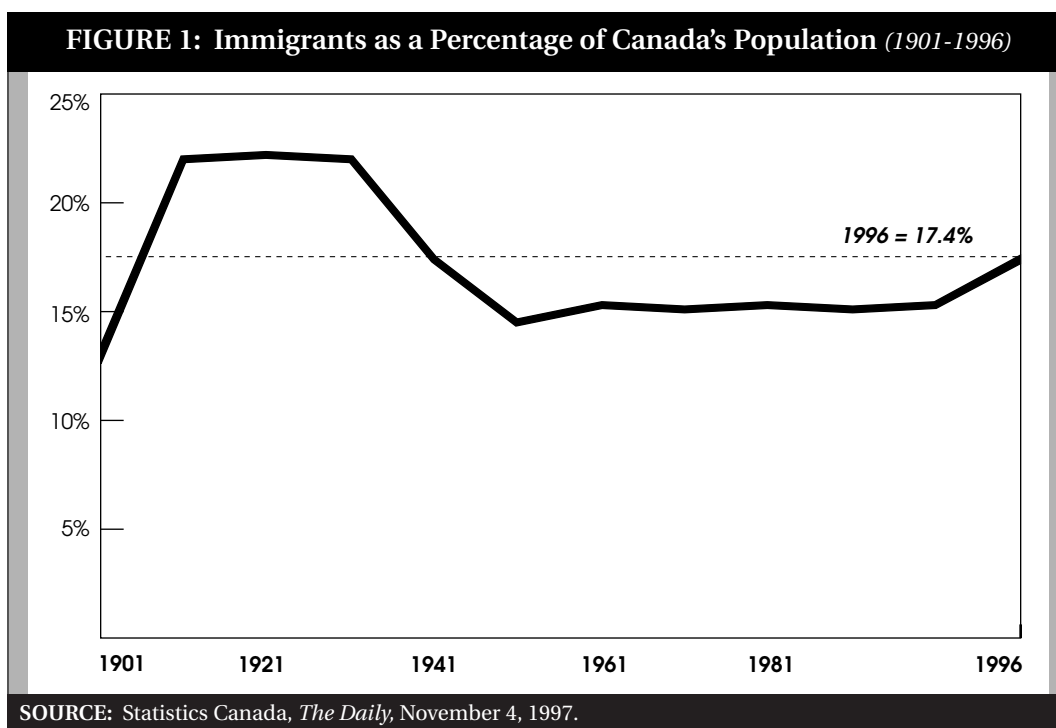


Table 2 and Table 3 reveal that the ratio of foreign-born to Canadian-born is quite significant in contrast with most other nations. For example, the foreign-born population of the United States was 7.9% in 1990, an important increase from the 4.7 percent that it represented some twenty years earlier (*Table 2*). Nonetheless, the share of foreign-born Americans remains well below that of the immigrant population of Canada.

TABLE 2: Total and Foreign-Born U.S. Population (1900 - 1990)

Year	Total U.S. Population	Total Foreign-born Population	Foreign-born as a % of Total Population
1990	248,710,000	19,767,000	7.9%
1970	203,210,000	9,619,000	4.7%
1930	123,203,000	14,283,000	11.6%
1920	106,022,000	14,020,000	13.2%
1900	76,212,000	10,445,000	13.7%

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, Ethnic and Hispanic Branch.

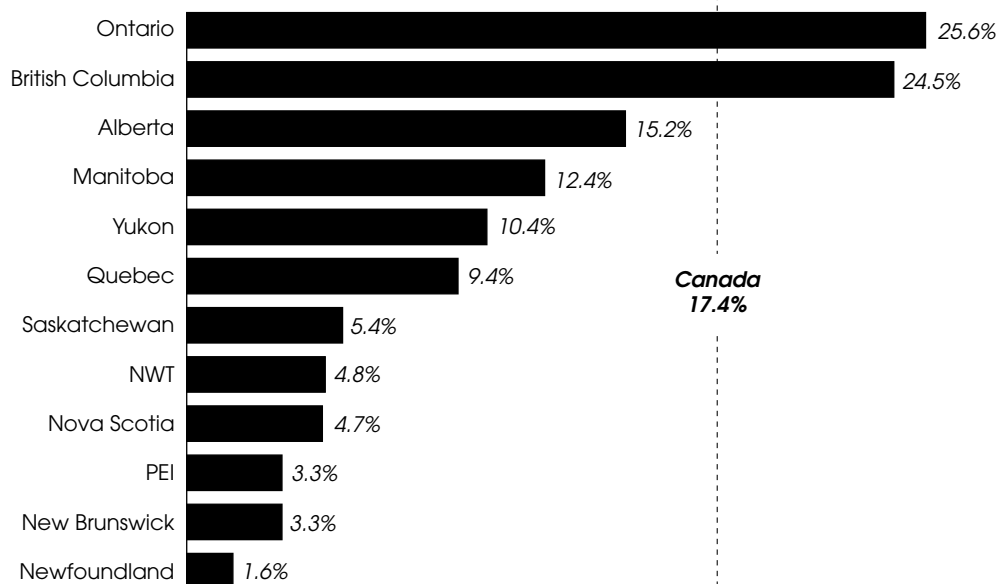
TABLE 3: Percent Foreign-Born (Selected Countries Around 1980)

Country	Total Population	Foreign-Born	Foreign-Born as a % of Total Population
Israel	3,350,000	1,422,000	42.4%
Hong Kong	5,396,000	2,193,000	40.6%
Canada	25,022,000	3,908,000	15.6%
The Bahamas	210,000	24,000	11.4%
Belgium	9,849,000	835,000	8.5%
Belize	143,000	12,000	8.4%
Barbados	244,000	19,000	7.8%
Venezuela	14,517,000	1,075,000	7.4%
United States	226,546,000	14,080,000	6.2%
Trinidad & Tobago	1,056,000	60,000	5.7%
South Africa	25,017,000	963,000	3.8%
Mexico	66,847,000	269,000	0.4%

SOURCE: 1989 United Nations Demographic Yearbook, Table 31.

1. The Provinces

Across Canada, however, the immigrant presence is very unevenly distributed. As we can see in the figure below, in 1996 some one out of four residents in the provinces of Ontario and British Columbia were not born in the country. This stands in marked contrast to the other provinces. Despite the fact that Quebec received the second largest number of immigrants of any province in 1996, the number of foreign-born residents was under ten percent. (In large part this is related to the heavy concentration of immigrants in Montreal where the share of the foreign born population is considerably greater than in the rest of Canada).

FIGURE 2: Immigrants as a Percentage of Provinces and Territories (1996)

SOURCE: Statistics Canada, Census of 1996 published in *The Daily*, November 4, 1997.

2. The Census Metropolitan Areas

The difference in the presence of immigrants is even more pronounced if one's focus is Canada's metropolitan areas. For example, in metro Toronto in 1996, 42% of the population was not born in Canada and this share is on the rise. It is followed by the CMA of Vancouver where over one-third of the population was not born in the country. In fact, Vancouver has a higher number of immigrants than does the Montreal region. As we can observe in the table below, the Montreal region ranks 7th amongst Canadian CMA's in terms of the share of its immigrant population.

