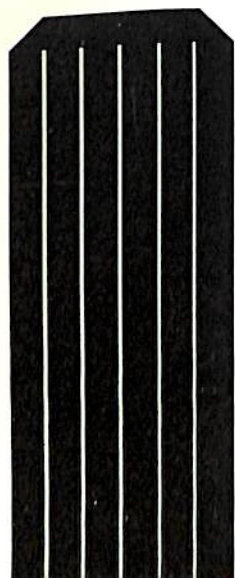


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Highlights from the Green Paper on Immigration and Population

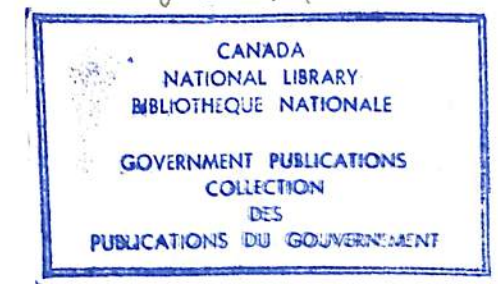


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Highlights from the Green Paper on Immigration and Population

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GREEN PAPER – HIGHLIGHTS
IMMIGRATION POLICY PERSPECTIVES (Volume I)

This booklet analyzes major policy problems and discusses future approaches. The other booklets in the series examine past trends or describe present procedures. Volume I, however, looks to the future, raising for discussion the chief purposes that future immigration to Canada should serve, the domestic and international challenges with which immigration policy should be equipped to deal, and the legal and administrative framework within which policy should function.

Population and Immigration (Chapter 1)

There is virtually no national issue of concern to Canadians today that is not bound up in one way or another with the course followed by the development of our population. The complex dynamics of population change are interwoven with the organization of the economy, the quality of life in our cities, and the provision of public services. They exert a pervasive influence on the political and cultural evolution of our society as a whole. They affect decisions about how we should plan the use of our land and resources, protect our environment, and overcome disparities—whatever their nature and source—in the opportunities available to individuals or sectors of the Canadian community.

Canada does not face a “population problem” in one customary sense of the expression . . . however, in another sense, Canada—like any country—has a “demographic problem.” It takes the form of urban congestion, regional imbalances, and trends that entail the de-population of some areas and an undesirable rate of growth in others.

Growth

Like most advanced nations, Canada is in the process of completing what is referred to as the “demographic transition”—the historic change a population undergoes from a situation of high birth rates, high and erratic death rates and short lifetimes, towards a state of affairs where low birth rates, low death rates and long lifetimes are the rule. As and when a population stabilizes on the basis of a balance between births and deaths, its further growth will be generated by net migration—that is, the number of people from abroad who establish themselves in the country minus those who leave permanently. Canada’s population is approaching this point of balance.

Through much of Canada’s history, the arguments supporting rapid population expansion seemed compelling, and coloured national attitudes towards immigration. Forcible as they were in the past, and although they still have support from many, the validity of these arguments in contemporary circumstances is now being questioned. To many Canadians living in a modern industrialized and increasingly urbanized society, the benefits of high rates of population growth appear dubious on several grounds.

Canada, like most advanced nations, counts the costs of more people in terms of congested metropolitan areas, housing shortages, pressures on arable land, damage to the environment—in short, the familiar catalogue of problems which most prosperous and sophisticated societies are currently endeavouring to overcome.

The advocates of substantial population expansion have frequently cited the view that the competitiveness of Canadian industry would derive significant benefit from the larger domestic market it would afford. Results of a recent study commissioned by the Department of Manpower and Immigration indicate Canadian industry should continue to look principally to an expanding international market rather than to future increases in the size of the Canadian population.

If Canadians wish immigration policy to function as a mechanism to steer population growth along a charted course, then the immigration program must be adapted to permit confident forward planning as to the numbers of immigrants Canada receives.

Distribution and Urbanization

The role played by the movement of people within Canada is important in determining how population will be distributed among the provinces, and has important implications for governmental policies that aim to ensure that each region of Canada develops its economic and social potential to the full.

Canadians are a mobile people. This mobility is expressed in internal migration towards those parts of the country where incomes are high, where the number and variety of job openings are greatest, and where the range of social amenities is most appealing. The destinations of internal migrants and migrants from abroad tend to be the same.

If the rate of urban growth continues, nine out of ten Canadians will live in towns and cities before the end of the century. Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver are the destinations preferred by an increasing number of migrants from all parts of Canada, and it is also in these areas that foreign migrants are particularly concentrated. A more dispersed pattern of immigrant settlement might help to alleviate some of the difficulties that plague these congested and rapidly expanding areas.

Few means exist at present to steer immigrants against prevailing population currents, and these are limited in their effectiveness. It would be an exercise in futility to attempt to direct people towards destinations where adequate employment opportunities and their accompanying social amenities were lacking. Canadian immigration policy has generally avoided measures to compel immigrants to settle and remain in any particular place, except for good counselling before immigrants arrive and selection criteria that facilitate the admission of immigrants who are qualified and willing to take jobs which badly need filling at the regional level. But however imaginatively the current techniques to induce more broadly distributed settlement are applied, it must be frankly recognized that the apparent irresistible attraction of major cities for migrants—foreign and domestic—will persist in the years immediately ahead. Accordingly, future immigration policies will need to be formulated with particular attention to their effects on the quality of life Canadian city dwellers seek.

The energies, enthusiasms and skills of immigrants drawn from a widening number of countries have made an immense contribution to many facets of Canada's development. Thanks to its post-war immigration experience, Canada is able to count itself a more mature, lively and outward-looking nation. At the same time, the accelerating pace of change that is so characteristic of contemporary urban society carries with it risks which immigration policy cannot afford to overlook. Intensifying demands for housing, transit facilities, community services and just plain space mean that the calls the migrant makes on the receiving community's hospitality become more onerous,

and are seen to be so. There is no getting away from a fairly high degree of social tension, if not outright friction, in modern urban living. Newcomers may too easily become the focus of frustrations and antagonisms that are no less socially disruptive for being often quite out of proportion with the actual size of the immigrant group involved.

The rapid increase during the past few years in the number of sources of significant immigrant movements to this country—with those from certain Asian and Caribbean nations now larger than some traditional European flows—has coincided with the latest and most dynamic phase of post-war urban expansion in Canada. It would be astonishing if there was no concern about the capacity of our society to adjust to a pace of population change that entails novel and distinctive features. What is more surprising is the resilience Canadian society has demonstrated in accommodating so many foreign migrants with so little social stress.

Character

The fact that Canada is a country with two official languages—and all that expresses in terms of history, constitutional development, cultural complexion and political cohesion—is basic to our national life and character. It is so basic that federal policy cannot ignore the effects future immigration may have on the relationship between the English-speaking and French-speaking members of Canada's population.

Analyses of linguistic characteristics indicate that, over the past two decades, the French language has been losing ground, while the English language has made gains over both French and third languages. The language choice made by immigrants is now, and likely will remain, a significant element insofar as the preservation of a fundamental feature of Canada's population is concerned. For immigration policy makers, the implications of this are clear for national unity and for the maintenance of Canada's role as a bilingual nation. They point to the elaboration of policies that will tend to favour the admission of a higher proportion of people likely to choose integration within the French-speaking community.

The most notable feature of ethnic composition through the last one hundred years has been the very strong growth of the population group that is of neither British nor French origin. Immigration has stimulated the increase in the size of other ethnic groups to where they collectively make up 27 per cent of the population. During the century, the proportion of the population of French origin has remained relatively constant—hovering around 30 per cent—while the British component has declined from 60 per cent in 1871 to just under 45 per cent in 1971.

The Working Immigrant (Chapter 2)

Immigration policy—present and future—must respond to the needs of Canada's labour market. In relating immigration to Canada's labour market requirements, the importance of getting that relationship right is uncontested. In both human and economic terms, there is a world of difference between the immigrant who is gainfully employed in an occupation corresponding to his talent, skills and choice and the immigrant who is unemployed, under-employed or working in a job for which he is not suited.

Internationally, extremely strong forces are combining to give Canada an unprecedented drawing power insofar as immigration is concerned. In many developing countries, the numbers of people now receiving more advanced education are sur-

passing the employment prospects those countries can offer them. In the industrialized countries of the world, urban stress, economic uncertainties, social changes and a restive search for a better quality of life are stimulating generally higher population mobility and the propensity to migrate.

In the face of exploding "migration demand," there has been no corresponding expansion in the choices available to those wishing to emigrate. On the contrary, these have shrunk significantly as more restrictive policies are adopted by those nations that have traditionally received migrants.

Future Canadian policy cannot afford to ignore either the reality of, or the problems created by, the strength of Canada's natural drawing power on migrants from all sources . . . and Canada's appeal as a country of immigration is unlikely in future to call for deliberate stimulus from Canadian policy itself.

Projections show that during the next decade, the Canadian labour force will continue to grow at a very rapid rate, posing a continuing and substantial challenge to the Canadian economy in terms of the number of new jobs that will have to be created each year. As a result, there are reasons to question the wisdom of the "expansionist" immigration philosophy that has traditionally influenced Canada's outlook.

Considering Canada's heavy investment in its own training and educational establishments—the products of which will be entering the labour force at extremely high rates in the years to come—the argument that an imported expert is "cheaper" than a home-grown one has lost much of its validity as a principle of policy.

From the domestic standpoint, effective manpower policy is demanding—and likely will continue to demand—a high degree of selectivity in the recruitment of immigrants for the labour force. Recent adjustments in the "points system" for selecting immigrants have been designed to enhance their employment prospects. Selection procedures and the refinement of techniques for measuring labour market requirements must be kept under constant review to make sure there is the most effective linkage possible between the operation of Canada's immigration and manpower policies.

National Interest and International Responsibility (Chapter 3)

An assessment of Canadian immigration policy, and decisions affecting its future course, must spring from a realistic appreciation of national interest, and clear perceptions of the type of country Canadians seek collectively to build for themselves and their children. It is equally obvious that immigration policy must be shaped by the international environment in which it operates.

