In this thesis I intend to fill these knowledge gaps by exploring the relationship between the role of immigration policy and regulations as agents of selection, immigrant intake, and the type of work immigrants do in Canada's labour force. The context within which these issues will be explored is the remarkable shift in the nature of work which has taken place over the last half century. This shift has seen the Canadian economy move steadily from one founded on resource extraction, to manufacturing, and subsequently to one which approaches a post-industrial economy. The post-war period has also witnessed a shift in the source of Canadian immigrants, from primarily the United Kingdom to Europe to primarily countries outside Europe.

The question asked in this thesis is: given shifts in both immigration policy and the labour force, have there been concomitant changes in the roles played by immigrants? My underlying motivation for this research is to ascertain the degree to which immigration policy as a means of selection affects the role immigrants play in the Canadian labour force and determine how that role changes with both changes to immigration regulations and with the amount of time spent in Canada.

Prior to World War I, the work done by immigrants was relatively straightforward. The bulk of immigrants were brought in to settle, farm, and in a sense, lay a claim to the land for Canada. Clifford Sifton, the Minister of Immigration at the turn of the century felt that the best immigrant was

...a stalwart peasant in a sheep-skin coat, born on the soil, whose forefathers have been farmers for ten generations, with a stout wife and a half-dozen children...(Dafoe, 1931: 142).

Sifton's goal was to settle the prairies and create a rural economic base for Canada. He

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**The Changing Role of Post-War Immigrants in
Canada's Labour Force:**

An analysis across four census periods

by

Ravi Shankar Pendakur, BA, MES

**A thesis submitted to
The Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfilment of
the requirements for the degree of**

Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Sociology and Anthropology

**Carleton University
Ottawa, Ontario
April 15, 1996**

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and Research Acceptance of the thesis

**The Changing Role of Post-War Immigrants in Canada's Labour
Force: An analysis across four census periods**

submitted by Ravi Pendakur, B.A., M.E.S.
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Thesis Supervisor

External Examiner

Chair, Department of Sociology and Anthropology

Carleton University
April 25, 1996

Abstract:

This thesis examines the roles immigrants have played in Canada's urban labour force and the ways in which these roles have changed in response to changes in intake policy, changing labour force requirements and time spent in Canada. These questions are particularly interesting because the post-war period encompasses two different immigration paths, one emphasizing family reunification, and the other stressing a two-pronged approach including both labour force requirements and family reunification.

Despite dramatic changes to the Canadian economy between 1961 and 1991, which saw the relative decline of manufacturing and the growth of both a service sector and a welfare state, the role of immigrants remained to a large extent concentrated within those sectors in which they entered. Immigrant men remained over-represented in construction and manufacturing, while women continued to work in the manufacturing and service sector. Standardizing the data by either education or age or a combination of the two did not alter the distributions radically, suggesting, that differences in the role immigrants play in the labour force had less to do with their age or schooling characteristics than the fact that they are immigrants and the period when they came to Canada.

The longer immigrants were in Canada, the more likely they were to shift into self-employment. If there was a move into self-employment, it was often within the same industrial sector. For example, there would be a move from the wage labour construction sector to the self-employed construction sector. The other reality, however, is that immigrants showed high rates of self-employment regardless of the sector within which they worked.

Acknowledgements:

Perhaps a major drawback to doing a degree part time is that one gets help and advice from so many people that it looks suspiciously like a joint effort rather than the reclusive undertaking a thesis is generally taken to be. I will brave such accusations in an effort to thank the many people who have provided help and encouragement.

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The Changing Role of Post-War Immigrants In Canada's Labour Force An Analysis Across Four Census Periods

Chapter 1

I. Introduction:

Permanent migration has constituted the cornerstone of Canadian immigration policy since Confederation. The bases for encouraging immigration have ranged from simple population expansion, to economic need, to humanitarian considerations, including family reunification and the acceptance of political refugees. Regardless of the rationale for intake, however, is the fact that immigrants work. They work in factories, in fields and in offices. They pay rent, mortgages and taxes and share the same dreams of being successful as those born in Canada. Despite, or perhaps because of, such similarities, immigration has always been controversial.

Newspaper headlines regularly question whether immigrants create a drain on the public purse, or whether Canadian-born workers face stiffer competition as a result of immigrants entering the labour force. Social scientists argue over whether the immigrants Canada receives now are as upwardly mobile as those received earlier, whether immigrants face discrimination in the labour market, and the degree to which unrecognized credentials held by immigrants result in higher levels of unemployment and underemployment (see Greenwood and McDowell, 1990; Richmond, 1984; McDade,

1988).

Central to the above questions are issues concerning the type of work immigrants do in Canada and the degree to which the government can dictate the labour force contribution of migrants. Proponents of immigration, for example, argue that immigrants bring with them skills and knowledge that differ from those held by the native-born population, or that they may be willing to work in undesirable occupations left unfilled by the native-born population. In the mid-1960s, Porter (1965) argued that Canada relied on foreign training by enlisting skilled immigrants rather than training its own citizens. Thirty years later, with the rise of domestic schooling levels, this may no longer be the case: immigration opponents now argue that immigrants add to the degree of competition faced by native-born workers in an increasingly restricted job market.

What these arguments have in common is the realization that immigrants comprise an important component of Canada's labour force. Over the past five decades, despite a myriad of changes to immigration regulations and annual swings in admission ranging from sixty thousand to almost three hundred thousand, the proportion of immigrants has continued to hover around sixteen percent of the total Canadian population. By 1991, there were 4.1 million permanent immigrants living in Canada, the bulk of whom had entered after World War II (1991 Census of Canada).

It would seem that the labour market implications of immigration should be of critical interest to both social scientists and policy makers. However, not much is known about either the impact of immigration policy on the immigrant population, or how immigrants contribute to the Canadian labour force.

In this thesis I intend to fill these knowledge gaps by exploring the relationship between the role of immigration policy and regulations as agents of selection, immigrant intake, and the type of work immigrants do in Canada's labour force. The context within which these issues will be explored is the remarkable shift in the nature of work which has taken place over the last half century. This shift has seen the Canadian economy move steadily from one founded on resource extraction, to manufacturing, and subsequently to one which approaches a post-industrial economy. The post-war period has also witnessed a shift in the source of Canadian immigrants, from primarily the United Kingdom to Europe to primarily countries outside Europe.