TABLE 4: Immigrant and non-Immigrant Population for Canadian CMAs

Census Area	Non-Immigrant Population		Immigrant Population	
	#	%	#	%
Halifax	305,145	92.5%	23,640	7.2%
Montreal	2,664,475	81.1%	586,465	17.8%
Quebec City	644,670	97.1%	17,390	2.6%
Toronto	2,407,470	56.9%	1,772,905	41.9%
Hamilton	469,295	76.0%	145,660	23.6%
Ottawa-Carleton	832,595	83.2%	161,885	16.2%
London	316,435	80.3%	75,975	19.3%
Winnipeg	545,285	82.3%	111,690	16.9%
Regina	175,475	91.6%	15,230	8.0%
Saskatoon	198,850	91.9%	16,455	7.6%
Edmonton	691,610	80.9%	158,375	18.5%
Calgary	640,550	78.5%	170,875	20.9%
Vancouver	1,156,365	63.7%	633,740	34.9%
Victoria	240,390	80.1%	57,795	19.3%

SOURCE: Statistics Canada, *The Daily*, November 4, 1997.

PATTERNS OF SETTLEMENT

1. The Provinces

Since the 1960's the vast majority of immigrants have settled in Ontario, British Columbia and Quebec, with the three provinces accounting for nearly 90% of all immigration (*Table 5*). This immigration has been the principal source of population growth for these provinces in comparison with the other parts of the country. With respect to the regional distribution of immigrants some believe that a rule of thumb is a province's share of the national population. Both Ontario and British Columbia have consistently received a share of immigrants above that level. Although in 1991, Quebec had a share of immigration near its percentage of the Canadian population, there has been an important decline in recent years. We can see in the table below that in the year 1996, the province of British Columbia received a much greater share of immigrants to Canada than Quebec did. Indeed the difference in that year was virtually unprecedented, and represented a reversal in the proportion of immigrants arriving in the two provinces. We can further observe in the table that the prairie provinces have experienced a decrease in their share of Canadian immigration.

Between 1996 and 1999 the gap in the number of immigrants entering British Columbia and Quebec narrowed somewhat (*Table 6*). Perhaps the major change occurred between 1997 and 1999 as Ontario further increased its already important share of immigrants to nearly 55% of Canada's total immigration. This combined with the recent net gains from inter-provincial migration made by Ontario are contributing to strong population growth relative to the other provinces.

**TABLE 5: Percentage Distribution of Landed Immigrants
by Intended Province of Destination, Canada**

Province	1971	1981	1986	1991	1996
Newfoundland	0.7%	0.4%	0.3%	0.3%	0.3%
Prince Edward Island	0.1%	0.1%	0.2%	0.1%	0.1%
Nova Scotia	1.5%	1.1%	1.1%	0.6%	1.4%
New Brunswick	0.9%	0.8%	0.6%	0.3%	0.3%
Quebec	15.8%	16.4%	19.6%	22.3%	13.2%
Ontario	52.8%	42.7%	50.0%	51.4%	52.9%
Manitoba	4.3%	4.2%	3.8%	2.4%	1.7%
Saskatchewan	1.2%	1.9%	1.9%	1.1%	0.8%
Alberta	7.1%	15.0%	9.7%	7.3%	6.1%
British Columbia	15.5%	17.1%	12.6%	13.9%	23.0%
Yukon and NWT	0.2%	0.2%	0.1%	0.1%	0.1%
Unknown	0.0%	0.3%	0.1%	0.3%	0.0%
Total Percentage	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Total Number	121,717	128,793	99,339	232,763	226,050

SOURCE: Statistics Canada, *The Daily*, November 4, 1997.

**TABLE 6: Percentage Distribution of Landed Immigrants by Intended
Province of Destination (1997 to June 1998)**

Province	1997		1998		1999 (January to June)	
Quebec	27,300	12.6%	26,100	15.1%	13,500	15.4%
Ontario	117,200	54.5%	92,500	53.0%	47,200	54.3%
British Columbia	47,600	22.0%	35,700	20.5%	17,200	19.8%
Canada	216,000	100.0%	173,900	100.0%	87,500	100.0%

SOURCE: *Quarterly Demographic Statistics*, Statistics Canada, Volumes 11-13, 1997-1999.

2. The CMA's

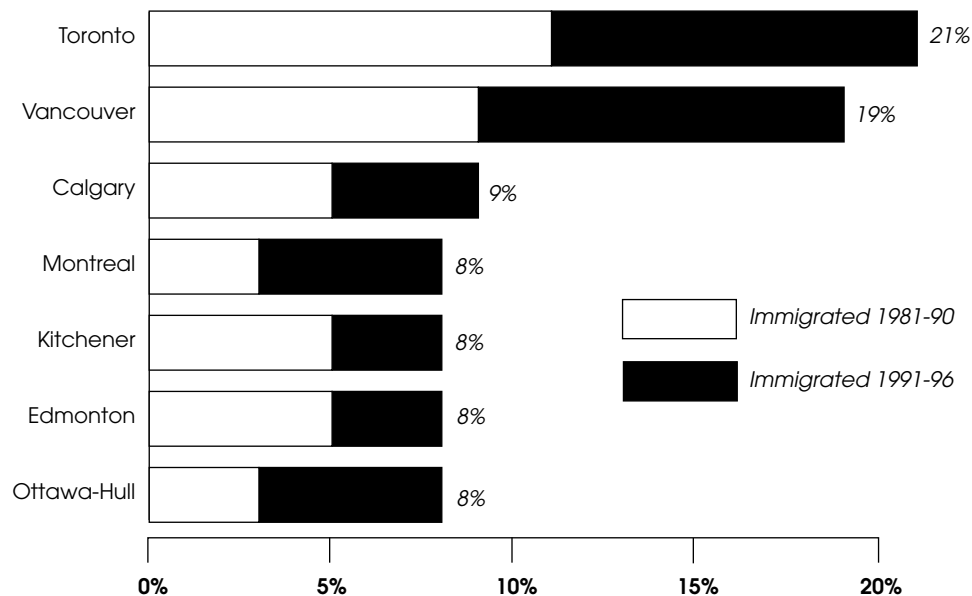
In 1996, some 85% of all immigrants – and 93% of all those who arrived between 1991 and 1996 – lived in a census metropolitan area, as compared with just 57% of Canadian-born people. It is the metropolitan regions of Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver that immigrants are concentrated as nearly three of four immigrants settle there. As we can observe in the table below, Canada's more populous cities experienced decreases in the numbers of immigrants that they received from 1996-1998. This reflects the reduction in the overall level of immigration to the country over that period. In fact, in 1998, Montreal was perhaps the only metropolis that didn't follow the general trend. Another exception was in those areas outside the larger cities which did not encounter any significant decrease in the numbers of immigrants they received.

TABLE 7: Principal Applicants and Dependents

Census Area	1996		1997		1998	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Halifax	2,898	1.3%	2,577	1.2%	1,766	1.0%
Montreal	24,672	10.9%	22,516	10.4%	20,234	11.6%
Quebec City	1,412	0.6%	1,369	0.6%	1,349	0.8%
Toronto	97,235	43.0%	96,540	44.7%	73,560	42.3%
Hamilton	2,843	1.3%	2,562	1.2%	1,950	1.1%
Ottawa-Carleton	5,878	2.6%	5,726	2.7%	5,174	3.0%
London	1,670	0.7%	1,520	0.7%	1,284	0.7%
Winnipeg	3,359	1.5%	3,214	1.5%	2,419	1.4%
Regina	633	0.3%	559	0.3%	486	0.3%
Saskatoon	761	0.3%	749	0.4%	676	0.4%
Edmonton	4,935	2.2%	4,399	2.0%	3,689	2.1%
Calgary	7,031	3.1%	6,813	3.2%	5,846	3.4%
Vancouver	46,057	20.4%	41,093	19.0%	30,169	17.3%
Victoria	897	0.4%	719	0.3%	526	0.3%
Elsewhere in Region	25,769	11.4%	25,688	11.9%	24,972	14.3%
Total	226,050	100.0%	216,044	100.0%	174,100	100.0%

SOURCE: Statistics Canada, *The Daily*, November 4, 1997.