Volume and Composition of the Immigration Movement

A cardinal principle set out in the Government's White Paper on Immigration in 1966 (and translated in 1967 into the present selection system) was that Canadian immigration policies "must involve no discrimination by reason of race, colour or religion and consequently . . . must be universally applicable." The present system has rationalized with considerable success methods of assessing the suitability of potential immigrants, but has been less successful in furnishing a reliable, long-term policy framework within which to program the use of Canada's immigration selection apparatus abroad.

How much selection processing capacity the immigration program should possess, how it should be distributed geographically (i.e., how many offices, how big they

should be and where they should be) and the priorities visa officers should accord to different categories of applications are policy decisions of real significance. Decisions on these points have a direct impact on the volume and composition of the annual immigration movement.

Dilemmas associated with immigrant management in the field will become increasingly hard to resolve in future without a framework that will provide a reliable basis on which to plan the total size of the annual immigration movement, and to deploy selection capacity in source countries in a way that will serve national goals with maximum effectiveness.

Options

What options are open to future immigration policy? Four are selected for discussion as illustrative of the range of possibilities that deserve attention. Each possesses advantages and disadvantages, and they are not "either/or" options. Elements from one approach could, in certain cases, legitimately be combined with elements from another.

Option #1

Retain the present "responsive" system of immigration management abroad—a system that does not fix, in advance, the numbers of visas to be issued over a given time span.

If available capacity is allocated simply in response to the sheer volume of visa applications at certain posts, there can be no assurance that selection facilities are equitably distributed geographically, or that the immigration movement will consistently respect national priorities. These are drawbacks to maintaining the status quo.

Option #2

Gear the immigration program even more closely than at present to meet economic and labour market objectives.

This would entail drawing a very clear line between the class of immigrants Canada admits because the labour market needs them, and those who are accepted for other reasons. This option appears incompatible with retaining an "in-between" category of immigrants—the "nominated relatives" who are selected partly because they meet labour market criteria and partly on the grounds of kinship.

Option #3

Develop and announce explicit targets for the number of visas to be issued annually on a global, regional and possibly post-by-post basis.

This option could enable the immigration program to be deliberately related to national demographic/population growth policies as these are developed. It also would mean a major innovation in Canadian immigration policy—the establishment of quotas on the number of immigrants Canada is prepared to admit each year. On the other hand, the option looks less startling when it is realized that limitations on the volume of immigration are unavoidably built into any program—including Canada's traditionally open-ended one. At the same time, this option would present very difficult problems in deciding on the formula for allocating visa quotas among regions and countries.

Option #4

Establish an annual global ceiling for the total immigration movement, specifying the priorities to be observed in the issuance of visas to different categories of immigrants within that ceiling.

This approach would entail a process of planning and preparation in advance of each immigration year. To assist the Government in determining the number of immigrant visas that would be issued over the planning period, it might be appropriate to institute a regular process of consultation through which the views of provincial governments would be sought, as well as advice from designated outside agencies and organizations. The second element would be to determine the order in which applications from different classes of potential immigrants would be processed. With the over-all ceiling and priorities established, a forecast would then be made of the number of applicants in each priority group from each source country and area of the world. This approach would avoid some of the dilemmas inherent in establishing, in advance, visa quotas on a regional or country-by-country basis (as in Option #3).

Emigration and the Relief of Population Pressures

The larger countries in the developing world cannot realistically view emigration as a way of easing their population problems, and their leaders do not do so.

The opinion occasionally voiced that Canada, a resource and space-rich country, has an obligation to assist in the solution of global population problems through immigration may be admirable as an expression of sympathy. It is not, however, one subscribed to by the governments of those large countries where population problems are most grave, nor will this view stand analysis as a practicable policy objective.

The Brain Drain

The flow of professionally and technically qualified people from developing to developed countries—popularly described as the “brain drain”—has been the subject of intensive research and heated discussion. The majority of developing countries are on the record in the United Nations and elsewhere as stating that they regard the outflow of highly qualified persons as harmful.

While Canada's national interest demands that the immigration program emphasize selectivity wherever it is conducted, the Government is keenly aware of the anxieties of developing nations about the loss of trained people.

Refugees

One out of every ten new settlers in Canada since the Second World War has been a refugee, and there is notable public support within Canada for this aspect of immigration policy.

A sensitive aspect of refugee policy concerns who should be regarded as eligible for refugee status. It is essential in each such case to establish firmly whether the life or liberty of the person concerned is at risk . . . and to draw a clear distinction between the genuine refugee who is threatened with persecution, and the migrant whose motive for seeking entry to Canada springs from economic hardship or general dissatisfaction with conditions in his country of origin.

Federal-Provincial Responsibilities (Chapter 4)

In the final analysis, the Government of Canada accepts and exercises the ultimate responsibility for deciding who should be admitted to, or rejected from, Canadian territory in accordance with the interests of the country as a whole. But there are very active provincial interests in Canada's immigration policy, involving both the recruitment of immigrants abroad and many aspects of their subsequent settlement and absorption into the community.

Canadian policy stands to benefit in future from intensified federal-provincial co-operation, particularly in the areas of manpower planning—to make it easier for immigration to match regional and local job demands—and in providing services to help immigrants adjust to life in Canada.

Quebec has launched programs to encourage the immigrant to integrate economically and socially within the French-speaking community. Ottawa's response has been to enter into specific co-operative arrangements with Quebec, reflecting not only the unique concerns of a single province, but the vital implications in terms of the national interest.

The value of regular exchanges between Ottawa and the provincial governments should not be limited simply to matters that immediately concern effective immigration management. In future, national policy formation could be enriched through federal-provincial consultation which approached immigration in the wider context of all those Canadian goals to which immigration's contribution is relevant.

The Law (Chapter 5)

A major aim of the Government in initiating the current review of immigration policy is that it should lead as quickly as possible to a new Immigration Act. The present Immigration Act, passed in 1952, is an outgrowth of legislation dating back to the turn of the century. It is inevitable that there should be much in the present Act that can only be called “old-fashioned.”

Three broad areas demand attention when considering improvements in the statutory basis for Canadian immigration policy.

(1) *Updating, streamlining and consolidating the law:*

An obvious first task would be to remove anachronisms from the present Immigration Act, including the modification of medical grounds for prohibition, to bring them into line with the current state of medical science, and to introduce flexibility into the law so that immigration rules keep pace with advances in knowledge and changing conditions at home and abroad.

Immigration Appeal Board legislation could be combined with a new Immigration Act now that the integrity and independence of the appeal system are an accomplished fact.

It is important that the Immigration Act should be drafted in terms that can be easily understood by the host of people it serves.

(2) *The balance between what is contained in the Immigration Act itself and what appropriately should be left for Regulations under the Act to cover:*

There would be much advantage if a new Immigration Act devoted itself chiefly to a clear statement of essential principles of policy (these are lacking now) and to creating the statutory basis on which the necessary administrative apparatus is

erected. Government regulatory powers would then have to operate within this clearly defined framework. Besides whatever discretion the Minister of Manpower and Immigration possesses under the law to deal with exceptional cases, it is the Regulations that furnish the indispensable flexibility that the very dynamics of the immigration process demand.

(3) *The expression, in law, of basic immigration policy objectives:*

Present immigration legislation contains no general statement of positive purpose, adopting instead a "gatekeeper's stance" that emphasizes procedures for keeping people out, but is silent about the reasons for letting them in. It could be a goal in drafting a new Immigration Act to express the broad national objectives that Canadians wish the admission of both immigrants and non-immigrants to serve. Legislative change could underpin a flexible, fair and efficient national immigration policy, offering solutions to such problems that present legislation does not provide. For example:—

- An alternative means may be found of excluding people from Canada when the gravity of the offence does not justify the stigma and consequences of deportation;
- Forms of granting "conditional" entry to Canada pending subsequent determination of status might alleviate to some extent the burden of point-of-entry officials having to make "once-and-for-all" decisions;
- Since the inquiry process, through which officials determine the legitimacy or otherwise of a person's claim to be allowed to enter or remain in Canada, may result in orders of deportation, it is imperative that procedures at this point be conducted with scrupulous regard for impartiality, objectivity, individual liberties and the rights persons in Canada enjoy under the Bill of Rights.

GLOBAL PROCESSING PRIORITIES

1. Sponsored Dependants (NEED ONLY BE OF GOOD HEALTH AND CHARACTER TO BE ADMISSIBLE. POINT SYSTEM IS NOT APPLICABLE).
2. Independent Applicants and Nominated Relatives
 - destined to arranged employment or
 - destined to a designated occupation or
 - Occupational Demand 8 - 15 units
3. Persons whose presence in Canada would create employment (entrepreneurs).
4. Nominated Relatives and Independent Applicants who do not comply with any of the requirements of categories 2 or 3.

NOTE: Refugees are dealt with according to the individual need.

DECISIVE FACTORS IN SELECTION—
NOMINATED RELATIVES AND INDEPENDENT APPLICANTS

Units of Assessment Obtained	Occupational Demand	Arranged Employment or Designated Occupation	Selection Result *
49 or less	not necessarily relevant	not necessarily relevant	refused
50 or more	0	NO	refused
50 or more	0	YES	passed
50 or more	1 to 15	not necessarily relevant	passed

*Applicants who meet the selection criteria must also be of good health and good character before admission as an immigrant is granted.