The question asked in this thesis is: given shifts in both immigration policy and the labour force, have there been concomitant changes in the roles played by immigrants? My underlying motivation for this research is to ascertain the degree to which immigration policy as a means of selection affects the role immigrants play in the Canadian labour force and determine how that role changes with both changes to immigration regulations and with the amount of time spent in Canada.

Prior to World War I, the work done by immigrants was relatively straightforward. The bulk of immigrants were brought in to settle, farm, and in a sense, lay a claim to the land for Canada. Clifford Sifton, the Minister of Immigration at the turn of the century felt that the best immigrant was

...a stalwart peasant in a sheep-skin coat, born on the soil, whose forefathers have been farmers for ten generations, with a stout wife and a half-dozen children...(Dafoe, 1931: 142).

Sifton's goal was to settle the prairies and create a rural economic base for Canada. He

was not particularly concerned with how well immigrants fared after arrival, and it is probably the case that career aspirations, or opportunities for change, were limited.

In contrast to previous eras in Canada's history, post-World War II immigration has been largely urban. Four out of five immigrants now live in the major urban areas. In comparison with the Canadian-born population, immigrants are more likely to be active in the labour force and, if active, more likely to be self-employed. The economic role of immigrants, particularly in the larger cities, is therefore quite significant. However, the nature of this work, and the implications of immigration policy and intake on the work immigrants do is not well understood.

In part, this lack of understanding is because immigrant workers are now more dispersed throughout the labour force than they were in previous generations. Immigrants today are no longer brought in to farm the prairies, as in the case of Scandinavian and other European immigrants who entered prior to the depression. Nor are they brought in to work on large infrastructure projects, such as the Chinese were for the railway, or the Irish for Ontario's canal system. The economic niches within which immigrants operate today are therefore somewhat harder to identify than in the past. This may explain why the majority of social scientists have not examined immigration as a factor in determining social outcomes.

At the same time, however, immigrants are generally regarded as being both socio-economically and politically distinct from native-born populations. In part, this is because immigrants are seen as comprising a 'selected' population. Immigrants are 'self-selected' in the sense that adult migrants make a decision to leave one country or society

and go to another. Immigrants are also selected by the receiving country, in that countries which attract immigrants have the jurisdiction to specify entrance criteria and select immigrants based on age, education, training, health and even such things as moral character and ethnic origin (Wilkie, 1977: 87).

In theory, a host nation, through immigration policy, can choose from a pool of potential migrants in order to select those who will benefit a country most. In this sense, then, the permanent immigrant population is a creation of state policy and action. Thus, changes to immigration policy and programs which affect entrance criteria should have a direct impact on the types of immigrants admitted to a country. By extension, government actions also play a significant role in determining the socio-economic characteristics of the immigrant population, because people admitted for permanent migration bring with them both cultural and economic characteristics which are then applied to life in the host country. In this way, government policy can be seen to influence not only the incoming immigrant population, but the future roles of immigrants and their opportunities for advancement as well.

Immigrants are also viewed as distinct by social scientists because of an assumption that through either explicit or implicit discrimination differing immigrant groups can be disadvantaged (Kelley and McAllister, 1984: 400). Such discrimination can act to lower opportunities for either getting a job or advancing in the labour force. Miller (1987), for example, found that immigrants to Australia from non-English speaking countries are at a far greater disadvantage than immigrants from English-speaking countries. In some instances the source of disadvantage was a product of not

speaking English, but in others it was because employers were unwilling to hire 'outsiders.'

Immigrants can also be disadvantaged through forms of institutional discrimination such as unrecognized schooling and occupational credentials. Many professional degrees and medical degrees from other countries, for example, go unrecognized in Canada. This means that immigrants cannot work in those fields without retraining. In these instances, the 'human capital' that immigrants bring with them, in terms of training or education, is lost unless they can be 'recertified' in Canada.

What the foregoing suggests is that immigrants are in the rather unique position of being viewed as both more upwardly mobile, because of selection, and less upwardly mobile, because of discrimination. It would seem then, that immigration should be an area of social and academic interest. The reality is, however, that a majority of sociologists appear to have ignored issues related to the stratification of immigrant labour, despite the potential that sociology has to address these questions. Where research has been conducted, the immigrant population is often treated as an homogenous entity such that comparisons are made between the native-born and all immigrants. Thus, the diversity within the immigrant population is ignored because differences between specific cohorts, or groups of immigrants go unrecognized.¹ Moreover, there has been

¹. Part of the reason for such generalized research is that many of the source datasets give very little detail on the immigrant population. Most datasets for example, are limited to an immigrant flag and perhaps a few country of birth options. Granted, there are researchers who look at the work immigrants do in more detail. Monica Boyd, for example examines immigrant groups by both gender and detailed place of birth groups (see, for example, Boyd and Norris, 1995). Jeffrey Reitz has also looked at immigrant groups rather than immigrants as a whole (see Breton et al., 1980). However, many sociologists, if they include immigrants in their analyses at all, are satisfied with

(continued. .)

little attempt to understand how government policy influences the labour force position of immigrants and their subsequent opportunities for shifts and advancement.

The result of such omissions is that although the general patterns in terms of immigrant involvement in the labour force are fairly well known, the specific roles played by immigrants in the labour market and the degree to which those roles change over time are poorly understood. Further, although politically and sociologically important, the link between immigration policy and the work of immigrants remains largely unexplored.

A. The Question

The three decades between 1946 to 1977 encompass two major immigration periods in Canada. The first, running from 1946 to 1960, emphasized family reunification and European immigration almost exclusively. The second stressed a two pronged approach including both labour force requirements and family reunification. During this latter period, barriers towards non-European immigration were also reduced. The question I seek to explore in this thesis is: how do the labour force roles of immigrants change in Canada, both as a response to changes in immigration intake policy and as a response to the amount of time immigrants are in Canada after arrival? My goal is to develop an understanding of the relationship between immigration policy and regulations, intake patterns and the labour force contribution of immigrants, as well as to explore how that relationship changes over time. The context within which these issues

¹(...continued)

examining the group as a whole. This serves to hide the diversity within the immigrant population and provides a false picture of what immigrants do in the labour force.

will be explored is the change in the Canadian labour force from one based on the production of goods to that of a post-industrial service economy.