FIGURE 3: Immigrants who Arrived Since 1981 as a Percentage of Selected CMAs, 1996



SOURCE: Statistics Canada, *The Daily*, November 4, 1997.

3. Secondary Migration

The extent to which immigrants initially settled in a province or CMA does not take into account the significant degree of what is referred to as the inter-provincial mobility or secondary migration of this group. In effect, within a decade of their entry into Canada many immigrants relocated to another province and it might be argued that the overall results of such movement gives a truer picture of their distribution across the country. Government agencies have combined income tax and immigration records for a large sample of immigrants who arrived between 1980 and 1995 to measure this phenomenon. Some two-thirds of immigrants who relocated did so within a few years of their arrival. The degree of secondary migration that occurred over that period was slightly over 13% with British Columbia and Ontario making substantial net gains over most of the provinces. In the former case, for every immigrant that left British Columbia, three arrived from other parts of Canada. This resulted in a further 18% increase in the immigrant population entering the province over that 15-year period. The province of Ontario also made gains from secondary migration as some two immigrants came from the other provinces for every one that left. This represented an increase of over five percent of total immigration between 1980 and 1995. The highest real number of secondary migrants over that period was in Quebec, with nearly 44,000 leaving the province and some 12,700 entering; this represented a net loss of 14.5%. The biggest net loss from this phenomenon was in Saskatchewan where the difference between those who exited and those who entered the province was 46%.

TABLE 8: Secondary Migration by Category of Immigration and Province, Immigrants landed Between 1980 and 1995 Tax Years

	Destined at Landing	Out-Migration	In-Migration	Net In-Migration	Net Loss (%)
Atlantic	21,515	10,325	2,680	- 7,645	- 35.5%
Quebec	214,680	43,920	12,700	- 31,220	- 14.5%
Ontario	668,590	40,275	76,285	+ 36,010	+ 5.4%
Manitoba	41,860	14,300	2,760	- 11,540	- 27.6%
Saskatchewan	16,295	9,185	1,700	- 7,485	- 45.9%
Alberta	113,135	28,940	15,575	- 13,365	- 11.8%
British Columbia	194,565	18,310	52,670	+ 34,360	+ 17.7%

SOURCE: IMBD, Citizenship and Immigration Canada, January, 2000.

CATEGORIES OF IMMIGRATION

Since the 1970's Canadian immigration policy has pursued three main goals. First, is the family reunification. Second, are the humanitarian concerns reflected by the admission of refugees. Finally, in order to stimulate economic growth, business class immigrants and skilled workers who are selected form part of the independent category. These economic immigrants represent a substantial share of Canada's overall immigration. For the year 2000, the federal government has set its overall immigration objective at between 200,000 and 225,000 persons. Of this total, it is projected that over 50% will be either skilled workers (100,500 - 113,300) or business immigrants (15,000-16,000). The latter include entrepreneurs, investors and persons who are self-employed.

Not surprisingly, there are also important variations in the settlement patterns of economic immigrants. In part this is due to the relative strength of the economies in the metropolitan areas as well as the varying needs that may arise from the particular requirements of their respective markets. But there are other considerations that are regional and cultural in nature, e.g. the strength of the Asia-Pacific relationship link in British Columbia. In the year 1998, some 55% of all immigrants to B.C. came from the economic category. The Vancouver area has, over the past few years, been well above the

national average in the percentage of economic immigrants that it takes as a share of its total immigration, with as much as 70% in the year 1997. In fact, in that year it took in nearly three times the number of such immigrants than did the province of Quebec. Despite its taking in the largest number of immigrants, the Toronto region has also remained above the national average in the number of economic immigrants settling there. What distinguishes Montreal from the other two main Metropolitan areas is its share of refugees. For instance, the Montreal area had three times the number of refugees than did Vancouver from 1996-1998. As noted previously, Quebec received between 13% and 15% of all immigrants between 1996 and 1998. Within this total, the proportion of refugees who were admitted to that province was 27%, a decrease from the 31% in the two previous years. Thus, Quebec takes a higher proportion of refugees relative to its total immigration (*Table 9*).

TABLE 9: Refugee Class By Province

Province	1996		1997		1998	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Quebec	8,900	31.5%	7,600	31.7%	6,200	27.3%
Ontario	13,900	49.1%	11,600	48.1%	11,400	50.6%
British Columbia	2,300	8.0%	2,000	8.2%	2,000	8.9%
Canada	28,300	100.0%	24,100	100.0%	22,600	100.0%

SOURCE: "Facts and Figures", Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1998.

In keeping with the decline in the annual number of immigrants coming to Canada there has been a drop in all immigration categories. As we can see below, between 1996 and 1998 business class and investor immigrants settled disproportionately in the province of British Columbia. Most business class immigrants have chosen British Columbia over the other provinces. In recent years, the province of Quebec has increased its share of these immigrants and thus narrowed the gap with British Columbia. This is due in part to the decline of the latter province's economy over the past few years. For its part, Ontario's share of economic immigrants has remained relatively stable.

TABLE 10: Business Class by Province (Principal Applicants)

Province	1996		1997		1998	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Quebec	693	11.2%	915	16.4%	984	25.8%
Ontario	1,900	31.1%	1,900	33.8%	1,100	28.5%
British Columbia	2,600	41.1%	1,900	34.9%	1,200	31.2%
Canada	6,200	100.0%	5,600	100.0%	3,800	100.0%

SOURCE: "Facts and Figures", Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1998.

It is in the above two classes of immigration that Quebec has felt the greatest affects of secondary migration. In the case of refugees, Quebec experienced a net loss of 17% from this source over the 1980 to 1995 period. The net loss in Quebec with respect to the business class was approximately 44%. In the skilled workers category, the province of Quebec did not suffer considerable losses (*Table 11*). Nonetheless, taking all these findings into consideration severely modifies the portrait of Quebec immigration.

TABLE 11: Skilled Workers by Province (Principal Applicants)

Province	1996		1997		1998	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Quebec	4,200	9.9%	3,900	8.7%	4,800	13.3%
Ontario	23,900	56.8%	26,800	59.8%	20,500	57.2%
British Columbia	9,900	23.7%	10,000	22.4%	7,200	20.1%
Canada	42,100	100.0%	44,900	100.0%	35,900	100.0%

SOURCE: "Facts and Figures", Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1998.

EMPLOYMENT AND EDUCATION

1. Work and Employment

Of those immigrants who arrived in the country between 1996 and 1998 some two out of three did so with the intention of working. This is true for all three major cities, as well as for the rest of the country. There is, in fact, an increase in the year 1998 in the extent to which persons who came to the country did so with the intention to work, as some 7 out of 10 persons fell into this category. Quite naturally there is a relationship between the skill level of those who came to the country and the intention to work (*Table 12*).