IMMIGRATION
SELECTION CRITERIA
(showing maximum units)

	Nominated	Independent
(a) EDUCATION & TRAINING	20	20
(b) PERSONAL ASSESSMENT	15	15
(c) OCCUPATIONAL DEMAND (if "0" occupational demand, the application is refused unless the applicant has "Arranged Employment" or is in a "Designated Occupation")	15	15
(d) OCCUPATIONAL SKILL	10	10
(e) AGE	10	10
(f) ARRANGED EMPLOYMENT or DESIGNATED OCCUPATION		10
(g) LANGUAGE	English 5 French 5	10
(h) RELATIVE		5
(i) AREA DEMAND		5
	15 to 30	
	Approved Application by Relative in Canada *	
TOTALS	85 to 100	100
	Reduced by 10 units where there is not Arranged Employment or Designated Occupation	

	Nominator is Permanent Resident	Nominator is Canadian Citizen
*SON OR DAUGHTER 21 OR OVER	30	25
MARRIED SON OR DAUGHTER UNDER 21	30	25
BROTHER OR SISTER	30	25
PARENTS OR GRANDPARENTS UNDER 60	30	25
UNMARRIED NEPHEW OR NIECE UNDER 21	30	25
NEPHEW OR NIECE 21 OR OVER	20	15
MARRIED NEPHEW OR NIECE UNDER 21	20	15
UNCLE, AUNT, GRANDSON OR GRANDDAUGHTER	20	15

NOTE: An immigration officer may approve or reject the admission of an immigrant regardless of units of assessment obtained if in his opinion the units obtained do not accurately reflect the applicant's chances of successfully establishing himself in Canada.

GREEN PAPER – HIGHLIGHTS

THE IMMIGRATION PROGRAM (VOLUME II)

This volume in the Green Paper series provides an account of how immigration is managed now, by tracing the development of governmental policies and regulations in this field since Confederation.

Highlights from this volume concentrate on the present immigration program.

The Evolution of Policy

The development of Canadian immigration policy since Confederation has been evolutionary—unmarked by radical shifts in posture, yet characterized by constant change. Rarely have more than a few years gone by without some adjustment of approach in response to the events of the day. This state of affairs reflects the absence of any clearly stated national consensus—either now or in the past—about what immigration should be, or should do. While there has been an underlying sentiment favouring population growth in the interest of Canada's sovereignty and development, there has been no grand public vision of a specific purpose for immigration, as there has been in some other countries. As a result, governments have not felt obliged to proclaim clearly defined long-range immigration objectives—whether demographic, economic, social or other. Lacking a larger design, Canadian immigration history can be read as a series of pragmatic reactions to relatively short-term interests and pressures, influenced by the emergence of the concept of Canada's "absorptive capacity" for immigrants at any given time.

The Expression of Policy in the Law

It is not surprising that governments have preferred to use regulations rather than statutes for expressing policies respecting what classes of people might be admitted to Canada. Regulations can be changed relatively easily and quickly, and thus new policy can be implemented with a minimum of delay. The result has been a steady flow of new regulations over the years, but immigration Acts have not been subject to frequent change.

The Latest Phase

By 1960, policy makers had begun seriously to think of ways to end the discriminatory features of immigration policy. However, slack economic conditions at that time militated against immediate change. It was January 1962 before a workable compromise was achieved that safeguarded perceived economic interests while going far towards a universally applicable policy.

A first step toward non-discrimination in Canadian refugee policy was also taken in 1962, when the government agreed to the special admission of 100 Chinese refugee families from Hong Kong. Similarly, special provisions for the admission of orphans for adoption were extended to non-white children in 1963.

The year 1964 spawned a number of issues, some that would come to a head only in later years. Manpower measures were becoming increasingly important aspects of economic policy. Renewed difficulties with visitors seeking to become immigrants occurred, and immigration enforcement policy and practices received much criticism. Although manifested only gradually, the cumulative impact of these developments on immigration policies and programs was to be substantial.

The outcome of issues prevalent in 1964 led, in January 1966, to the establishment of a new Department of Manpower and Immigration, an amalgamation of the National Employment Service elements of the Department of Labour, and the immigration service. Meanwhile, recommendations of an independent commission of inquiry under Mr. Joseph Sedgwick, Q.C., led in 1967 to establishment of the Immigration Appeal Board, designed to relieve the Minister and his officials of pressures to make exceptions to immigration law and policy by transferring the matter to an impartial, non-political arbiter.

The White Paper of 1966

The White Paper flowed from a two-year study and review of all aspects of immigration and recommended the future outlines of immigration policy. It was expansionist in philosophy, stressing the traditional reasons to encourage immigration, but also reflecting reservations about unselective immigration. Without disparaging the place in policy of family reunion and assistance to the less privileged, the White Paper was preoccupied with the interface between immigration and manpower policy. Accordingly, it advocated a clear distinction between those immigrants who would compete in the economic marketplace and those who would not. The White Paper also heralded the total end to racial discrimination in immigration policy. Recommendations on admissible classes received little support from a Parliamentary committee that studied the White Paper, and although the committee never submitted a final report, its proceedings had a formative influence on the regulations that ultimately evolved.

The 1967 Regulations

These introduced four new elements to immigration law (although two had been foreshadowed by administrative practice over several years):

- Discrimination on the basis of race or nationality was eliminated for all classes of immigrants;
- The criteria for unsponsored immigrants—renamed independent applicants—were set out in detail in the regulations for the first time, in the form of nine factors against which applicants were to be judged on their short-term and long-term prospects for successful establishment in Canada. In addition to education and skill, these factors included the individual's personal characteristics, the demand for his occupation in Canada, knowledge of English or French, age, and the existence of pre-arranged employment. No one factor would be critical, and their weighting was designed to be flexible and to correspond to changing conditions in Canada;
- The sponsored class was reduced to the dependent relatives proposed in the White Paper, with a few minor additions. However, a totally new class—nominated relatives—was created. These were midway between sponsored dependants and independent applicants in that they were subject to assessment on the long-term selection factors, but their nominators' proposed assistance replaced the short-term

factors. Small distinctions were made between more and less distant relatives, and Canadian citizen and non-Canadian citizen nominators. The new nominated class included sons and daughters of any age or marital status, brothers and sisters, parents and grandparents likely to enter the labour force, nephews, nieces, uncles, aunts and grandchildren;

- Specific provision was made for visitors to apply for landing while in Canada. With a few stated exceptions, any applicant could qualify who could meet the requirements as a sponsored dependant, nominated relative or independent applicant—and the visa requirement was automatically waived. With the establishment of clear selection standards in the law, it was judged preferable to regularize a movement that apparently could not be stopped anyway, but it was made somewhat more difficult for the applicant in Canada to qualify than for the applicant abroad.

Problems and Remedies

Within a year of the establishment of the new appeal system, stresses began to appear. More appeals were received than had been anticipated, and the Immigration Appeal Board soon fell seriously behind on its case load. Each year the problem grew, and in 1972 more than one-third of those admitted as immigrants had not undergone examination and selection before coming to Canada, and many had initially been refused landing. At the same time thousands of people in the backlogs were enjoying most of the benefits of legally admitted immigrants although those benefits had technically been denied them, often on very serious grounds.

Despite an administrative attempt to clear the backlog through a partial amnesty, by October 1972 the situation was such that the government saw no option but to revoke the visitor's right to apply for landing. However, many thousands more entered Canada after it was realized they could exploit the Immigration Appeal Board Act. A bill to expand the Board's capacity to deal with appeals, and to sharply reduce the right to appeal, was passed by Parliament and became law in August 1973.

Selection of Immigrants (Chapter 2)

At present, the broad objective of the immigrant selection process is to administer the admission of immigrants (and non-immigrants) to serve the economic, social and cultural interests of Canada. Within this broad objective, specific goals have been:

- to promote family reunion by expediting the movement to Canada of dependants of Canadian citizens and residents, and by facilitating the movement to Canada of other relatives, who, in conjunction with the assistance available in Canada, have the qualifications necessary for successful establishment;
- to recruit, or assist Canadian employers in recruiting, qualified workers for whom there is an immediate specific demand in Canada;
- to encourage the movement to Canada of other workers whose occupations and skills are in continuing demand, and of entrepreneurs possessing the capital, knowledge, experience and personal qualities necessary for successful industrial or commercial enterprise;
- to help alleviate human distress by admitting to Canada refugees who, although they may not have the usual qualifications necessary for admission, are likely to become successfully established within a reasonable period;

- to facilitate the movement to Canada of other workers or retired persons who, although lacking occupations currently in demand, have the financial and other resources and qualifications necessary for successful establishment;
 - to promote the early adjustment and establishment of immigrants by counselling them fully about living and working conditions in Canada.
- (The foregoing list of goals should not be taken as a priority ranking; each of the goals is important in itself.)

Governing the pursuit of these goals is the policy of non-discrimination and universality first enunciated in the White Paper on Immigration in 1966. For all practical purposes, "non-discrimination" and "universality" are synonymous; they mean simply that every person seeking to come to Canada as an immigrant is assessed against exactly the same standards, regardless of race, religion or country of origin.

Regardless of the category to which he or she belongs, the overriding consideration in each case is whether the applicant is capable of becoming successfully established in Canada, either through personal effort or with the help of others. Different standards for measuring this capability are provided, depending on whether the prospective immigrant will be wholly independent, wholly dependent on someone already in Canada, or partly the one and partly the other. These three groups are referred to, respectively, as independent applicants, sponsored dependants, and nominated relatives.

Selection of Independent Applicants

Independent applicants are those prospective immigrants who expect to become self-supporting and successfully established in Canada by virtue of the skills, knowledge or other qualifications they possess. They are not expected to require any assistance other than that which is available to any resident of Canada (such as placement assistance from a Canada Manpower Centre). They form the largest and most important component of the immigration movement.

The Regulations of 1967 established nine factors or criteria (eight of them wholly objective) against which independent applicants are assessed. The nine factors have a combined potential value of 100 units. If an applicant receives 50 or more, his success is judged likely; with less than 50 his success is deemed unlikely. (This has become known popularly as the "points system" of selection, and a summary of the selection factors and their relative values is included as an appendix to these Green Paper highlights.)

Generally, the use of the nine criteria appears to have fulfilled the system's main purposes—to judge with reasonable accuracy an individual's potential and to regulate the size and composition of the immigration movement according to changing conditions in Canada.

Changing conditions in 1974 led to amendments to the Regulations.

In February, steps were taken to correct two problems at opposite ends of the spectrum. On the one hand, some classes of workers much in demand in Canada were not receiving enough units of assessment to be approved for immigration, while on the other, some workers were receiving ample units although their job prospects in Canada were extremely poor.