My intent is to provide an analysis which recognizes diversity and change within the immigrant population as well as within the labour market. In the case of the latter, my analysis recognizes not only structural changes in the market place over-time, but that differing industrial sectors can have quite differing career paths and opportunities for advancement. Placing government policy centrally in this analysis allows me to raise questions posed regarding the role of the government in shaping the immigrant population and, concomitantly, on the type of work done by immigrants in the Canadian labour force. This should also result in a better understanding of within-group labour force differences based on such factors as age, gender, place of birth, age at immigration and schooling. I will be able to provide a more complete understanding of the role played by immigrants in the labour force and the relationship of government policy to this role.

B. The Approach

In order to address the above question, I compare the industry distribution patterns of economically active immigrants who arrived in Canada between 1946 and 1977 with those of Canadian-born workers living in six major urban areas -- Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver. This involves:

- i Examining and making links between immigration policy, immigration intake and location in the labour force in 1961, 1971, 1981 and 1991;
- ii Comparing this pattern to that of the native-born population; and,
- iii Examining how these relationships change across four census periods.

The primary comparison is made on the basis of such factors as age, gender and education. However, immigrants are also recognized as having additional streaming factors, mandated to a large degree by government immigration policy. These factors include age at immigration, period of immigration, intake class and place of birth. The combination of general and immigrant-specific characteristics serves to stream people into different sectors of the labour force.

I hypothesize that immigration policy, through intake regulations and settlement policies, has created an immigrant population which has a bimodal distribution of skills and schooling. This bimodal character in turn results in immigrants having a labour force role which differs strongly from that of native-born workers.

C. Analytic Framework

My basic objective is to develop an understanding of how the state acts to control the entry of individuals and how that control affects the eventual labour market positions of immigrants. A further goal is to examine how the labour force role of immigrants changes over time, both in response to changes in immigration policy, and in response to the amount of time immigrants spend in Canada after admittance. This study involves three main analytical dimensions -- immigration policy as an agent of selection; immigration as a process; and labour market position. The following sections build an

analytic framework for use in this thesis by discussing each of the three dimensions.

1. Immigration Policy

As noted earlier, social scientists have had difficulty defining the link between immigration policy, intake patterns and the work of immigrants. Those who do examine immigration issues often ignore the consequences of government actions or regard immigration policy as being formulated by value neutral political elites and bureaucrats (Simmons and Keohane, 1992: 425). Satzewich (1988: 283) contends that this is a misguided approach. He suggests that migrations are linked to global economic phenomena such as historical structural processes of uneven development (for example, imperialism), capital accumulation and changes in the organization of production. He also recognizes, however, that immigration is structured by a state which is subject to political and ideological shifts and negotiations. Miles and Satzewich (1990:353) argue that it is imperative that immigration researchers place the role of the state centrally as a determinant of international migration flows. They contend that international migration should be explained in relation to the historical articulation between the process of capital accumulation and the reproduction of the nation state. They go on to argue that this process is mediated by the state, whose role they see as guaranteeing the reproduction of the dominant mode of production and the state itself.

Government policies and regulations play an important role in shaping the immigrant population and defining the rights accorded to migrants. Settler societies, such as Canada, the United States and Australia, for example, stress permanent migration and

institute varying levels of control over how, and how many people enter, from where and when. In contrast, many European countries tend to discourage permanent migration, and instead encourage the migration of 'temporary' workers.

Because Canadian intake regulations define criteria for entrance, regulatory measures taken by the government to select potential migrants may be expected to have an impact on the type of work done by immigrants. Independent immigrants, for example, are chosen on the basis of skills and schooling. In the case of sponsored immigrants for example, immigration policy has acted to select on the basis of country, age and kinship. At a minimum, therefore, it is imperative to view the state as an active player in the formation of an immigrant population and concomitantly as an agent which has the potential to affect the role immigrants play in the labour force.

It should also be recognized that policy initiatives are often a product of intense negotiation with political interests, both within and outside the bureaucracy. For this reason, Alford and Friedland (1987: 441) contend that:

...an adequate analysis must be simultaneously political and functional in order to specify how action does or does not reproduce the inter-institutional relations composing society. Political and functional analysis must be combined in order to integrate a theory of the origins and reproductions of particular institutions and their consequences for a larger society. Societal analyses must find a way of understanding the larger institutional relations whose contradictory dynamics shape both state and society

These processes of negotiation can affect immigration policy and regulations in ways which complicate the labour force role played by immigrants because such negotiations can shift the immigration agenda away from governmentally instituted goals

The whole role of the state in matters of immigration is complicated in Canada by

the fact that under the terms of Section 95 of the British North America Act, immigration (along with agriculture) is under the joint jurisdiction of both the federal and provincial levels of government, with federal paramountcy (Manpower and Immigration, 1974a). Given that the provinces, particularly Quebec, are increasingly taking an active interest in immigration, the political agenda must be viewed as both multifaceted and, at times, internally conflicting.

Political decisions are also historically rooted. Each change in immigration policy has been preceded by a round of debates which are specific to the time period and reflect the social biases of the times. One prominent issue which arose after World War II, for example, concerned Chinese immigration, which had been banned since 1923. Intake was finally allowed from China in 1947, not because the leaders of the time wanted to see more Chinese origin immigrants, but because China had fought on the side of the Allies, and it was politically expedient to take down at least some of the barriers (McElvoy, 1982). In the same way, barriers towards German immigration were removed in the early 1950s because constituents who wanted to bring their relatives to Canada put pressure on their Members of Parliament to push for political changes.

For these reasons, I view immigration policy and practice as reflecting not only the interests of political players, but also as being a product of an historically rooted negotiation process with a broad range of actors both within and outside government. These complex social processes contribute to the formulation of immigration policies which in turn shape the immigrant population. Ignoring these processes can result in a misconception of the theoretical links between organizations such as the state.

immigration and the labour force. I therefore I make an explicit link to not only the human capital held by immigrants, but also the period in which immigrants came to Canada. This is because period of entry gives an indication of not only adaptation, but also provides information on the terms and conditions under which immigrants entered Canada.