TABLE 12: Intention to Work (1998)

	Canada		Vancouver		Toronto		Montreal		Rest of Canada	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Intention to work	90,500	66.8%	15,700	65.4%	38,000	66.4%	10,900	69.3%	26,000	67.2%
Do not intend to work	44,900	33.1%	8,300	34.6%	19,200	33.5%	4,800	30.6%	12,600	32.6%
Not Stated	113	0.08%	5	0.02%	25	0.04%	18	0.10%	65	0.20%
Total	135,500	100.0%	24,000	100.0%	57,200	100.0%	15,700	100.0%	38,700	100.0%

SOURCE: "Facts and Figures", Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1998.

As we noted earlier a majority of recent immigrants were either in the business class or were skilled workers. Despite the ability to attract increasing numbers of qualified immigrants, those who arrived in the 1990's have encountered more difficulty in securing employment than those who came here in the 1980's. The labour market of the 1990's saw important changes in the nature of the workplace characterized by significant technological advances.

In 1986, the employment rate of recent immigrant men aged 25 to 44 was 81% whereas the comparable figure in 1996 was 71% (*Badets and Howatson-Leo, 1999*). As analysts *Badets and Howatson-Leo (1999)* have noted, "despite their language abilities and high qualifications, recent immigrants are generally less likely to be employed than people born in Canada. In the short term this is not surprising, given that establishing oneself in a new environment tends to take time." As we can see from the table below, the more time that immigrants are established in the country, the greater the likelihood that they will be employed.

TABLE 13: Total Population aged 25 to 44 by Immigrant Status and Period of Immigration, Sex and Employment Figures (%), for Canada, Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver (1996 Census)

	Canada		Montreal		Toronto		Vancouver	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Pre-1961	5.7%	5.5%	8.8%	10.1%	4.9%	4.0%	8.2%	4.9%
1961 - 1971	6.9%	6.6%	10.4%	8.9%	6.7%	5.7%	4.7%	6.7%
1971 - 1981	8.8%	7.7%	14.7%	12.8%	8.9%	7.2%	6.9%	6.5%
1981 - 1991	12.6%	9.9%	20.8%	18.5%	12.6%	8.8%	11.0%	9.6%
1991 - 1996	19.6%	15.2%	27.6%	26.1%	20.8%	13.9%	16.1%	13.4%

SOURCE: Statistics Canada, *Census of 1996*, Special Compilation.

There are differences across the country in the extent to which employment has been secured by those who have arrived over the past forty years. In general, in the CMA's of Toronto and Vancouver, the unemployment rate of immigrants over these decades has been below the national average. In these two areas there have been a couple of exceptions, most recently in Toronto where the unemployment of male immigrants who arrived between 1991 and 1996 was above the national average. Amongst our three largest CMA's, it is by far Montreal where over the decades immigrants have been least successful in securing employment. Of those who arrived between 1991-1996 some one out of four were not employed.

Not surprisingly there are differences in the employment levels of persons who arrived in the 1990's and those who are Canadian-born. Some of the gap is likely related to a lack of Canadian work experience and the development of contacts. In the CMA's of Toronto and Vancouver the respective ratios of unemployment for Canadian-born and recent immigrants are 14% to 6% and 14% to 7% (*Badets and Howatson-Leo, 1999*). Between Canadian-born and immigrants the variation in regional employment was most pronounced in Montreal. For men aged 25-44, the rate of unemployment in that CMA was 27% compared to 9% for those born in the country. Nor are the gaps mitigated by comparing employment rates of Canadian-born and recent immigrants who hold university degrees. Having high levels of education did not substantially reduce unemployment rates for recent immigrants when compared with the Canadian-born population (*Badets and Howatson-Leo, 1999*). In Toronto and Vancouver, the unemployment rate of recent immigrant male university graduates between the ages of 25-44 was slightly over four times greater than their Canadian-born counterparts (13% to 3%). In the case of Montreal, there was a six-fold difference in the jobless rate of the same group (24% to 4%). Education is considered an important factor in obtaining employment. In the case of recent immigrants, while the chances of finding employment rose with higher levels of education, the jobless rates of such persons was far behind that of persons who were Canadian-born. According to a recent federal government report, in the 1990's there was relative diminishing in the value of a Bachelor's degree consistent with the evolution of the domestic labour market. As Bachelor's degrees become more commonplace, they become a more basic requirement for even lower skill jobs (*Citizenship and Immigration Canada, November, 1998*). This said, if previous experience is any indication, immigrants will quickly adapt to the conditions of the market and achieve levels of employment that are comparable to that of the total population.

2. Education

Although there has been a shift in the importance of educational attainment, there is still undoubtedly an important correlation between the educational background of those who choose to settle in Canada and their respective degrees of employability. According to a government report on selection criteria, education remains an important consideration in the employment market and a pivotal factor in determining one's capacity to successfully establish in this country. Amongst immigrant skilled workers, employment earnings positively correlate with levels of education, while the incidence of joblessness is inversely related (*Citizenship and Immigration Canada, November 1998*). Economists in Canada's Immigration Ministry believe that education is the most important selection criterion and should, in future, be given greater consideration in the admission of immigrants.

TABLE 14: Level of Education (1998)

	Canada		Vancouver		Toronto		Montreal		Rest of Canada	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
0-9 years of schooling	23,900	17.7%	4,200	17.7%	9,900	17.2%	2,800	17.8%	7,100	18.3%
10-12 years of schooling	27,900	20.6%	4,500	18.7%	11,700	20.5%	3,600	23.1%	8,100	20.9%
13 or more years of schooling	11,400	8.4%	2,000	8.3%	4,500	7.8%	1,600	10.3%	3,300	8.6%
Trade certificate	11,900	8.8%	2,000	8.4%	4,500	7.8%	1,700	10.9%	3,700	9.5%
Non-university diploma	12,100	9.0%	2,300	9.7%	4,400	7.7%	1,800	11.4%	3,600	9.3%
Bachelor's degree	36,400	26.9%	6,900	28.9%	17,200	30.0%	3,000	18.8%	9,300	24.2%
Master's degree	9,400	6.9%	1,700	7.0%	4,300	7.4%	783	4.0%	2,700	6.9%
Doctorate	2,400	1.8%	312	1.3%	831	1.5%	423	2.7%	845	2.2%
Total	135,500	100.0%	23,980	100.0%	57,200	100.0%	15,694	100.0%	38,760	100.0%

SOURCE: "Facts and Figures", Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1998.

TABLE 15: Level of Education (1997)

	Canada		Vancouver		Toronto		Montreal	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Non-university diploma	13,600	8.2%	2,700	8.6%	5,500	7.4%	1,700	9.5%
Bachelor's degree	40,802	24.5%	8,078	25.3%	19,600	26.4%	3,000	17.2%
Master's degree	11,569	6.9%	2,189	6.8%	5,600	7.6%	701	4.0%
Doctorate	2,700	1.6%	421	1.9%	1,000	1.3%	337	1.9%
Total	166,800	100.0%	32,000	100.0%	74,377	100.0%	17,420	100.0%

SOURCE: "Facts and Figures", Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1998.