The answer to the problem of under-assessment was to award units of assessment where it was not possible previously. This new element in the assessment process—designated occupation—recognizes that a persistent, unfillable shortage in an occupation

in Canada is a virtual guarantee of employment to anyone qualified in that occupation. The second problem—over-assessment—was attacked by requiring that an applicant receive at least one unit of assessment on one of the criteria directly concerned with securing employment in Canada (i.e., occupational demand, or arranged employment/designated occupation). This represented a departure from an original principle that no one selection factor should be conclusive.

In October 1974, prevailing circumstances were making it more important than ever to ensure that the employment prospects of immigrants were satisfactory. The Regulations now stipulate that from the total points awarded either an independent or nominated applicant, 10 are deducted unless the applicant shows evidence of bona fide arranged employment, or is going to a job where persistent regional shortages are known to exist (i.e., a designated occupation). The applicant will receive credit for arranged employment only when it has been established that no Canadian citizen or permanent resident is available to fill the vacancy.

Selection of Sponsored Dependants

The rules for selection in this category reflect Canada's commitment to the principle of reunion of families. The law therefore permits any Canadian citizen, or landed immigrant not under order of deportation, to sponsor the entry to Canada of the following:

- the husband or wife;
- the fiancé or fiancée;
- an unmarried son or daughter less than 21 years of age;
- a parent or grandparent 60 years of age or more (or younger if widowed or incapacitated);
- an orphan brother, sister, nephew, niece or grandchild less than 18 years of age;
- an unmarried adopted son or daughter less than 21 years of age, provided the adoption took place before the child reached 18 years of age;
- an orphan, abandoned child or other child placed with a welfare authority for adoption, who is less than 13 years of age and whom the sponsor intends to adopt.

In addition, a person who has no close relatives in Canada and no relative abroad eligible for sponsorship, may sponsor once in his lifetime, one relative of any degree to come to Canada as a companion, heir, etc. In each applicable case, a sponsorship includes the spouse and unmarried children less than 21 years of age of the relative named.

The conditions are few for acceptance of an application. No economic requirements are set, but sponsors are asked to undertake the responsibility of caring for their relatives. The only general requirements are that the sponsor be at least 18 years of age and that he establish the existence of the sponsorable relationship.

A few special requirements apply to certain classes of sponsored dependants. In the case of an application for a fiancé or fiancée, the sponsor must show a sincere intent to marry, and produce evidence that he or she is free to do so and has made the appropriate arrangements.

Selection of Nominated Relatives

The nominated relatives category is a compromise, a hybrid between the independent and sponsored dependants categories. On the one hand it recognizes the legitimate

desire of people in Canada to help relatives other than close family members, and on the other hand it takes account of the fact that the great majority of relatives other than close family members will be entering the labour market and setting up self-sustaining family units.

The regulations adopted in 1967 allow Canadian citizens, and landed immigrants not under order of deportation, to nominate the following relatives as immigrants to Canada:

- sons and daughters, irrespective of age or marital status (i.e., those not eligible to be considered as sponsored dependants);
- parents and grandparents less than 60 years of age;
- brothers and sisters (including half-brothers and half-sisters);
- grandchildren;
- uncles and aunts;
- nephews and nieces.

In each applicable case, a nomination includes the spouse and unmarried sons and daughters less than 21 years of age of the relatives named.

There a number of general conditions that nominators must meet before their applications can be approved. Like sponsors, they must be more than 18 years of age, and must establish the existence of the relationship by which the proposed immigrants are eligible to be nominated. Unlike sponsors, they must have lived up to any obligations undertaken with respect to relatives sponsored or nominated previously and are subject to assessment of the kind and amount of support they can provide for their relatives. Finally, the nominator must give an undertaking to provide care and maintenance to the nominated relatives, from his own resources, for a period of five years from the date of their arrival in Canada.

If the nominator is a married person, one additional condition applies—the nomination must be supported by the nominator's spouse.

A nominated relative is subject to assessment under the same five long-term selection factors applied to an independent applicant—education and training, personal qualities, occupation demand, occupational skill, and age. An exception is that there is no minimum to the age range for which nominated relatives may receive 10 units of assessment under the age factor.

The Regulation changes of February and October, 1974 (as explained in the section dealing with independent applicants) also apply to nominated relatives.

Recent Immigration Patterns (Chapter 3)

From Confederation until just after the Second World War, most immigrants to Canada had a lot in common; most came from Anglo-Saxon countries; the majority came to work the land. Since the Second World War, this broad picture has undergone steady and substantial change. The rate of that change has accelerated during the past decade.

Changes in the pattern of the immigration flow to Canada in the post-war years have been due to domestic and external factors—domestically, from important changes in Canadian conditions and requirements, and externally from changing patterns in migration.

Sources of Immigrants

Information on where immigrants originate is based on "country of last permanent residence"—that is, the countries in which immigrants had their permanent homes immediately before coming to Canada. Because people are generally much more mobile than they used to be, this way of classifying the source of immigrants has been chosen as more useful than the "country of birth" or "country of citizenship" data kept by some other immigrant-receiving countries. Before 1967, Canada also kept "ethnic origin" data. With the removal of discrimination by origin from the selection criteria, it was decided that this information was irrelevant for immigration purposes, and its collection was dropped.

In source statistics, therefore, "Britain" (for example) does not necessarily indicate a white, English-speaking citizen of the United Kingdom, nor "France" a white, French-speaking citizen—any more than "Jamaica" necessarily means a black, English-speaking Jamaican citizen. Rather, they merely designate the country in which the individual, whatever his citizenship or race, was living when he decided to migrate to Canada.

The following tables indicate sources of immigration to Canada.

TABLE 3.1
PROPORTIONS OF IMMIGRANTS FROM SELECTED COUNTRIES, 1972,
WHO WERE NOT CITIZENS OR NATIVES OF THOSE COUNTRIES

Country from which Immigrants Came to Canada	Percentage Not Citizens of That Country	Percentage Not Born in That Country
Australia	31.8	44.2
Belgium	43.6	47.4
Britain	9.8	16.1
France	34.8	41.3
Germany	35.3	48.4
Hong Kong	46.5	57.7
Israel	12.7	31.7
Sweden	32.3	16.6
United States	6.6	

TABLE 3.2
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF IMMIGRANTS BY SOURCE AREA, 1950-73

Area	1950-55	1956-61	1962-67	1968-73
Africa	0.4	1.0	2.2	3.3
Asia	2.8	2.7	7.2	16.8
Australasia	0.8	1.4	2.2	2.3
Europe	88.0	84.8	73.5	49.9
North and Central America (except U.S.A.)	0.7	1.0	2.8	8.4
U.S.A.	6.3	7.7	10.4	15.2
South America	0.8	1.3	1.6	3.6
Others	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.5
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 3.3
TEN LEADING SOURCE COUNTRIES OF IMMIGRANTS, SELECTED YEARS

1951	1960	1968	1973
Britain	Italy	Britain	Britain
Germany	Britain	United States	United States
Italy	United States	Italy	Hong Kong
Netherlands	Germany	Germany	Portugal
Poland	Netherlands	Hong Kong	Jamaica
France	Portugal	France	India
United States	Greece	Austria	Philippines
Belgium	France	Greece	Greece
Yugoslavia	Poland	Portugal	Italy
Denmark	Austria	Yugoslavia	Trinidad

Destination of Immigrants

The proportion of immigrants going to the various provinces has been relatively consistent over the post-war years, with the important exception of Quebec. After a gradual increase in its share of the immigrant movement from 1958 through 1962, Quebec entered a period of steady decline that has continued up to the present. Other notable, if somewhat less pronounced trends since 1968, are the decline in the proportion of immigrants going to Saskatchewan, and the increase to British Columbia, making it the second most popular destination in the last two years.

Basis of Selection

During years of economic expansion, the proportion of unsponsored or independent immigrants rises, while in years of lower economic activity, the proportion of sponsored and nominated immigrants rises and even predominates. This is due in part to the relative stability of the size of the sponsored/nominated movement regardless of conditions in Canada. In part it may be attributed to Canada's greater attractiveness to employment-seeking immigrants during periods of greater prosperity. In the past few years, however, the proportion of independent immigrants has tended to be somewhat lower than might have been expected based on earlier experience.

Occupations of Worker Immigrants

In the post-war years, there have been several significant trends in the composition of the occupational categories to which worker immigrants belonged. Most noteworthy are:

- the continuing strong growth in the proportion of the managerial and professional category;
- the sharp declines since the 1950s in the labouring, service and recreation categories;
- the gradual shift from blue-collar to white-collar occupations.

Immigrants' Language Abilities

The decline in the proportion of immigrants with no capacity in either of Canada's official languages, English and French, appears to represent a continuation of a long-

standing trend. But the increasing divergence between the proportions of those able to speak English, and those able to speak French, seems of more recent vintage. This trend is probably due to the recent sharp rise in immigration from countries where English is widely used, whereas no comparable new sources of French-speaking immigrants have developed.

Emigration

Immigration to Canada is, of course, only half of the migration equation. At the same time that immigrants have been coming to Canada, Canadians and former immigrants have been departing to live in other countries. There is very little in the way of hard facts about emigrants, but there are fairly reliable indications that emigration patterns have also been changing in recent years. Although it is not statistically demonstrable, most demographers agree that the bulk of Canada's population loss by emigration has been to the United States. For the past three years, changes in the United States immigration law, coupled with Canada's increasing attractiveness to residents of the United States, have reversed the long historical trend of a net Canadian loss in Canada-United States migration.

NOTE: The subsequent chapters in Volume II provide more detailed information on topics covered in Volume I, and therefore the more important elements are discussed in other sections of these Green Paper highlights.

GREEN PAPER – HIGHLIGHTS
IMMIGRATION AND POPULATION STATISTICS

The third booklet in the Green Paper series contains a comprehensive set of statistics to which the interested reader might refer for information about immigration and population developments over the years.

The following tables represent a selected sampling of statistics contained in the booklet.