The role of the state as an agent of selection is not trivial. Changes in policy direction have had direct impacts on the shape of the immigrant population. Prior to 1963, for example, the Canadian Immigration Act recognized Britain, the United States and France as favoured nations from which Canada could draw immigrants. Permanent residents could sponsor family members but independent immigration from countries outside Europe, Australia and the United States was severely limited. This policy essentially amounted to a 'whites only' Immigration Act. In 1967, under the Liberal government of Lester Pearson, the Immigration Act was changed. The quota system was abolished and the sponsorship program revamped. Immigration intake was divided into four major 'classes' which remain to this day: Independent, Family, Assisted Relative and Refugee. These changes not only shifted the balance of immigration away from Europe, but also split the immigrant population into two major groups -- independent immigrants on the one hand and humanitarian or sponsored immigration, including refugees, on the other.

Each immigrant class has a different set of entrance requirements and immigrants within any given class are eligible for different levels of government support. For example, government sponsored language training is more easily available to independent

and refugee class immigrants, than it is to family and assisted relative class immigrants. The entrance of immigrants under two of the classes (independent and assisted relative) is subject to qualification under a point system. The primary applicant of the immigrating family must qualify for admission to Canada based on suitability in nine areas stressing education, occupation and language ability. The other two classes are in many ways humanitarian -- either family reunification or refugee. In the case of independent class immigrants, then, the flow of immigration has come to be regulated in response to perceived Canadian requirements for labour, education and income, rather than -- as it was in earlier times -- more specifically linked to country of origin (deVoretz and Maki, 1983: 55).

Changes to the Immigration Act have had a marked impact on the nature of immigration to Canada. Whereas prior to 1961, ninety percent of the intake was from Europe, Europeans made up only about one quarter of the intake through the 1980s. Thus, the cultural make-up of immigrants has shifted away from European origins in general, and British origins in particular. It is possible that this shift has also resulted in a change in the type of work that immigrants do, and thus their role in the labour force.

2. Immigration as a Process

Much of the research on immigrants is conducted within the domain of either economics or demography. Demographers tend to refer to push - pull factors. Migration out of Europe immediately following World War II, for example, is often explained as a product of people choosing to leave the devastation of Europe for better opportunities in

Canada and the United States. Demographic researchers concern themselves with examining population movements, and typically predicting future movements based on current and past trends. Demographers tend to concentrate on changes in migration patterns, rates and the relative impact on the general population. Thus the work of demographers often focuses upon population processes such as migration flows, differences in fertility patterns or family formation (see Arango, 1993; Boyd and Norris, 1995).

Economists speak of rational economic choices. Within this world view, migration occurs when immigrants make economic choices about the best place to be in order to maximize life chances. Thus, if it is possible to make more money in another country, those able to move will do so (see Borjas, 1987). The focus of economists like Borjas tends to be on the economic performance of immigrant men in the wage labour market. Few researchers have specifically looked at the roles immigrants play in the labour force and how those roles change in response to policy shifts or the amount of time immigrants spend in the host society.

Perhaps one reason the bulk of sociologists have been so quiet on issues related to immigration is that there exists no unique code within the discipline for explaining immigration processes. In cases where they do look at these issues, the basic assumptions are borrowed from both demographic and economic viewpoints. However, in terms of understanding migrant behaviours, there are theoretical problems with both demographic and economic perspectives.

First, the perspectives hold within them an element of assumed choice when this

is not necessarily the case. For example, accompanying minors generally comprise about forty percent of intake, and although their parents may have made a decision to move, the minors themselves were probably not consulted. Second, underlying the assumption of rational economic choice is a view which suggests that immigrants will choose the best possible location for settlement based on income and career opportunities. However, the choice to migrate is often neither economic or rational.

Portes and Stepick (1993: 206) argue that the basic problem in terms of understanding migration is that such world views ignore the social environments within which people operate. Given choice, most people do not move to completely unfamiliar places, or places devoid of contacts. Immigrants do not simply figure out the costs of moving to different countries and then choose the one with the best return. Rather, migration occurs along the 'lines of least resistance opened by the prior history of a region' (Ibid.: 207). Thus immigrants from the Indian subcontinent are more likely to go to countries associated with the original British Empire, such as Canada, than to European countries because the lines of communication are already open.

Portes and Stepick thus highlight the importance of prior contacts and historical circumstance and in doing so are able to explain the waves of immigration from different sources as contacts build and knowledge about a destination grows.² In a sense, what Portes and Stepick (1993) have done is create a truly sociological interpretation of immigration which recognizes the importance of history and other structural issues. Their

² From this point of view, the advertising for immigrants to Canada which took place in Europe in the late nineteenth century can be seen as a way of creating contacts and a path of least resistance

analysis goes much further than the more simple push-pull and economic influences used by other disciplines. What is not satisfactorily addressed by their approach, however, is the role of the state as an instrument of selection.³

3. The Labour Market

Most immigration research appears to assume that immigration to settler societies is a response to a perceived demand for labour which cannot be fulfilled from within. Kalbach (1987: 4), for example, notes that Canada's immigration policy has historically been oriented towards fulfilling the country's labour requirements. He argues that it is not surprising, therefore, that immigrants are more likely to be found in the labour force than the native-born population. Richmond (1984: 243) agrees, stating that both Canada and Australia have actively pursued positive immigration policies aimed at maintaining the population and fulfilling labour demand.

The major economic issues associated with immigration have revolved around whether immigrants take jobs from native-born workers, whether present day immigrants are as skilled as those who arrived before and whether immigrants operate in a segmented labour force. A problem with such research, however, is that there have been few attempts to understand the relationship between the immigrant population and the role of government policy in determining location in the labour force. Further, questions

³ In part this is because Portes and Stepick are dealing with a select group of immigrants -- Cubans in Miami, the majority of whom entered the United States under special provisions -- either post-Castro refugees or via the Mariel boatlift. There was little in the way of policy action to institute selection criteria beyond immediate acceptance of 'political refugees' based on anti-communism sentiments.

regarding how that role changes over time go unanswered.

The labour force role of immigrants is further complicated because the immigrant population is created through a regulatory process -- that of political action which acts to select potential migrants, and an historical process -- which serves to draw potential migrants to a new host country. This combination of processes also affects the labour force role played by immigrants. This is because immigrants largely enter positions in the labour market which are open at the time of their arrival. They do not necessarily enter a range of positions evenly distributed across both industrial and occupational categories. Changes to the structure of the labour market should therefore affect the type of work immigrants do, at least on entry. Overall, therefore, I see the role played by immigrants within the Canadian labour force as conditioned by a myriad of factors, including the terms under which they enter Canada, the education, training and skills brought by immigrants at the time of entry, as well as by the labour market requirements and opportunities at the time of entry.