TABLE 16: Level of Education (1996)

	Canada		Vancouver		Toronto		Montreal	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Non-university diploma	13,800	7.8%	2,900	8.2%	5,400	7.2%	1,600	8.5%
Bachelor's degree	37,800	21.5%	7,700	21.5%	17,000	22.5%	3,200	16.7%
Master's degree	10,000	5.7%	2,000	5.6%	4,300	5.7%	714	3.7%
Doctorate	2,700	1.5%	358	1.0%	908	1.2%	398	2.1%
Total	175,800	100.0%	35,800	100.0%	75,700	100.0%	19,300	100.0%

SOURCE: "Facts and Figures", Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1998.

During the 1980's and 1990's those who entered the country were better educated than persons born in Canada in the same age category (25-44 years). In 1996, the percentage of recently arrived male university graduates (36%) was twice as high as that of Canadian-born men (18%). One can observe in the tables above, that from 1996-1998, Canada increased its share of immigrants with both non-university diplomas and university degrees. Those with at least a Bachelor's degree increased from approximately 29% in the year 1996 to over 35% in the year 1998. It is worth bearing in mind that this increase coincided with the significant reduction, noted earlier, in the real numbers of immigrants who entered the country. In terms of those CMA's that attract the highest share of such university graduates it is Toronto and Vancouver that surpass the national average with Montreal falling considerably below in its drawing on this group. As noted in *Table 14*, while the rest of Canada receives a lesser number of such graduates, in 1998, it was well ahead of Montreal in that regard.

AGING

As a consequence of the relatively low fertility rate of Canadians, some observers believe that immigration is the only solution to the aging of the Canadian population. According to demographer Roderic Beaujot, immigration will neither resolve nor aggravate the problem. To support this view he has compared the average age of immigrants, at their time of arrival in the country, to that of the Canadian population.

Between 1956 and 1976 the median age of immigrants was relatively stable at 25, then increased to 27 in 1981-1986, 28 in 1986-1990 and 30 in 1994 (*Beaujot et al., 1989; Beaujot and Hou, 1993; Citizenship and Immigration, 1997b: 40*). The average age of the total Canadian population has changed much more, increasing from 26.3 in 1961 to 35.3 in 1996. From 1945-1971, the median age of arriving immigrants was about a year younger than that of the receiving population, changing to two years younger by 1981 and close to five years younger in 1991-1996. Both the immigrant and non-immigrant population have been aging, but arrivals remain younger on average. Beaujot contends that the overall impact is rather small given that immigrant arrivals represent a small part of the total population.

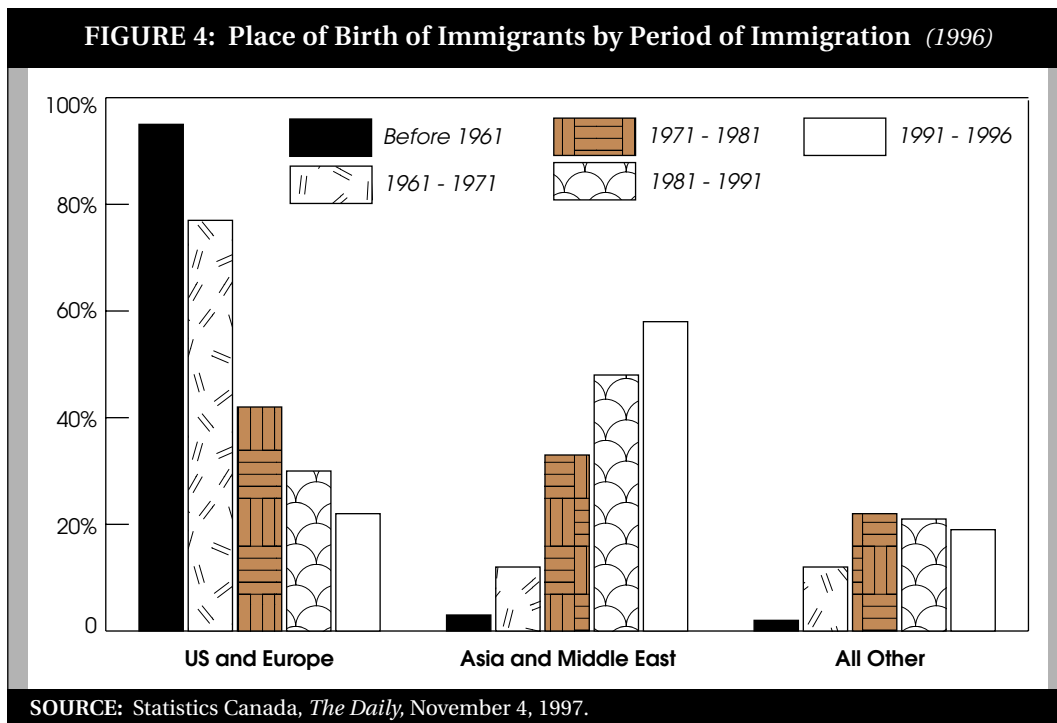
He does note, however, that higher levels of immigration will slow down the aging of the population. For example, based on 1994 levels, immigration of 140,000 per year yields a median age of 40.5 in 2009, while this median age is reached in 2011 with immigration of 200,000 per year.

LABOUR FORCE

Having a younger group of immigrants arriving in the country is considered vital to the growth of the labour force. The labour force has grown considerably, especially since the baby boom, and since more women took paid employment. Between 1971 and 1976 it increased nearly 18%, but has since slowed and the rate for the years 1991-1996 was 4.2% (*Denton et al.: 38-39*). The contribution of net immigration to labour force growth has increased substantially from 9.6% in 1976-81 to 71.0% between 1991 and 1996. Assuming the entry of 200,000 immigrants per year, the size of the labour force declines slightly in the period 2026 to 2036, but its size in 2036 is 16% larger than in 1996. Analysts *Denton et al.* propose (1994) various scenarios to determine the level of immigration required to maintain the labour force growth that occurred between 1986 and 1996. For the period 1996-2006, an annual immigration of 227,000 would be sufficient, to sustain the growth of the labour force at current levels, but beyond the year 2016 in excess of 500,000 immigrants would be needed. If the objective is simply to avoid a decline of the labour force, immigration just above 200,000 per year would be sufficient.

IMMIGRATION AND CANADIAN IDENTITY

Over the course of the 20th century immigrants have had a profound impact on Canadian identity. Following WWII, changes to Canada's immigration policy saw a significant shift from the overwhelmingly European origins of immigrants to the arrival of persons from Asia and the Middle East. As barriers against such immigration were lifted, non-European migrants came to Canada in increasing numbers and, as we can observe in the figure below, by the 1970's constituted the majority of those who settled in this country. The elimination of restrictions emerged at a time when Europe, with its improved economy and declining birth rates, no longer provided for important flow of migrants to North America. Moreover, improvements in the economies of developing countries created sources of immigration that will increasingly meet the selection criteria established by the federal government. In fact, nearly three quarters of the economic immigrants (skilled workers and business class) are from Asia and the Middle East.



The increasingly diverse composition of our immigration has meant that a rapidly rising share of the Canadian population is of neither British nor French origin. In 1901, some 90% of Canadians were of either British or French origin and in 1961 75% claimed that they belonged to one of these two groups. By 1991 only about 50% of the population reported British and French origins, with 31% being of other ethnic origins. The 1990's saw by far the greatest level of non-European immigration in the history of the country. With the influx of immigrants from Asia, Africa and the Middle East, and the aging of the European origin population, there will be considerable ethnic variation in the future. It is difficult to foresee the future sources of immigration. Immigrants are often attracted to a given country by virtue of its ethnic make-up. According to the 1996 Census, the immigrant population in Vancouver was 56% Asian-born and 30% European-born. In Toronto it was 37% Asian-born and 40% European-born, whereas in Montreal it was 27% Asian-born and 42% European-born. The recent increase in the numbers of Asian immigrants to British Columbia will see further increases in the size of that group as those in the family class reunite with family members.