1961	1,000,000
1962	1,000,000
1963	1,000,000
1964	1,000,000
1965	1,000,000
1966	1,000,000
1967	1,000,000
1968	1,000,000
1969	1,000,000
1970	1,000,000
1971	1,000,000
1972	1,000,000
1973	1,000,000
1974	1,000,000
1975	1,000,000
1976	1,000,000
1977	1,000,000
1978	1,000,000
1979	1,000,000
1980	1,000,000
1981	1,000,000
1982	1,000,000
1983	1,000,000
1984	1,000,000
1985	1,000,000
1986	1,000,000
1987	1,000,000
1988	1,000,000
1989	1,000,000
1990	1,000,000
1991	1,000,000
1992	1,000,000
1993	1,000,000
1994	1,000,000
1995	1,000,000
1996	1,000,000
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2005	1,000,000
2006	1,000,000
2007	1,000,000
2008	1,000,000
2009	1,000,000
2010	1,000,000
2011	1,000,000
2012	1,000,000
2013	1,000,000
2014	1,000,000
2015	1,000,000
2016	1,000,000
2017	1,000,000
2018	1,000,000
2019	1,000,000
2020	1,000,000
2021	1,000,000
2022	1,000,000

TABLE 1.2
GROWTH OF CANADIAN POPULATION, 1861-1971

Year	Population	Percentage Change in Previous Decade
1861	3,229,633	
1871	3,689,257	
1881	4,324,810	14.2
1891	4,833,239	17.2
1901	5,371,315	11.8
1911	7,206,643	11.1
1921	8,787,949	34.2
1931	10,376,786	21.9
1941	11,506,655	18.1
1951	14,009,429	10.9
1961	18,238,247	21.8
1971	21,568,311	30.2

Source: Census of Canada, 1941 and 1971.

TABLE 1.3
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF CANADIAN POPULATION BY PROVINCE, 1871-1971

	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971
Canada	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Newfoundland	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2.6	2.5	2.4
Prince Edward Island	2.6	2.5	2.3	1.9	1.3	1.0	0.8	0.8	0.7	0.6	0.5
Nova Scotia	10.5	10.2	9.3	8.6	6.8	6.0	4.9	5.0	4.6	4.0	3.7
New Brunswick	7.7	7.4	6.7	6.2	4.9	4.4	3.9	4.0	3.7	3.3	2.9
Quebec	32.3	31.4	30.8	30.7	27.8	26.9	27.7	29.0	29.0	28.8	27.9
Ontario	43.9	44.7	43.7	40.6	35.1	33.4	33.1	32.9	32.8	34.2	35.7
Manitoba	0.7	1.4	3.2	4.7	6.4	6.9	6.8	6.3	5.5	5.1	4.6
Saskatchewan	—	—	—	1.7	6.8	8.6	8.9	7.8	5.9	5.1	4.3
Alberta	—	—	—	1.4	5.2	6.7	7.1	6.9	6.7	7.3	7.6
British Columbia	1.0	1.1	2.0	3.3	5.5	6.0	6.7	7.1	8.3	8.9	10.1
Yukon	—	—	—	0.5	0.1	—	—	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Northwest Territories	1.3	1.3	2.0	0.4	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2

*Less than .05 per cent.

Source: Census of Canada, 1941 and 1971.

TABLE 3.2 (continued)

	1946-50	1951-57	1958-62	1963-67	1968-73	1946-73
Switzerland	1,462	9,642	4,534	11,334	10,689	37,661
Turkey	36	329	995	1,926	2,387	5,673
U.S.S.R.	8,683	3,413	259	857	1,323	14,535
Wales	2,861	5,426	1,418	3,574	2,598	15,877
Yugoslavia	7,177	9,312	4,537	6,789	22,302	50,117
Other Europe	117	358	39	61	96	671
TOTAL	363,673	1,103,539	375,640	568,440	459,881	2,871,173
AFRICA						
Algeria	—	483	344	52	153	1,032
Egypt	—	683	1,647	8,291	6,498	17,119
Ethiopia	—	—	—	78	162	240
Ghana	—	—	—	113	616	729
Kenya	—	—	—	548	2,769	3,317
Libya	—	—	—	53	212	265
Morocco	—	—	—	3,008	2,752	7,754
Nigeria	—	920	1,074	175	857	1,032
Rhodesia	—	—	—	641	213	1,606
South Africa, Rep.	—	260	492	3,512	4,096	10,707
Sudan	—	1,071	2,028	33	176	209
Tanzania	—	—	—	242	3,211	3,453
Tunisia	—	109	196	76	277	658
Uganda	—	—	—	153	7,447	7,600
Zaire (form. Belgian Congo)	—	—	—	18	132	150
Zambia	—	—	—	424	597	1,021
Other Africa	975	3,739	509	353	652	6,228
TOTAL	975	7,265	6,290	17,770	30,820	63,120

TABLE 3.2 (continued)

	1946-50	1951-57	1958-62	1963-67	1968-73	1946-73
AUSTRALIA						
Australia	1,711	9,354	6,485	13,677	16,787	48,014
New Zealand	984	2,217	1,844	3,254	4,426	12,725
Other Australasia	—	—	—	15	132	147
TOTAL	2,695	11,571	8,329	16,946	21,345	60,886
NORTH & CENTRAL AMERICA						
Antigua, Barbuda	—	—	—	253	950	1,203
Bahama Islands	—	—	—	147	771	918
Barbados	—	—	—	2,862	4,927	7,789
Bermuda	248	602	304	668	1,194	3,016
British Honduras	—	—	—	56	242	298
Costa Rica	—	—	—	53	148	201
Cuba	—	—	—	113	193	306
Dominica	—	—	—	191	588	779
Dominican Republic	—	—	—	76	186	262
Dutch West Indies	—	—	—	115	159	274
El Salvador	—	—	—	10	215	225
Greenland	—	—	—	—	7	7
Grenada	—	—	—	301	1,296	1,597
Guadeloupe	—	—	—	23	82	105
Guatemala	—	—	—	32	371	403
Haiti	—	—	—	525	5,937	6,462
Honduras	—	—	—	26	242	268
Jamaica	—	—	—	6,992	27,792	34,784
Martinique	—	—	—	28	94	122
Mexico	212	648	560	832	2,738	4,990
Montserrat	—	—	—	73	194	267
Nicaragua	—	—	—	17	115	132

TABLE 3.2 (continued)

	1946-50	1951-57	1958-62	1963-67	1968-73	1946-73
Panama	—	—	—	36	126	162
Puerto Rico	—	—	—	32	106	138
St. Kitts, Nevis	—	—	—	235	783	1,018
St. Lucia	—	—	—	259	540	799
St. Pierre & Miquelon	89	160	163	113	95	620
St. Vincent	—	—	—	634	1,661	2,295
Trinidad-Tobago	—	—	—	4,718	24,866	29,584
U.S.A.	43,888	67,806	56,590	75,996	139,857	384,137
Virgin Islands (U.S.A.)	—	—	—	9	142	151
West Indies, Other	2,231	6,852	6,731	2,400	202	18,416
Central America, Other	105	209	128	30	28	500
TOTAL	46,773	76,277	64,476	97,862	216,840	502,228
SOUTH AMERICA						
Argentina	—	1,232	1,856	2,248	3,276	8,612
Bolivia	—	—	—	73	268	341
Brazil	—	874	1,335	2,626	3,058	7,893
Chile	—	—	—	318	1,817	2,135
Colombia	—	—	—	287	2,016	2,303
Ecuador	—	—	—	61	1,824	1,885
Guyana	—	—	—	2,587	13,946	16,533
Paraguay	—	—	—	769	1,007	1,776
Peru	—	—	—	255	1,694	1,949
Surinam (Dutch Guiana)	—	—	—	19	110	129
Uruguay	—	—	—	359	2,421	2,780
Venezuela	—	—	—	1,337	1,367	2,704
Other South America	1,647	8,076	4,954	1,262	23	15,962
TOTAL	1,647	10,182	8,145	12,201	32,827	65,002

TABLE 3.2 (continued)

	1946-50	1951-57	1958-62	1963-67	1968-73	1946-73
ASIA						
Bangladesh	—	—	—	—	257	257
Brunei	—	—	—	43	418	461
Burma	—	—	—	73	264	337
China	3,191	13,626	1,958	701	659	20,135
Cyprus	—	—	—	1,042	1,599	2,641
Hong Kong	393	2,829	6,052	17,130	45,377	71,781
India	918	1,387	2,512	10,331	33,859	49,007
Indonesia	—	—	—	44	760	804
Iran	—	24	58	468	1,020	1,570
Iraq	—	—	—	254	579	833
Israel	435	6,842	4,763	6,214	5,382	23,636
Japan	77	710	823	1,954	4,962	8,526
Jordan	—	—	—	422	1,230	1,652
Korea, South	—	—	—	935	6,600	7,535
Kuwait	—	—	—	153	364	517
Lebanon	—	1,190	1,568	3,390	7,333	13,481
Macao	—	—	—	218	421	639
Malaysia	—	—	—	423	2,314	2,737
Pakistan	—	250	334	2,040	7,085	9,709
Philippines	—	—	243	7,558	23,802	31,603
Saudi Arabia	1	20	25	49	159	254
Singapore	—	—	—	183	941	1,124
Sri Lanka (form. Ceylon)	—	108	120	485	1,285	1,998
Syria	271	836	61	430	1,357	2,955
Taiwan	—	—	—	885	5,087	5,972
Thailand (Siam)	—	—	—	45	312	357
Vietnam, South	—	—	—	54	998	1,052
Other Asia	20	643	375	227	440	1,705
TOTAL	5,306	28,465	18,892	55,751	154,864	263,278
OCEANIA*						
Fiji	—	—	—	956	3,963	4,919
Mauritius	—	—	—	92	668	760
Other Oceania	9,320	1,652	393	116	116	11,597
TOTAL	9,320	1,652	393	1,164	4,747	17,276
GRAND TOTAL	430,389	1,238,951	482,165	770,134	921,324	3,842,963

*Islands of the South Pacific not identified as part of Asia, Australia or the Americas.