Perhaps not surprisingly, the processes which bring migrants into a new country also cause immigrants to be unevenly distributed across industries (see Collins, 1991). Because changes to regulations cause changes in immigrant intake, each cohort of immigrants (as defined by period of immigration) is characterised by a different origin, skill, education and, therefore, labour force mix. Given these factors, as well as changing economic demand for labour, the place of immigrants in the labour force tends to change with time. Within this context, the way in which one examines the labour market becomes important.

The simplest option is to view the labour market as an open system in which job allocation is purely a matter of supply and demand. Within such a world view, one's 'human capital', or education and experience, is the major determinant of industry location and earnings. If immigrants operate in different sectors of the labour force it is because there are differences in human capital and experience as compared to the native-born population. From this perspective, one reason for immigrants having lower incomes than the native born population is that human capital tends to be country specific -- thus the training and experience developed in the source country may be lost on migration.

One problem with this approach is that issues related to discrimination are usually ignored since, in a free market, discrimination does not occur because it is not in the interest of business to pay different wage rates to different groups. Segmented labour market theory was developed in an attempt to overcome the inability of traditional neoclassical economic theory to deal with discrimination (Galle, et al., 1985: 21).

Segmentation theorists describe the labour market as containing structural niches characterized by uncompensated advantages and disadvantages (England et al., 1988: 546). An individual's initial position in the labour force is critical in determining future opportunities for advancement because the labour market is recognized as being structurally divided with different sectors having different wage, stability and competitive characteristics, as well as differing opportunities for mobility. Such an approach can, therefore, inform research about differences in attainment which would not be brought out in methods treating labour force opportunities as more equitable and homogenous.

There are a few sociological studies which have employed a segmentation

approach to look at immigrant participation in the labour force. Campbell, Fincher and Webber (1991), for example, found that the majority of immigrants in Australia are employed in the competitive sector (jobs in construction, for example, tend to be classified as competitive sector jobs). Satzewich and Li (1987) looked at impact of first job on a respondent's job three years later in Canada, and found that the industrial location of an immigrant's first job did affect subsequent attainment. However, both of these studies have used survey data specific to the task and have, by necessity, been somewhat narrow in scope. Thus, the authors have been unable to clarify the relationships between state policy, immigration and labour market position.

a. Dividing up the Labour Market

The division of the labour market into discrete and meaningful components has posed a major problem for labour market theorists. Both dual labour market and segmentation theorists for example, have been motivated by a distinct social problem -- the existence of secondary or peripheral, unstable jobs in the United States filled by minorities in general and blacks in particular (Hodson, 1978). Such a perspective could be very useful in determining the type of labour force role immigrants fill in Canada, particularly if a large portion of the immigrant population is found to work in the peripheral sector.

However, the main impediment to applying segmentation theory is one of sector definition. There is simply no agreed upon definition of what constitutes the core and periphery sector. Hodson (1984), for example, provides a conceptual way of dividing up

the labour market with a concentration on technology, size and power.⁴ Baron and Bielby (1984), in a similar exercise, define sectors by productivity and the presence or absence of environmental dominance combined with complex organizational forms.

A further critique focuses upon the methodological issue of using industrial sectors to categorize dualism. Barron and Norris (1976: 49) argue that dualism cuts across firms, industries and industrial sectors. Thus it is possible for a single firm to contain both core and peripheral labour markets. In other words, in an analysis based on industrial classification alone, it may be impossible to differentiate the person making the hamburgers from the owner of the burger chain. Clearly, each industrial sector contains its own form of labour force segmentation (Jones, 1983: 41). Hodson (1984: 346) also argues that the use of industry and company data can offer different information about the type of segregation occurring, both of which may be important in defining the kind and duality of work in an economy.

All these caveats make segmentation theory somewhat cumbersome to implement. In fact, Kaufman and Hodson (1982) argue that segmentation theory is not a theory at all, but rather a collection of ideas, the results of which are primarily descriptive in nature. This may be something of an overstatement. There is general agreement that jobs in the 'core' sector tend to have higher wages, greater opportunities for advancement, good working conditions, employment stability, job security, equity and due process in the

⁴ The actual analysis took the form of a cluster/factor analysis of twenty-five variables. The resulting analysis defined eleven sectors: oligopoly, core sector (excluding oligopoly), wholesale periphery and small shop sector, core utilities, finance and periphery utilities sector, core and periphery transport sector, local monopoly, education, nonprofit and agricultural sector and the brokers and real estate sector (Kaufman, Hodson and Fligstein, 1981: 18-20).

administration of work rules. Jobs in the 'periphery', in contrast, are characterized as having low skill requirements, low wages, poor working conditions, low or no job security, low advancement opportunity, low status and a high risk of unemployment or underemployment. Mobility across the boundaries of these sectors is seen as restricted (Barron and Norris, 1976: 49). Some dual labour market theorists argue that returns to human capital are greater in the primary sector where internal labour markets offer more extensive skill development and on-the-job training than in the secondary sector. Schooling and experience are therefore said to be less highly rewarded in the secondary sector and generally the secondary sector is seen to comprise 'dead-end' jobs (Sakamoto and Chen, 1991: 297).

A recognition that the labour force is more complex than could be described by such a representation led to the formulation of more detailed models (Kaufman, Hodson and Fligstein, 1981: 1). Hodson (1978: 434), for example, proposed a four sector model described by a two by two table based on a primary and secondary market and a monopoly and competitive sector. However, even this model remains difficult to operationalize.

While the intent of segmentation analysis is useful, in that it suggests that the labour force can be simplified into a series of 'good' and 'bad' jobs based on opportunities for advancement, pay and job security, it does have a number of additional problems. First is the assumption that worker traits such as age, sex and minority status can be used to identify primary and secondary workers. Often the relationship is just not that strong because there is no one-to-one correspondence between primary workers and

incumbents of jobs in the primary sector. (Sullivan, 1981: 332). Second, in order to carry out a true segmentation analysis, firm level data are required (i.e.: information on the place of employment). It is, therefore, very difficult to implement a true segmentation analysis.