The former communist countries of Eastern Europe may provide greater numbers of immigrants over the coming decades. For the forthcoming period, the family reunification category will be dominated by persons of Asian, African, Middle Eastern and Central and South American origins.

There are regional variations to migration. For example, in the middle years of the 1990's, the proportion of immigrants who came from an Asian country was 80% for Vancouver, 58% for Toronto and 33% for Montreal. Moreover, British Columbia picked up a further number of persons of Asian descent through net gains from secondary migration against the other provinces (*Government of British Columbia, 1997*). For its part, Montreal led the other two cities with a higher proportion of European, African, Middle Eastern and Central and Southern American immigrants. In fact, as we can see in the table below, in the year 1998 the percentage of immigrants to Montreal from Europe and the United Kingdom was above the national average in contrast with the situation in Toronto and Vancouver. In recent years, France has led the way as the principal source country of immigrants arriving in Quebec. Between 1996 and 1998 there was a slight increase in the share of immigration from that country, rising from 8% to 12% of the annual arrivals. This is in keeping with the objective of the Quebec government to attract a greater percentage of immigrants from that source (see section on language).

TABLE 17: Immigration Summary by Source Area (1998)

Region	Canada	Vancouver	Toronto	Montreal
Africa and the Middle East	18.7%	11.2%	19.6%	25.6%
Asia and Pacific	48.3%	72.2%	49.8%	33.2%
South and Central America	8.0%	3.2%	9.5%	12.9%
United States	2.7%	1.9%	2.1%	1.4%
Europe and the United Kingdom	22.1%	11.3%	19.0%	26.7%
Not Stated	0.2%	0.2%	0.1%	0.0%

SOURCE: "Facts and Figures: Immigration Overview", Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1999.

VISIBLE MINORITIES

As we have noted, much of the recent immigration to the country emanates from Asia, Africa, the Middle East and Central and South America. As such, some three out of four immigrants who have arrived in Canada since the 1980's fall within the category of visible minorities, as broadly defined by the Census of Canada. Continued immigration from these countries implies that a greater percentage of Canadians will, in future, be members of visible minority groups. We can see in the table below that Statistics Canada predicts that between 1991 and 2016, the share of persons in this category will double.

TABLE 18: Projected Proportion of Visible Minority Population in the Canadian Population (Selected Years, 1991-2016)

Year	Population Growth Scenario (%)		
	Low	Medium	High
1991	9.7%	9.7%	9.7%
1996	11.9%	11.9%	11.9%
2001	14.0%	14.1%	14.2%
2006	16.0%	16.1%	16.4%
2011	17.7%	18.0%	18.5%
2016	19.4%	19.7%	20.6%

SOURCE: Statistics Canada, Population Projections Section.

The change in share displayed above will mean that in real numbers the visible minority population will rise two and a half fold over the same twenty five period (*Table 19*). One of the consequences of these changes is that visible minority status will become an increasingly important aspect of Canadian identity and may have significant policy implications.

**TABLE 19: Projection of Visible Minority Groups,
Canada, Provinces and Regions**

Group	1991	2016
Canada	2,714,700	7,137,000
Atlantic	47,200	60,500
Quebec	413,200	1,059,700
Ontario	1,410,500	3,991,300
Manitoba	77,500	136,800
Saskatchewan	27,300	43,200
Alberta	246,900	553,900
British Columbia	489,700	1,296,000

SOURCE: Statistics Canada, Population Projections Section.

Of Canada's census metropolitan areas, Toronto had the highest share of visible minorities (*Table 20*). Some project that shortly after the 2001 census visible minorities will make up the majority of Metro Toronto's population. Vancouver has the second largest share of visible minorities, considerably greater than such communities in Edmonton, Calgary and Montreal. A report on the evolving composition of the population of Metro Toronto suggests that Canadian immigration policy has created two distinct groups of immigrants: (1) persons mainly from Europe who now represent large, well established immigrant and Canadian-born populations in Ontario and Metropolitan Toronto; (2) persons mainly of racial minorities from developing countries starting to build the community infrastructure in Metropolitan Toronto to serve the specific needs of their communities (*Metropolitan Toronto, 1995*).

**TABLE 20: Population of Visible Minorities in Selected CMAs
and Percentage of Total (1996)**

Census Area	Visible Minority Population	
	#	%
Halifax	22,320	6.8%
Montreal	401,420	12.2%
Quebec City	9,820	1.5%
Toronto	1,338,095	31.6%
Hamilton	48,910	7.9%
Ottawa-Carleton	115,460	11.5%
London	30,330	7.7%
Winnipeg	73,315	11.1%
Regina	10,355	5.4%
Saskatoon	11,250	5.2%
Edmonton	115,435	13.5%
Calgary	127,555	15.6%
Vancouver	564,600	31.1%
Victoria	22,915	7.6%

SOURCE: Statistics Canada, *The Daily*, February 17, 1998.

In both Ontario and British Columbia, policy analysts argue that: “government policies and programs that ensure visible minorities are equally represented, and potential racial conflicts are minimized, will need to be developed and maintained” (*Schrier and Black, 1994*). The Report of the Metro Toronto group echoes these views in contending that: “The increasing racial minority population in Metropolitan Toronto raises a variety of issues regarding institutional change to accommodate and reflect the changing racial composition of Metro. Current issues include police-community relations, and employment and education equity.”

LANGUAGE and IMMIGRATION

Knowledge of at least one of the country’s official languages is considered an important factor in the adaptation of new immigrants. In Canada, most jobs are conducted in one language and the ability to use an official language is an important tool in the labour market. Data on employment earnings confirm that there is an income gap amongst those skilled workers who are able to speak an official language versus those who are not. Thus, the linguistic ability of candidates is given significant weight in the decision to admit an immigrant to the country. Indeed immigration officials have been recommending that it be given even greater consideration in the immigrant selection process. As we can see in the tables below, the majority of immigrants who entered Canada from 1996-98 were able to speak one of Canada’s official languages. Still, an important number of persons who come to the country speak neither English nor French. Indeed over 40% of recent immigrants fall into this category, a share that has been growing over the past few years.

Over the past quarter century, the province of Quebec has shown significant interest in attracting immigrants whose first language is French and has continually increased the share of such immigration that it targets when setting its desired annual levels. As we can observe in the tables below the overwhelming majority of Canada’s French-speaking immigrants have come to the province of Quebec. Over 80% of all immigrants to Canada who speak only French settle in Quebec. The 17% who take up residence in other parts of the country settle for the most part, in the province of Ontario.

Over the last few years the reduced share of immigrants coming to the country has meant that in real terms the Quebec government has not attracted the same number of francophones that it did in the earlier part of the 1990’s. The recruitment of francophone immigrants is apparently not that simple

With respect to immigrants who speak both official languages, the tables show that nearly the same number settle in Quebec as do in the rest of the country. Analysts contend that the ability to speak a second official language does not provide a superior level of earnings for those immigrants who possess such linguistic abilities. Still, these authorities accept that the ability to speak both official languages provides immigrants with greater geographic mobility that will help them take advantage of opportunities as they arise in other parts of the country.