TABLE 3.3
IMMIGRATION BY PROVINCE OF INTENDED DESTINATION, 1946-73

Province	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959
Nfld.	—	—	—	129*	204	259	503	502	524	444	426	495	373	345
P.E.I.	586	223	269	240	164	211	306	261	107	123	112	134	78	91
N.S.	4,604	2,294	2,813	1,626	1,167	2,035	2,702	2,206	2,207	1,841	1,639	2,789	1,786	1,087
N.B.	3,465	1,248	1,476	782	663	1,423	1,020	1,080	1,011	659	852	1,674	1,031	640
Que.	9,712	8,272	24,687	18,005	13,575	46,033	35,318	34,294	28,419	22,117	32,284	55,073	28,443	24,816
Ont.	29,608	35,543	61,621	48,607	39,041	104,842	86,059	90,120	83,029	57,563	93,163	147,097	63,853	55,976
Man.	4,615	2,747	7,750	5,721	3,654	8,749	6,635	8,191	9,219	5,062	5,796	11,614	4,732	3,610
Sask.	4,711	1,901	5,087	3,664	2,896	4,178	3,875	3,790	4,125	2,654	2,202	4,427	2,595	1,815
Alta.	5,771	3,261	9,715	8,519	6,425	12,238	13,050	15,227	13,294	7,843	9,959	21,131	8,429	7,423
B.C.	8,619	8,599	11,918	7,874	6,091	14,394	14,976	13,118	12,197	11,570	18,306	37,528	13,400	11,000
Yukon & N.W.T.	28	39	78	50	32	29	63	79	95	70	118	202	131	125
TOTAL	71,719	64,127	125,414	95,217	73,912	194,391	164,498	168,868	154,227	109,946	164,857	282,164	124,851	106,928
	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973
Nfld.	306	365	378	349	445	604	805	984	1,006	832	630	819	686	984
P.E.I.	83	69	77	78	79	137	141	147	176	182	185	172	175	273
N.S.	1,210	901	989	1,198	1,189	1,612	2,084	2,406	1,957	2,167	2,007	1,812	1,872	2,548
N.B.	634	770	944	769	696	1,074	1,283	1,322	1,025	1,239	1,070	1,038	1,301	1,729
Que.	23,774	16,920	19,132	23,264	25,973	30,346	39,198	45,717	35,481	28,230	23,261	19,222	18,592	26,871
Ont.	54,491	36,518	37,210	49,216	61,468	79,702	107,621	116,850	96,155	86,588	80,732	64,357	63,805	103,187
Man.	4,337	2,527	2,410	2,792	3,006	3,948	5,132	9,313	8,723	6,380	5,826	5,301	5,262	6,621
Sask.	2,087	1,333	1,163	1,438	1,795	2,649	3,440	3,754	3,557	2,492	1,709	1,426	1,511	1,866
Alta.	6,949	4,823	4,745	4,731	5,521	8,049	10,078	15,004	13,203	11,274	10,405	8,653	8,390	11,904
B.C.	10,120	7,326	7,441	9,254	12,324	18,502	24,746	27,215	22,496	21,953	21,683	18,917	20,107	27,949
Yukon & N.W.T.	120	137	97	62	110	135	215	164	195	194	205	183	305	268
TOTAL	104,111	71,689	74,586	93,151	112,606	146,758	194,743	222,876	183,974	161,531	147,713	121,900	122,006	184,200

*Nine months.
Source: Department of Manpower and Immigration.

TABLE 3.4
IMMIGRATION TO CANADA BY CATEGORY OF ADMISSION AND
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION, 1951-73

Year	Category of Admission				Percentage Distribution			
	Total	Spon- sored	Nomin- ated*	Independ- ent	Total	Spon- sored	Nomin- ated	Independ- ent
1951	194,391	69,203		125,188	100	35.6		64.4
1952	164,498	53,133		111,365	100	32.3		67.7
1953	168,868	61,637		107,231	100	36.5		63.5
1954	154,227	53,363		100,864	100	34.6		65.4
1955	109,946	45,409		64,537	100	41.3		58.7
1956	164,857	52,978		111,879	100	32.1		67.9
1957	282,164	61,752		220,412	100	21.9		78.1
1958	124,851	60,114		64,737	100	48.1		51.9
1959	106,928	58,954		47,974	100	55.1		44.9
1960	104,111	49,256		54,855	100	47.3		52.7
1961	71,689	34,337		37,352	100	47.9		52.1
1962	74,586	33,738		40,848	100	45.2		54.8
1963	93,151	39,375		53,776	100	42.3		57.7
1964	112,606	46,572		66,034	100	41.4		58.6
1965	146,758	57,073		89,685	100	38.9		61.1
1966	194,743	66,562		128,181	100	34.2		65.8
1967	222,876	74,427		148,449	100	33.4		66.6
1968	183,974	38,307	35,040	110,627	100	20.8	19.1	60.1
1969	161,531	33,548	39,084	88,899	100	20.8	24.2	55.0
1970	147,713	32,263	35,151	80,299	100	21.8	23.8	54.4
1971	121,900	33,450	29,328	59,122	100	27.4	24.1	48.5
1972	122,006	33,077	30,959	57,970	100	27.1	25.4	47.5
1973	184,200	42,001	44,682	97,517	100	22.8	24.3	52.9
TOTALS								
1951-61	1,646,530	600,136		1,046,394	100	36.4		63.6
1962-67	844,720	317,747		526,973	100	37.6		62.4
1968-73	921,324	212,646	214,244	494,434	100	23.2	23.2	53.6

*The Nominated category was established in 1967. It does not appear separately in the statistics until 1968.
For definition of categories of admission, see *The Immigration Program*, Chapter 2.
Source: Department of Manpower and Immigration.

TABLE 5.1
INTENDED LABOUR FORCE STATUS OF ARRIVING IMMIGRANTS
AND WORKERS, AS A PER CENT OF TOTAL IMMIGRATION, 1946-73

Year	Total Non-workers	Total Workers	Total Immigration	Workers as Percentage of Total Immigration
1946	59,867	11,852	71,719	16.5
1947	28,909	35,218	64,127	54.9
1948	53,778	71,636	125,414	57.1
1949	44,932	50,285	95,217	52.8
1950	35,965	37,947	73,912	51.3
1951	83,927	110,464	194,391	56.8
1952	79,598	84,900	164,498	51.6
1953	77,735	91,133	168,868	54.0
1954	69,851	84,376	154,227	54.7
1955	51,559	57,987	109,946	52.7
1956	73,818	91,039	164,857	55.2
1957	130,653	151,511	282,164	53.7
1958	61,773	63,078	124,851	50.5
1959	53,377	53,551	106,928	50.1
1960	50,538	53,573	104,111	51.5
1961	36,880	34,809	71,689	48.6
1962	37,838	36,748	74,586	49.3
1963	47,285	45,866	93,151	49.2
1964	56,416	56,190	112,606	49.9
1965	72,563	74,195	146,758	50.6
1966	95,533	99,210	194,743	50.9
1967	103,337	119,539	222,876	53.6
1968	88,528	95,446	183,974	51.9
1969	77,182	84,349	161,531	52.2
1970	69,990	77,723	147,713	52.6
1971	60,618	61,282	121,900	50.3
1972	62,574	59,432	122,006	48.7
1973	91,672	92,228	184,200	50.1

Source: Department of Manpower and Immigration.

TABLE 5.4
IMMIGRANTS DESTINED TO THE LABOUR FORCE, PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION
BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS, 1946-73

Occupational Group	1946-50	1951-57	1958-62	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973
Managerial ¹	1.0	1.9	1.9	2.5	2.2	2.3	2.3	2.5	2.5	3.0	4.0	5.7	7.4	5.9
Professional	4.4	9.1	15.2	21.0	21.3	22.4	23.8	25.8	30.6	31.9	28.8	26.6	25.7	20.7
Clerical	7.6	8.5	11.3	13.5	14.1	13.4	13.3	13.9	13.2	14.5	15.6	16.2	14.4	14.6
Transportation	—	1.9	1.4	1.0	1.0	1.3	1.3	1.1	1.0	.8	.8	1.0	1.1	1.1
Communications ²	3.2	.5	.5	.4	.4	.4	.5	.4	.4	.3	.3	.2	.2	.2
Commercial ³	5.5	3.5	3.4	3.0	3.4	3.4	3.1	2.5	2.8	3.2	3.3	3.4	3.5	3.4
Financial	—	.2	.2	.3	.1	.2	.3	.3	.6	.7	.6	.6	.7	.6
Service	9.3	12.1	17.5	13.3	11.4	10.2	8.7	9.0	9.7	10.7	10.1	10.4	11.1	12.9
Farmers	29.1	14.4	8.1	5.2	4.0	3.2	2.7	2.7	3.3	2.7	2.7	3.6	3.6	3.3
Loggers	—	—	—	.1	.1	.2	.1	.1	.1	.1	.1	.1	.1	.2
Fishermen, hunters & trappers ⁴	2.9	1.2	.3	.3	—	—	.3	.3	.5	.5	.4	.4	.2	.2
Miners	2.5	1.2	.5	.2	.2	.3	.3	.3	.8	.8	.7	.5	.4	.2
Construction	7.0	9.4	7.9	8.4	8.5	8.9	9.6	8.9	8.1	7.1	7.7	6.5	6.4	5.8
Manufacturing and mechanical	23.2	23.6	17.6	22.6	22.6	23.7	24.7	23.5	24.3	20.7	20.6	19.8	19.4	22.8
Labourers	2.9	12.6	13.6	10.2	10.2	9.6	7.7	7.4	2.8	2.4	2.1	2.2	2.0	3.0
Not stated	2.4	2.9	2.6	7.8	7.8	7.7	7.7	7.4	2.8	2.4	2.1	2.2	2.0	3.0
Total workers	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

¹ No record of Managerial group available for period 1946 to 1952.
² Includes Transportation for the period 1946-50.
³ Includes Financial for the period 1946-50.
⁴ Includes Loggers for the period 1946 to 1962.
Source: Department of Manpower and Immigration.