What segmentation analysis offers is an understanding of the labour force as being segmented by different skill requirements. As well, segmentation theorists generally recognize that there are structural niches within the labour market characterized by uncompensated advantages and disadvantages. Within this context, it would be useful to know if immigrants are more likely to be located in the periphery than in the core sector of the economy. Unfortunately, the difficulties of defining labour market sectors make it extremely difficult to implement segmentation analysis without specialized data.

An approach which comes close to such an analysis lies in work conducted by the Economic Council and Statistics Canada (see: Myles and Fawcett, 1990; Picot, Wannell and Myles, 1989). These researchers construct an eight sector typology of industries based on skill requirements and job quality (see Box 1.1).

This industrial sector typology provides a means to measure of job quality and required skill level at a broad level. Wage labour jobs in the goods, information services and non-market services are characterized as generally 'good' jobs which require high skills levels with commensurate rewards. Jobs in consumer services, such as those in the retail trade and people services, constitute 'bad' jobs which have low skill requirements, low pay and low levels of opportunity. Occupations found in distributive services operate

in a middle ground with average skill requirements and average benefits.⁵

Box 1.1: Industrial sectors by skill requirements and job quality

Industrial Sector	Description
1. Primary	Resource extraction, hunting, fishing, agriculture. Wages and skill requirements vary widely
2. Manufacturing	Considered to demand high skill and yield high wages and are characterized by high rates of union involvement.
3. Construction	Classified as having a range of skill and schooling requirements, from general labourer to skilled trades, combined with overall high wage levels
4. Distributive services	Related to transportation, storage, communications and wholesale trade. Jobs in this sector are a mixed bag with a range of both skills and wages.
5. Consumer services	Retail trade, personal services, accommodation and food and amusement. Generally skill, schooling and wages are characterized as being low.
6. Business services	Finance, insurance, Real Estate as well as other services to business. Tend to demand higher skill levels than consumer services and concomitantly have higher rates of enumeration.
7. Social services	Health / education / welfare. Seen as a high skill, high wage sector.
8. Public Administration	Federal, provincial and municipal government workers, as well as military. Offers relatively high rates of job security and pay.

In some instances, the sectors are a bit coarse, and because of this, I will augment the model by using a more detailed analysis of particular sectors. In the case of manufacturing, for example, I will examine subsectors -- such as the needle trades -- which do not have high wages. Moreover, the model can be further refined to examine differences by classes of workers. This would serve to partially resolve problems associated with confusing owners and workers within any given sector.

⁵. I confirmed this relationship between industry sector and wages for 1961 by looking at a census table which provided information on average wages by detailed industry and sex categories. The average wage across all industries for males in Canada was \$3,679. The average wage within manufacturing, business services, social services and public administration was higher than the overall average (between \$3,998 for manufacturing and roughly \$4,900 for business services). Distributive services jobs also tended to be well paid (about \$3,900). Jobs in consumer services industries paid less than average, as did those in construction. However, about half of construction workers reported wages for only part of the year, which suggests that the actual hourly wage was higher than evident from total average wages (Dominion Bureau of Statistics: 1964).

These features of the model are particularly important given that, in Canada, the relative significance of differing sectors changed radically over the post-war period. During this time, the country moved from an economy dominated by manufacturing to one focussed more on services. Within this context, the typology outlined above has the added advantage of being comparable across time using 1970 Standard Industrial Classification (SIC).⁶

The economic role played by immigrants has the potential to change over time in response to changes in the labour force and amount of time spent in Canada. The above typology allows me to examine how the role of immigrants changed from period to period, in comparison with Canadian-born workers who were also faced with changing labour market needs and conditions. Adding employment sector to the analysis will allow me to examine shifts between the wage labour and self-employment sectors. This additional dimension is particularly important for studies of immigrants because, as will be shown, over time, immigrants are more likely than native-born workers to become self-employed.

⁶ For the purposes of this research, 1960 Standard Industrial Classification (SIC) codes were reclassified to match 1970 SIC as closely as possible using concordance tables. The resulting codes were then rolled up into the eight industry sectors listed above. As well, a more detailed breakdown of industry sectors is used to more fully explore structural niches within particular sectors which are either under or over-paid in relation to skill requirements. Within the broad eight sector classification, there is direct matching between 1960 and 1970 SICs. However at the detailed level, there is some slippage because of irreconcilable changes in coding. A detailed breakdown of both categories, as well as notes as to the changes between years is available in the appendix.

4. Summary:

Developing a better understanding of how immigrants contribute to the Canadian labour force requires a multi-faceted approach. It is necessary to make an explicit link to the human capital immigrants possess, immigration policy and the terms under which immigrants entered.

By appreciating the diversity in the immigrant population I can develop a better understanding of within group differences based on such factors as age, gender, place of birth, age at immigration and qualifications can be developed. By recognizing that different sectors of the labour market have different career paths and opportunities for advancement, I can provide a more complete understanding of the role immigrants play in the labour force, and the concomitant relationship to immigration policy.

D. Data, Method and Region of Study:

Researchers looking at these issues have generally used the public use census files for Canada and the United States. In Canada, it has been possible to use four files (1971, 1981, 1986 and 1991). In the United States at least four are available (1960, 1970, 1980 and 1990). These datasets provide very detailed, '*de jour*' information on the populations, but using the data requires an understanding of how and when the information was collected. Different censuses reflect different periods in business cycles, which should be taken into account in studies of either income or employment. In the same way, different census periods reflect different immigration policies and periods and, therefore, immigrant mixes. For example, while it is true that the mid-1960s saw large

numbers of highly qualified immigrants entering both Canada and the United States, intake during the 1950s brought large numbers of people with very low levels of formal schooling. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, growing numbers of family class and refugees resulted in an increased proportion of immigrants with low schooling levels entering the country. Where studies examining immigration intake from 1960 to the present could conclude that the schooling credentials of immigrants have decreased, studies looking at intake since 1950 could conclude that there has been an overall increase in immigrant schooling credentials. Thus, economic studies which point to declines in immigrant attainment may be comparing recent immigration patterns with an anomaly in the immigration patterns (see Borjas 1990, 1987; Chiswick, 1978; Bloom et al., 1994).