TABLE 21: Immigration by Language Ability (1996)

	English		French		Both		Neither	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Canada	117,000	51.8%	9,800	4.3%	6,600	2.9%	92,600	41.0%
Quebec	6,800	22.8%	8,200	27.5%	3,400	11.4%	11,400	38.3%
Rest of Canada	110,200	56.2%	1,600	0.8%	3,200	1.6%	81,200	41.4%

SOURCE: “*Facts and Figures*”, Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1998.

TABLE 22: Immigration by Language Ability (1997)

	English		French		Both		Neither	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Canada	111,300	51.5%	8,300	3.8%	6,100	2.8%	90,300	41.8%
Quebec	5,900	21.3%	6,900	24.9%	3,000	10.8%	11,900	43.0%
Rest of Canada	105,400	56.0%	1,400	0.7%	3,100	1.6%	78,400	41.6%

SOURCE: "Facts and Figures", Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1998.

TABLE 23: Immigration by Language Ability (1998)

	English		French		Both		Neither	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Canada	83,100	47.7%	8,400	4.8%	6,400	3.7%	76,200	43.8%
Quebec	4,400	16.8%	7,100	27.1%	3,500	13.4%	11,200	42.7%
Rest of Canada	78,700	53.2%	1,300	0.9%	2,900	2.0%	65,000	44.0%

SOURCE: "Facts and Figures", Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1998.

TABLE 24: Language Ability of Economic Immigrants (1998)

Language Ability	#	Skilled Workers		Business Class	
		#	%	#	%
English	83,052	26,603	32.0%	1,538	1.9%
French	8,371	2,104	25.1%	132	1.6%
Both	6,438	3,535	54.9%	105	1.6%
Neither	76,163	3,625	4.8%	2,039	2.7%
Not Stated	76	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Total	174,100	35,867	20.6%	3,814	2.2%

SOURCE: "Facts and Figures", Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1998.

We can see above that the proportion of business class immigrants who speak French is somewhat less than the share that this group represents amongst English language immigrants (*Table 24*). Amongst skilled workers, the lowest ratio is the francophone share of this category.

1. The CMA's

One can see the extent to which immigrants are drawn to a particular part of Canada based on the linguistic composition of the area. In the cities of Vancouver and Toronto the share of immigrants who speak French only is very limited. In the case of Vancouver, we can see that in 1998, there was a slight majority of entrants who spoke neither official language. In Toronto the proportion of immigrants who spoke English only was well above the national average. With respect to Montreal, a majority of immigrants are not unilingually French and the number of entrants who spoke English only is not far behind the francophone arrivals.

TABLE 25: Language Ability of Immigrants in Vancouver, Toronto and Montreal (1996)

	Vancouver		Toronto		Montreal	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
English	23,023	50.0%	58,677	60.4%	6,157	25.0%
French	152	0.30%	593	0.60%	6,780	27.5%
Both	407	0.90%	1,585	1.6%	2,820	11.4%
Neither	22,475	48.8%	36,380	37.4%	8,915	36.1%
Total	46,057	100.0%	97,235	100.0%	24,672	100.0%

SOURCE: "Facts and Figures", Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1998.

TABLE 26: Language Ability of Immigrants in Vancouver, Toronto and Montreal (1997)

	Vancouver		Toronto		Montreal	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
English	20,812	50.7%	57,236	59.3%	5,186	23.0%
French	105	0.30%	548	0.60%	5,521	24.5%
Both	426	1.0%	1,571	1.6%	2,396	10.6%
Neither	19,750	48.1%	37,185	38.5%	9,413	41.8%
Total	41,093	100.0%	96,540	100.0%	22,516	100.0%

SOURCE: "Facts and Figures", Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1998.

TABLE 27: Language Ability of Immigrants in Vancouver, Toronto and Montreal (1998)

	Vancouver		Toronto		Montreal	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
English	14,582	48.3%	41,660	56.6%	3,740	18.5%
French	91	0.30%	492	0.70%	5,515	27.3%
Both	398	1.3%	1,435	2.0%	2,813	13.9%
Neither	15,098	50.0%	29,973	40.7%	8,166	40.4%
Total	30,169	100.0%	73,560	100.0%	20,234	100.0%

SOURCE: "Facts and Figures", Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1998.

The tables above do not take into account the degree of secondary migration referred to earlier. In the case of Quebec over the period 1980 to 1995, there was a net loss of one out of four English-speaking immigrants and of approximately 17% of those who spoke neither language. The province of British Columbia had a significant net benefit from secondary migrants in both these language groups as did the province of Ontario, though on a lesser scale.

2. Non-Official Languages

Many of the immigrants speak neither English nor French and the proportion of such persons has steadily been on the rise. The various European languages (other than English or French) are fast losing ground to the Asian languages. As we can see below, the bulk of immigration, particularly since 1981, has resulted in Chinese becoming the third most widely spoken language in Canada. Indeed by 2001, the Chinese languages will be spoken in more homes outside of Quebec than the French language. Other languages which are growing rapidly are Punjabi and Spanish (the latter's growth is occurring primarily in Quebec). The immigrant population of Quebec is by far the most trilingual and multilingual in the country (*Jedwab, 2000*).

TABLE 28: Immigrant Population by Mother Tongue and Period of Immigration (1996)

Non-official Language	Number of Immigrants	Before 1960	1961 to 1970	1971 to 1980	1981 to 1990	1991 to 1996
Chinese	584,350	16,995	33,430	110,545	185,165	238,210
%		2.9%	5.7%	18.9%	31.8%	40.8%
Portugese	159,005	10,895	44,575	56,940	34,490	12,105
%		6.9%	28.0%	35.8%	21.7%	7.6%
Greek	76,155	18,405	32,850	18,205	4,665	2,030
%		24.2%	43.1%	23.9%	6.1%	2.7%
Italian	316,345	153,555	119,645	31,480	8,485	3,185
%		48.5%	37.8%	10.0%	2.7%	1.0%
Polish	165,310	37,035	12,100	10,525	70,015	35,645
%		22.4%	7.3%	6.4%	42.3%	21.6%
Ukrainian	40,400	29,415	2,695	1,710	2,655	3,920
%		72.8%	6.7%	4.2%	6.8%	9.7%

SOURCE: Jack Jedwab, *Ethnic Identification and Heritage Languages in Canada*, Université de Montréal and Image Interculturelles, March, 2000.

IMMIGRATION IN THE MOSAIC AND THE MELTING POT

Perhaps the most common comparison Canadians make regarding the country's approach to diversity is with their large neighbor to the South. Generally the Canadian approach to receiving new immigrants is described as multiculturalism, while the American way of integrating new arrivals is characterized as the melting pot. As one American authority on immigration has noted: "The U.S. has never been a multicultural society like Canada, where it is the purpose of government to maintain cultural diversity [a matter that is in our view open to debate]...immigrants and non-immigrants have always encountered enormous pressures to conform to a cultural norm dating from the colonial period" (*Miller, 1998*).

Underlying these presumably opposing approaches to immigrant life are certain historical and demographic realities. Although both the U.S. and Canada have been referred to as nations of immigrants, the two country's respective patterns of immigration diverge in a number of ways. For example, the ratio of immigrants to emigrants in the United States has been better than in Canada. During most of the 20th century, the ratio of entrants to those who have exited the U.S. has been between three and four to one, whereas in Canada the comparable ratio has been between two and three to one (*see Table 1 and Table 29, which is below*). As noted previously, despite this Canada has a significantly higher proportion of persons who are foreign-born.