Year	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023	2024																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																				
Population	14,000,000	14,200,000	14,400,000	14,600,000	14,800,000	15,000,000	15,200,000	15,400,000	15,600,000	15,800,000	16,000,000	16,200,000	16,400,000	16,600,000	16,800,000	17,000,000	17,200,000	17,400,000	17,600,000	17,800,000	18,000,000	18,200,000	18,400,000	18,600,000	18,800,000	19,000,000	19,200,000	19,400,000	19,600,000	19,800,000	20,000,000	20,200,000	20,400,000	20,600,000	20,800,000	21,000,000	21,200,000	21,400,000	21,600,000	21,800,000	22,000,000	22,200,000	22,400,000	22,600,000	22,800,000	23,000,000	23,200,000	23,400,000	23,600,000	23,800,000	24,000,000	24,200,000	24,400,000	24,600,000	24,800,000	25,000,000	25,200,000	25,400,000	25,600,000	25,800,000	26,000,000	26,200,000	26,400,000	26,600,000	26,800,000	27,000,000	27,200,000	27,400,000	27,600,000	27,800,000	28,000,000	28,200,000	28,400,000	28,600,000	28,800,000	29,000,000	29,200,000	29,400,000	29,600,000	29,800,000	30,000,000	30,200,000	30,400,000	30,600,000	30,800,000	31,000,000	31,200,000	31,400,000	31,600,000	31,800,000	32,000,000	32,200,000	32,400,000	32,600,000	32,800,000	33,000,000	33,200,000	33,400,000	33,600,000	33,800,000	34,000,000	34,200,000	34,400,000	34,600,000	34,800,000	35,000,000	35,200,000	35,400,000	35,600,000	35,800,000	36,000,000	36,200,000	36,400,000	36,600,000	36,800,000	37,000,000	37,200,000	37,400,000	37,600,000	37,800,000	38,000,000	38,200,000	38,400,000	38,600,000	38,800,000	39,000,000	39,200,000	39,400,000	39,600,000	39,800,000	40,000,000	40,200,000	40,400,000	40,600,000	40,800,000	41,000,000	41,200,000	41,400,000	41,600,000	41,800,000	42,000,000	42,200,000	42,400,000	42,600,000	42,800,000	43,000,000	43,200,000	43,400,000	43,600,000	43,800,000	44,000,000	44,200,000	44,400,000	44,600,000	44,800,000	45,000,000	45,200,000	45,400,000	45,600,000	45,800,000	46,000,000	46,200,000	46,400,000	46,600,000	46,800,000	47,000,000	47,200,000	47,400,000	47,600,000	47,800,000	48,000,000	48,200,000	48,400,000	48,600,000	48,800,000	49,000,000	49,200,000	49,400,000	49,600,000	49,800,000	50,000,000	50,200,000	50,400,000	50,600,000	50,800,000	51,000,000	51,200,000	51,400,000	51,600,000	51,800,000	52,000,000	52,200,000	52,400,000	52,600,000	52,800,000	53,000,000	53,200,000	53,400,000	53,600,000	53,800,000	54,000,000	54,200,000	54,400,000	54,600,000	54,800,000	55,000,000	55,200,000	55,400,000	55,600,000	55,800,000	56,000,000	56,200,000	56,400,000	56,600,000	56,800,000	57,000,000	57,200,000	57,400,000	57,600,000	57,800,000	58,000,000	58,200,000	58,400,000	58,600,000	58,800,000	59,000,000	59,200,000	59,400,000	59,600,000	59,800,000	60,000,000	60,200,000	60,400,000	60,600,000	60,800,000	61,000,000	61,200,000	61,400,000	61,600,000	61,800,000	62,000,000	62,200,000	62,400,000	62,600,000	62,800,000	63,000,000	63,200,000	63,400,000	63,600,000	63,800,000	64,000,000	64,200,000	64,400,000	64,600,000	64,800,000	65,000,000	65,200,000	65,400,000	65,600,000	65,800,000	66,000,000	66,200,000	66,400,000	66,600,000	66,800,000	67,000,000	67,200,000	67,400,000	67,600,000	67,800,000	68,000,000	68,200,000	68,400,000	68,600,000	68,800,000	69,000,000	69,200,000	69,400,000	69,600,000	69,800,000	70,000,000	70,200,000	70,400,000	70,600,000	70,800,000	71,000,000	71,200,000	71,400,000	71,600,000	71,800,000	72,000,000	72,200,000	72,400,000	72,600,000	72,800,000	73,000,000	73,200,000	73,400,000	73,600,000	73,800,000	74,000,000	74,200,000	74,400,000	74,600,000	74,800,000	75,000,000	75,200,000	75,400,000	75,600,000	75,800,000	76,000,000	76,200,000	76,400,000	76,600,000	76,800,000	77,000,000	77,200,000	77,400,000	77,600,000	77,800,000	78,000,000	78,200,000	78,400,000	78,600,000	78,800,000	79,000,000	79,200,000	79,400,000	79,600,000	79,800,000	80,000,000	80,200,000	80,400,000	80,600,000	80,800,000	81,000,000	81,200,000	81,400,000	81,600,000	81,800,000	82,000,000	82,200,000	82,400,000	82,600,000	82,800,000	83,000,000	83,200,000	83,400,000	83,600,000	83,800,000	84,000,000	84,200,000	84,400,000	84,600,000	84,800,000	85,000,000	85,200,000	85,400,000	85,600,000	85,800,000	86,000,000	86,200,000	86,400,000	86,600,000	86,800,000	87,000,000	87,200,000	87,400,000	87,600,000	87,800,000	88,000,000	88,200,000	88,400,000	88,600,000	88,800,000	89,000,000	89,200,000	89,400,000	89,600,000	89,800,000	90,000,000	90,200,000	90,400,000	90,600,000	90,800,000	91,000,000	91,200,000	91,400,000	91,600,000	91,800,000	92,000,000	92,200,000	92,400,000	92,600,000	92,800,000	93,000,000	93,200,000	93,400,000	93,600,000	93,800,000	94,000,000	94,200,000	94,400,000	94,600,000	94,800,000	95,000,000	95,200,000	95,400,000	95,600,000	95,800,000	96,000,000	96,200,000	96,400,000	96,600,000	96,800,000	97,000,000	97,200,000	97,400,000	97,600,000	97,800,000	98,000,000	98,200,000	98,400,000	98,600,000	98,800,000	99,000,000	99,200,000	99,400,000	99,600,000	99,800,000	100,000,000

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GREEN PAPER – HIGHLIGHTS THREE YEARS IN CANADA

The fourth booklet in the Green Paper series contains the initial report of a survey on the economic and social adaption of immigrants to life in Canada. A summary of that survey and its findings are outlined herein.

INTRODUCTION

Canada is in the forefront of those nations whose economic, social, and cultural development has been shaped by immigration. In the post-war years alone, more than 3.8 million immigrants have arrived in this country.

However, it is only in recent years that research has been conducted into the "adjustment" of newcomers—how long it took them to find their first jobs, whether they found work in their intended occupations, the obstacles they encountered in getting qualifications recognized, their earnings, their acceptance in the community, and their satisfaction with different aspects of Canadian life. Many hypotheses have been advanced over the years on these points, but few have been tested. The result has sometimes been a stereotyping of immigrants, and a poor understanding of the real nature and speed of their adjustment to life in Canada.

The need for more and better information led the Department of Manpower and Immigration to undertake a systematic study of the economic and social adaptation of groups of immigrants who arrived in Canada during the years 1969 to 1971. These immigrants were questioned on their motives for migrating and, periodically during their first three years, on factors bearing on their adaptation. The study has three important characteristics:

1. It is based on a representative sample of all immigrants entering the labour force. Earlier studies of immigrant adjustment had been limited to selected groups, often in selected parts of the country.
2. It is "longitudinal"—it follows the same group of people over a full three years from the date of their arrival. It is thus able, on a comprehensive basis, to portray their adjustment as a continuing process.
3. Questionnaires were sent at the same time to a group of Canadian residents with characteristics similar to those of the immigrants. Hence comparisons can be made between immigrants and Canadians on such matters as employment, unemployment, incomes, and housing.

The complete study has covered three groups of immigrants arriving in each of the years 1969, 1970, and 1971.

This report, *Three Years in Canada*, describes the results obtained from the first of the three groups of immigrants, those who arrived in 1969. Future publications will provide similar data on the adjustment of immigrants arriving in 1970 and 1971.

The Department has embarked on a major research program that will analyze many aspects of the adjustment process which have a bearing on immigration policy. Current or planned studies will include, for example, the adaption of immigrants in certain metropolitan areas, their geographic mobility, the adjustment of immigrant professionals, the role of knowledge of the official languages, and the educational and cultural factors in adjustment.

Some of the studies based on the longitudinal survey have already led to improvements in Canadian reception services for immigrants. The early survey returns, for instance, made it clear that additional counselling services in Canada Manpower Centres and additional language training were particularly required by nominated immigrants. Later material made it clear that at least a minimal demand for the skills of immigrants was an important prerequisite to rapid and successful settlement and adjustment. These studies both stimulated and permitted improvements in settlement and selection systems. The survey will thus be a major instrument for determining how Canada can best attract, select, and assist the settlement of those who will come to join us in future years.

SUMMARY

Initial information from the longitudinal survey provides a reasonable picture of how at least one group of immigrants—those arriving in 1969—fared during their first three years in Canada. Their progress can be charted along several dimensions—economic adjustment, social adaption, and motivation for migrating.

Before summarizing the survey results, a major feature of the survey itself should be noted. Although the initial sample included approximately 5,000 immigrants, the main survey findings are based on the responses of the 2,037 immigrants who remained in the survey—returning all four questionnaires—for the full three years. On most questions the report omits the views and experiences of those who chose not to respond to one or more of the questionnaires, who left Canada during the survey period, or moved within Canada and could not be traced by mail.

ECONOMIC ADJUSTMENT

Economic factors were of considerable importance in shaping the success or failure of immigrants to adjust to the Canadian way of life. Primary among such factors were their experiences in the job market.