Another problem relates to the nature of immigrant work and the limitations of many economic analyses. In almost all cases, only males who are employed for wages are included in the analyses. This is done to the exclusion of both the self-employed labour force and the female labour force. Such a focus may be problematic in the case of research related to immigrants, because immigrants are somewhat more likely to be self-employed than the native population. Further, restricting analysis to men ignores the fact that the labour force participation rate of immigrant women is higher than that of native-born women. Omitting immigrant women from an analysis has the further consequence of stereotyping them as dependents which is increasingly becoming a misinterpretation of

the reality (Boyd, 1984).⁷ Overall, then, a large segment of the working immigrant population is ignored in many of the human capital models used to evaluate immigrant attainment.⁸ Akbari argues that the real question is how immigrants fare compared to non-immigrants, rather than how employed immigrants fare compared with employed non-immigrants. For this reason, he uses total income rather than employment income in his analyses (in deSilva, 1992: 22).

In this research, I will discuss not only the role of immigrants in the Canadian labour force and the relationship of this work to government policy, but will also show the degree to which that role changes over time as immigrants adjust to life in Canada. The ideal dataset for such an exercise would be one that asked, at regularly spaced intervals, a representative sample of immigrants and a representative sample of the Canadian-born about their location in the labour force. Such a longitudinal dataset would provide individual work histories and could be used to measure both location in the labour force and change over time. The problem is that such a database does not exist. An alternative can be found in the censuses which provide snapshot data for a representative sample of permanent Canadian residents.

I resolve some of the problems associated with studying post-war immigration

⁷ Denis (1986) contends that there is little analysis which looks at variations in occupational distribution between the sexes. However, she argues that immigration policies have acted against women by classifying them as dependents. This has in part resulted in different occupational results for men and women.

⁸ Much of mobility and income research tends to focus on employment income of men because they are more likely to be employed than women and therefore a smaller portion of the population is left out in analysis. The increased participation of women in the labour force has prompted more research in this area, however, the occupational scales are often based on those used for men. This results in the omission of a number of female dominated occupations.

patterns by using data from the 1961 Census database currently under evaluation at Statistics Canada.” As well, a sample drawn from the 1971 census database is used to provide more complete information for that time period. The basic methodological approach involves a cohort analysis of immigrants and non-immigrants across four censuses (1961, 1971, 1981 and 1991) in the six CMAs, comparing the labour force location of immigrants and non-immigrants.

This involves starting with the first available census data (1961) and tracking comparable groups of immigrants from census to census. Thus, males of working age who entered Canada prior to 1961 could be tracked as a cohort from one census to another. In this way it is possible to see how the labour force composition of a particular cohort of immigrants changes over time. Although it is not possible to define how individuals performed, it is possible to discuss whether, on average, this group of males were able to move from one income/industrial sector to another over time. The method could be described as a kind of ‘cohort attainment’ model.

Tracking a given immigrant cohort across successive censuses involves making a basic assumption that the same individuals are present, albeit older, from one census period to another. Thus, it is assumed that a change in the distribution of an immigrant cohort across industry segments is due to moves on the part of immigrants within that cohort from one industry to another.¹⁰ In addition to examining shifts across industry

⁹ The 1961 census database is a recreation of the original database which was damaged. In Appendix 3, I provide an evaluation of the reliability of the information found on the database.

¹⁰ A detailed discussion of cohort analysis can be found in the appendix along with a discussion of the degree of cohort comparability between census periods.

segments, I will also be looking at shifts between the employed and self-employed sectors of the labour market. This will allow a more complete understanding of the way in which the economic role of immigrants changes over time. In comparison with previous research, the scope of the analysis thus pushes the time frame both backward and forward, thereby clarifying the roles of immigrants in the labour force in response to changes in immigration regulations, and the way in which these roles changed over time.

Another issue of importance is that of the region of study. Much of the work done on immigrants in Canada is conducted at a national level. The attributes of all immigrants are thus compared against the attributes of all of the Canadian-born (see for example: Basavarajappa and Verma, 1989). The problem with such an approach is that immigrants are unevenly distributed across both the country and the labour force. Post-war immigrants were far more likely than pre-war immigrants to live in Canada's larger centres rather than in rural areas. In urban areas, the industry concentration is weighted towards the service and manufacturing sectors, whereas in rural areas primary industries are far more prevalent than service industries. Studies which ignore these facts run the risk of obfuscating the differences between immigrants and the native-born Canadians by confusing urban-rural effects with immigrant versus native-born differences.

For this reason, detailed analysis is restricted to six Census Metropolitan Areas (CMAs) -- Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver. Examining labour market patterns in these six urban areas allows me to largely ignore issues associated with urban-rural effects on industry distribution. The population of these six centres comprises about sixty percent of all post-war immigrants and about one-third of

the total Canadian population.

The analysis itself focuses upon the attributes of particular immigrant and non-immigrant groups in relation to labour market outcomes (see Figure 1.1). Within this framework, what is important is the system for categorizing and dividing up the labour market. As earlier described, this analysis is supported by a labour market typology which is defined by a combination of industry sector and class of worker. This relationship can then be examined in different periods in order to assess change both across and within different groups of immigrants. Equally important to analyse are the determinants of attainment. In this regard, immigration policy is treated as an agent which acts to shape the immigrant population by attempting to control both intake and settlement patterns. It will thus be necessary to differentiate immigrants on such criteria as:

Box 1.2: Variables and rationale for immigrants.

Variable	Rationale
Period of entry	as a proxy for determining the Immigration Act in place at the time of immigration and thereby the criteria for selection.
Region of Birth	as a measure of ethnicity. This allows me to examine issues related to ethnic concentrations in the labour force, and also allows a recognition of the fact that different immigration periods allowed different ethnic groups into Canada.
Language Ability	as a means to identify ability to speak an official language of Canada.

At all stages of the analysis, the labour market position and mobility opportunities of immigrants will be contrasted with those of the Canadian-born population, controlling for:

Figure 1.1

Relationship between Immigrant and Native-Born Attributes and Labour Force Outcomes

Box 1.3: Variables and rationale for all workers.