Although the population of the United States is nearly ten times that of Canada, over the past forty years it has received a little over four times more immigrants than its neighbour to the North. Thus on a per capita basis Canada takes in a higher proportion of immigrants relative to its total population than does the United States. One can see that the countries of origin of immigrants are different in Canada and the United States. From 1981 to 1996 some one out four immigrants to the United States were from Mexico (one out of five in the year 1996), while recent immigration to Canada shows a high proportion of persons from Asian countries (*Table 30*).

TABLE 29: Immigration and Emigration by Decade (1901 - 1990)

Decade	Immigrants to US	Emigrants from US	Net Immigration
1901 - 1910	8,795,000	3,008,000	5,787,000
1911 - 1920	5,736,000	2,157,000	3,579,000
1921 - 1930	4,107,000	1,685,000	2,422,000
1931 - 1940	528,000	649,000	- 121,000
1941 - 1950	1,035,000	281,000	754,000
1951 - 1960	2,515,000	425,000	2,090,000
1961 - 1970	3,322,000	900,000	2,422,000
1971 - 1980	4,493,000	1,176,000	3,317,000
1981 - 1990	7,338,000	1,600,000	5,738,000
Total 1901 - 1990	37,869,000	11,882,000	25,987,000

SOURCE: 1992 American Statistical Yearbook, Table 1.

TABLE 30: Country of Origin of Immigrants to the United States and Canada (1996)

US Immigration: Top Ten Countries of Birth		Canadian Immigration: Top Ten Countries of Birth	
All Countries	915,900	All Countries	224,050
Mexico	163,572	Hong Kong	29,871
Philippines	55,876	India	21,166
India	44,859	China-mainland	17,479
Vietnam	42,067	Taiwan	13,165
China	41,728	Philippines	12,923
Dominican Republic	39,604	Pakistan	7,724
Cuba	26,466	Sri Lanka	6,117
Ukraine	21,079	United States	5,789
Russia	19,668	Iran	5,770
Jamaica	19,089	United Kingdom	5,559

SOURCE: United States Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1996, and Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1996.

There is yet another important way in which the immigration pattern of the two countries is different. In effect, immigrants are considerably more spread out over the metropolitan regions of the United States than in Canada. As we can see below, the metropolitan Toronto region receives a considerably greater share of Canada's overall immigration than any major city in the U.S. In 1998, Toronto ranked second amongst North America metropolitan areas in the real number of immigrants that it received and first on a per capita basis. Further, Vancouver and Montreal ranked 5th and 8th respectively in terms of the number of immigrants who arrived in North American Metropolitan Areas.

TABLE 31: Immigrants Admitted by North American Metropolitan Areas and the Percentage of Settlement in Their Respective Countries of Origin (1998)

Metropolitan Areas	#	%	Metropolitan Areas	#	%
New York	82,175	12.4%	Washington	24,032	3.6%
Toronto	73,560	42.0%	Montreal	20,234	13.0%
Los Angeles - Long Beach	59,598	9.0%	San Francisco	14,540	2.2%
Chicago	30,355	4.6%	Oakland	13,437	2.0%
Vancouver	30,169	18.0%	Houston	13,183	2.0%
Miami	28,853	4.4%	Boston - Lawrence	12,725	1.9%

SOURCE: United States Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1999 and "Facts and Figures", Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1998.

CANADA: IMMIGRATION AND POPULATION PROJECTIONS

We looked previously at the population projections for visible minorities in Canada. These predictions depend on maintaining certain immigration levels and consistency in the source countries from which immigration to Canada hails. It is widely held that if the birth rate stays at its current level the only source of population growth will be immigration. But such growth will inevitably vary based on the level of immigrants Canada receives. It is difficult to foresee the economic and political circumstances that will, in future, determine the numbers of immigrants who settle in the country. Future projections of our population are made based on immigration scenarios. Based on the July 1st, 1999 population, Statistics Canada issued the following forecasts for the year 2026.

TABLE 32: Estimated Population of Canada for the Year 2026 Based on Three Assumptions

Projections	Immigration	Population
Low Growth Projection	150,000	33,736,000
Medium Growth Projection	210,000	36,205,000
High Growth Projection	270,000	38,933,000

SOURCE: Statistics Canada, Cansim 6900.

As we can observe from the table above, there is a variance of over five million persons largely based on the rate of immigration and the birth rate. National populations can grow without increasing their demographic weight on an international scale. Looking at future population forecasts for Canada and the province of Quebec, it is useful to examine how they measure up against population changes in states elsewhere in the world and in particular on the rest of this continent.

CANADA IN THE WORLD: HORIZON 2025

From a population standpoint, it is interesting to look at how Canada will fare compared to other nations of the world. Some interesting insights in this regard are to be obtained from the International Demographic Bank of the U.S. Census Bureau. From 1950 to 1990 Canada hovered around 30th in size in the world but dropped to 35th place by the turn of the century. It was exceeded by the populations of such countries as Sudan, Algeria and Tanzania. With an estimated population for Canada in the year 2020 of about 35,000,000 it will fall to 42nd place amongst the world's most populous countries. If the objective of Canadian policy is to sustain the size of our population and experience modest growth, immigration will certainly be necessary.

TABLE 33: Canada in the World

Countries	1950 Population	Rank	2000 Population	Rank	2025 Population	Rank
China	562,600,000	1	1,256,200,000	1	1,397,400,000	1
India	369,900,000	2	1,017,600,000	2	1,340,900,000	2
United States	152,300,000	3	274,900,000	3	323,100,000	3
Russia	101,900,000	4	145,900,000	6	141,300,000	9
Japan	83,800,000	5	126,400,000	9	123,100,000	11
Indonesia	83,400,000	6	219,300,000	4	276,000,000	4
Germany	68,300,000	7	82,100,000	12	77,800,000	19
Brazil	53,400,000	8	173,800,000	5	204,200,000	5
United Kingdom	50,100,000	9	59,200,000	20	60,200,000	22
Italy	47,100,000	10	56,700,000	22	52,200,000	27
France	41,800,000	12	59,100,000	21	58,700,000	23
Nigeria	31,800,000	15	117,200,000	10	184,000,000	7
Mexico	28,400,000	16	102,000,000	11	134,400,000	10
Spain	28,100,000	17	39,200,000	29	37,800,000	40
Canada	14,000,000	30	31,300,000	35	35,500,000	42

SOURCE: United States Census Bureau International Data Base, December, 1998.

CONCLUSION

The objective of this paper was to give a broad profile of Canadian immigration as we head into the 21st Century. Particular emphasis was placed upon the economic, educational, linguistic and cultural characteristics of Canadian immigrants. As we can see, the Canadian population has evolved significantly over the course of the past century and will, as a consequence of the changing pattern of immigration, evolve even more so in the future. It is a reality that will require adaptation both on the part of new Canadians and the entire society. Our findings show that earlier waves of immigrants have successfully established themselves on the economic front and there is every reason to believe that more recent arrivals will follow suit. There are many benefits to the diversity of our population that we have not addressed in this review. But, clearly one of the major challenges that will face the country is ensuring greater participation of Canadians of diverse origin in the state apparatus. It is an issue that requires considerable attention. ■

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