Half of the 161,531 immigrants who came to Canada in 1969 were destined to the labour force. Independent and nominated immigrants accounted respectively for 65 per cent and 26 per cent of these labour force entrants in 1969. Independent immigrants were those admitted on the basis of nine selection criteria, on which they had to obtain 50 out of 100 points to be admitted to Canada. Nominated relatives of Canadian residents were admitted on the basis of five selection criteria, their relationship to the nominator in Canada and his citizenship status. In a normal immigration year, about 60 per cent of all the immigrants joining the labour force are in the independent class and about 30 per cent in the nominated class. During economic slowdowns in Canada, the proportion of nominated relatives usually increases.

According to the survey results, only about one-quarter of all the immigrant labour force entrants had pre-arranged jobs. However, within a week and a half of their arrival, 50 per cent of all the immigrants who eventually entered the labour force had already started working. For the other 50 per cent, finding a job took quite a bit longer, with the result that the average time from arriving to starting to work was four weeks.

By occupation, the largest proportion of the new workers entered managerial, professional or technical fields, followed by craftsmen and clerical and sales occupations. Over the ensuing two years of the study, this occupational picture of the immigrants remained essentially unchanged.

To a large extent, immigrants were able to realize the occupational intentions they held prior to arrival in Canada. A lack of demand for specific skills in Canada was an important reason for those failing to move into their intended occupation. Other hurdles were cited: lack of Canadian experience in their chosen occupation field; failure to have their qualifications recognized; and language difficulties (although this had ceased to be a problem for most by the end of their third year in Canada). A significant number simply changed their minds about the kind of work they wanted after they arrived.

Over the survey period, the immigrant sample showed considerable stability of employment. A substantial proportion, some 47 per cent, did not change jobs during the first three years after arrival, and an additional 25 per cent changed jobs only once. It appears, therefore, that the majority of immigrants were able to find acceptable jobs in Canada soon after arrival.

Information on the wives of immigrants in the sample shows that the majority neither took jobs initially nor were employed by the end of the third year. Nevertheless, the proportion of working immigrant wives exceeds that of Canadian wives in general. However, during the three-year period, there did appear to be a growing tendency on the part of these immigrant wives to join the work force, particularly in Ontario and Quebec. For four-fifths of these working wives, the husband's employment income was less than \$10,000 three years after arrival.

For some of the 1969 immigrants, unemployment was a problem during their first three years. It was a problem particularly in their first six months of residence in Canada. Their unfamiliarity with the Canadian labour market and other job barriers, such as language difficulties, combined with a high rate of unemployment in Canada during this period, put them at a competitive disadvantage in the job market. Unemployment was particularly high in this early period among nominated immigrants and those whose occupations were not in demand in the Canadian labour market.

Decreases in the overall unemployment rates of male immigrants in the sample were marked in the first two years, and then more gradual, with the result that the unemployment rate for those immigrants dropped from 10.1 per cent six months after arrival to 4.8 per cent by the end of their third year (1972)—the final level being higher than the Canadian control group's 3.7 per cent but below the average of 6.8 per cent for males in the Canadian labour force. At the same time, the duration of unemployment diminished until by the end of the third year after arrival the immigrant sample as a whole, at 2.8 weeks on average, was within striking distance of the control group on this measure. Altogether, considering that average levels of unemployment in Canada remained high during this period, it can be concluded that immigrants were very successful in finding employment in Canada.

The demand for the occupational skills of the immigrant was a decisive factor in his economic adaptation. Those whose occupations had no demand in the Canadian labour market had an average unemployment rate of 10 per cent during their first three years in Canada. This was 50 per cent higher than the average unemployment of persons whose skills were in demand, and triple the unemployment rate of those who, in addition, had arranged a job before emigrating to this country.

The unemployment experiences of independent and nominated immigrants showed interesting differences. During their first six months in Canada, the unemployment rate of nominated immigrants was two and a half times that of the independent immigrants. One year after arrival, the nominated immigrants had reduced their unemployment rate from more than 16 per cent to under 10 per cent. Over the next two years, nominated immigrants continued to make substantial progress, with the result that their unemployment rate in the third year was, for the first time, fairly close to that of independent immigrants. Nominated immigrants appeared to have considerably more difficulty in integrating themselves into the labour force than did independent immigrants, although their problems clearly diminished over time.

Within the 1969 sample of immigrants were 91 who became self-employed—that is, persons whose earnings were derived from business ventures or professional practices which they owned and directed. Although as a rule the self-employed represent only 5 per cent of immigrants, they are important because they create new employment opportunities. In fact, by the end of their third year in Canada, the total number of newly-created jobs as a result of the self-employed immigrants in this sample amounted to 606, even though most of the businesses were rather small and only six employed 11 or more staff. These self-employed immigrants enjoyed an income that was about twice as high as that of all the immigrants in the sample.

Changes in the incomes of immigrants tended to parallel their employment successes. The improvement in the incomes of the sample immigrants was quite dramatic up to the end of their second year, rising from an effective initial annual income of \$5,766 to a level of \$9,096. The increase to a level of \$10,040 in their third year was still strong enough to keep the immigrants ahead of inflation, but they lost some ground to the Canadian control group, whose more rapid rate of increase took them from an average income of \$10,263 in 1971 to \$12,115 in 1972. It is notable that the monthly earnings of immigrants whose intended occupations were in demand in Canada were \$118 higher, and those with pre-arranged employment were \$408 higher, than those of immigrants whose occupations were in surplus.

Corresponding to these income changes were fluctuations in the incidence of poverty among the sample immigrants. The percentage of immigrants living below the poverty line decreased sharply from 22 per cent during the first six months of their residence in Canada to four per cent during their third year. By the third year, unemployment had become increasingly important in explaining the income situation of those remaining below the poverty line.

Housing posed several problems for immigrants over the study period. In the early months after arrival, housing and household expenditures were very high for all sizes of family. Against these high expenditures were the low initial incomes of immigrants and the tight Canadian housing market, with the result that immigrants found suitable accommodation a continuing problem, though a diminishing one through time.

As part of the progression to better and more stable accommodation, immigrants moved frequently. Usually moves were within the same city, town or village in which they had initially settled, with the three major metropolitan areas—Montreal, Vancouver and Toronto, led by the latter—showing special holding power. Only 15 per cent of the respondents did not move over the three-year period, and on an average all immigrants moved twice. Immigrants, when they first arrive in a new country, are obviously in a situation conducive to high mobility.

During their first three years in Canada, almost 50 per cent of all immigrants followed part-time or short-term educational courses or training. Occupation or skill courses were the most popular, and about 20 per cent took formal language training. Partly because of these language courses, there was a substantial reduction in the percentage of immigrants who were not fluent in either English or French. Among those who did take language training during the period, the number fluent in French almost doubled and the number fluent in English increased by about a half.

All in all, economic adjustment appeared to occur quite rapidly for the majority of immigrants who arrived in 1969. By the end of the immigrant's third year in Canada, the differences between him and his Canadian counterpart on a variety of economic measures had become rather small. Several factors—such as age and education, for example—had some effect on the speed with which this economic integration occurred.

SOCIAL ADAPTION

After a year in Canada, one-fifth of the immigrant sample thought that their overall social situation had deteriorated as compared with their social position in their country of origin. Half saw no difference. Three-tenths felt there had been an improvement. Those who were unemployed or not working in their chosen professions were negative far more often on this matter than were those who were employed in positions that matched their expectations.

No less than 90 per cent of the sample at any one time expressed the sentiment that they were either very well or generally accepted in their communities. Once again, employment and unemployment experiences were important factors influencing this perception.

Certain types of behaviour generally are said to contribute to maintaining the cultural identity of immigrants—for example, intermarriage within one's own ethnic group, speaking one's mother tongue at home, and becoming involved in the voluntary associations of one's own ethnic group. On these questions, the longitudinal survey showed some interesting results. There was an increasing tendency to marry across ethnic lines with the passage of time, with the young, the independent immigrants, and the immigrants from English-speaking countries leading the way. The number of immigrants speaking a mother tongue at home other than French or English dropped by only six per cent in two years, but the number with a working knowledge of one of these languages increased by 10 per cent. By the end of their second year, 31 per cent of the sample were participating in voluntary associations in which, in close to two-thirds of the cases, Canadians constituted the majority. After three years' residence in Canada, 55 per cent of the immigrants polled reported that they felt at home or *chez soi* in Canada; only 14 per cent felt more attached to their country of origin, while 31 per cent were undecided.

Immigrants appeared to be better satisfied with social and cultural services in Canada than with economic conditions. When asked about jobs and the cost of living, just over 60 per cent, on average, replied that they were "satisfied" or "very satisfied". But with respect to health, education, and recreation services, corresponding proportions were over 80 per cent. The highest degree of dissatisfaction was found, not unexpectedly, among those who were unemployed or working in jobs outside their own chosen profession.

MOTIVATION

Finally, a few concerns that may be termed motivational are important in gauging immigrant adjustment in Canada.

The motives to emigrate to Canada were primarily but not solely a matter of economic or social considerations. Most immigrants in the 1969 sample said that they came to Canada to improve their economic situation, but other factors—such as a desire for travel or adventure—motivated a significant minority. It was surprising to find that the desire to be near relatives was the motive of a minority of the nominated immigrants, in spite of the important role played by their relatives in paving the way for their admission to Canada.

Close to 90 per cent of the 1969 sample answered that they had obtained some information about Canada before emigrating. Eighty-three per cent of the independent immigrants and 89 per cent of the nominated immigrants felt that the information they had received was accurate. The main source of their information were friends and relatives in Canada and Canadian immigration officials abroad. This finding conflicts with statements sometimes made that immigration offices abroad paint too glowing a picture of conditions in Canada.

The size of the group of immigrants who did not remain in Canada plus the stated intentions with respect to permanent settlement of those still here is one measure of the immigrant's adaption to life in this country. It may also reflect the immigrant's perception of conditions here before arriving. The survey found that three years after their arrival, only seven per cent of respondents expressed a definite intention to leave Canada, compared with 24 per cent who had originally intended to stay only a short while. It also showed that at least 16 per cent of the original sample had left Canada during the three years; of this group about 60 per cent originally had not intended to settle permanently.