Variable	Rationale
Age	as a proxy for number of years in the labour force and experience. However, because immigrants, on arrival, are considered labour force entrants, the relationship between age and experience is not as clear as in the case of those born in Canada.
Sex	as a means to provide separate analyses for men and women.
Education / Location of schooling	schooling is a basic streaming criterion for determining industrial sector. In the case of immigrants, however, academic credentials are not always recognized. The analysis will therefore attempt to identify the place in which credentials were earned.

The above characteristics are used to examine the labour force role of immigrants defined by a combination of industry sector and class of worker. Revisiting the relationships between characteristics and labour force outcomes in each of the four census periods allows me to assess change over time both across and within different groups of immigrants.

E. Outline of the Thesis:

Given the foregoing discussion, I have divided post-war immigrants into three distinct intake cohorts defined by both immigration regulations and census periods. These cohorts are then examined across as many census periods as is possible for each group. For the sake of simplicity, the analysis itself has been divided into two chapters based on the Immigration Acts. In Chapter Two I look at the first immigrant cohort which includes those who came to Canada between 1946 and 1960. These immigrants will be examined across four census periods (1961-1991). People in this cohort were primarily sponsored immigrants. Although mostly of British origin at the beginning of the

period, these immigrants were far more likely to come from Southern Europe by 1960.

Chapter Three analyses the last two immigrant cohorts. The second cohort consists of immigrants who entered Canada between 1961 and 1970. These immigrants entered Canada under new regulations which gradually broadened the list of eligible immigrants to include those from countries outside Europe. This cohort will be examined in 1971, 1981 and 1991. The last cohort includes those who came to Canada between 1971 and 1977. It will be examined across two censuses (1981 and 1991). During this period, non-European immigration grew steadily, and continues to do so.

Each chapter includes an analysis of the Immigration Acts and regulations in effect at the time, as well as the processes which resulted in their implementation. In doing so, I develop a better understanding about both the work of immigrants in Canada, and the degree to which that work is related to government intervention and labour market change.

Chapter II

II. The Post-War Period: 1945-1960 (Cohort-1)

A. A Prelude -- Pre-War Immigration Policy:

Immediately prior to World War II, immigration to Canada was fairly low, averaging about sixty-five thousand people a year. The depression of the 1930s meant that there just was not much immigration. For the most part, those immigrants who did enter came from either the United States or Britain. During the war, immigration almost ceased altogether as the country shut its doors to practically everyone. Following the war, however, there was a push to increase immigration levels as people sought to leave Europe, while relatives living in Canada demanded the right to bring in their family members.

In Parliament, there was a growing sentiment that Canada needed bodies to work, preferably British, American or Northern European, but there was also a political realization that other groups would have to be admitted. From a policy perspective, there had not been much movement since 1910, when a new immigration act had been passed, the main purpose of which was to define a series of prohibited classes.¹¹ These included

¹¹. The Immigration Acts prior to World War II appeared to establish admission by default. In other words, in most cases, the focus was on defining who could not enter, rather than on who could enter. Thus, although the definition of a relative was given in the first part of an act, it was not specifically stated that relatives were an admissible class. Rather, the Act assumed that if you were not specifically inadmissible, you were probably admissible.

persons deemed to be physically, mentally and morally unfit. This Act also brought into place the 'continuous journey' legislation which demanded that journeys to Canada be nonstop, thereby all but eliminating immigration from the Indian subcontinent (section 38 paragraph a).¹² Just in case unwanted migrants did arrange continuous passage, immigrants belonging to any race deemed unsuited to the climate or requirements of Canada were also designated as undesirable (section 38, paragraph c). In 1919, this statement was refined somewhat to:

... prohibit or limit in number for a stated period or permanently the landing in Canada, or the landing at any specified port or ports of entry in Canada, of immigrants belonging to any nationality or race or of immigrants of any specified class or occupation, by reason of any economic industrial or other condition temporarily existing in Canada or because such immigrants are deemed unsuitable having regard to the climatic, industrial, social, educational, labour or other conditions or requirements of Canada or because such immigrants are deemed undesirable owing to their peculiar customs, habits, modes of life and methods of holding property, and because of their probable inability to become readily assimilated or to assume the duties and responsibilities of Canadian citizenship within a reasonable time after their entry (Immigration Act 1919).

The overall stress was still very much on European immigration (preferably Northern European) for the purposes of farm labour. Eligible immigrants were predominantly those who had farm employment and the means to reach their destination, or those who were the family members of farmers. However, it was becoming increasingly difficult to find such immigrants despite a continuing promotional campaign

¹². Continuous Journey legislation demanded that immigrants make a direct voyage to Canada from the country of birth or citizenship without any stops on the route (PC 27, January 3, 1908). This effectively stopped immigration from India as there was only one Canadian Pacific steamship which made a regular direct crossing from India to Canada. On March 26, 1908, 'a directive was sent to CPR outlets in India disallowing the sale of any more through tickets...' (Sampat-Mehta, 1972: 134-135). The legislation was not revoked until 1957 (PC 23) (Kalbach, 1970: 18).

being carried out in Europe. While urban settlement was approved for independent women destined for domestic labour, immigration to the cities was generally not encouraged.

The Act was consolidated in 1927, but that just meant that all the minor changes which had been made through the years were brought together into one updated document. There were no significant changes to the Act. By 1930, with the depression well under way, the promotion of immigration to Canada stopped, and in 1931 farm workers, domestics, and required labour relatives were no longer considered admissible classes. This left only agriculturalists, immediate family (spouses and children), British subjects and self-supporting American citizens as eligible immigrants. Administered by the Department of Mines and Resources, immigration slowed to less than sixty-five thousand per year, driven by a policy vehicle that continued to view immigration as a system of land settlement, even though land grants had long since ceased.

The 1927 Act was in force until 1952 when it was first consolidated and then replaced in the same year. It was this Act which defined immigration policy, if not immigration itself, until well after the Second World War. However, the Act was becoming increasingly inadequate. I say this because throughout the pre-war period immigrants were viewed politically as tillers of soil despite the fact that immigration was becoming increasingly urban. By 1941, for example, 60 percent of the foreign-born population lived in urban areas, as compared to just over half of the Canadian born

population (53%) (see table 2.1).¹³ Forty percent of the foreign born population lived in the larger urban centres, as opposed to twenty-nine percent for the Canadian-born. It could be argued that this concentration of immigrants in the urban areas was probably a recent phenomenon. However, given that immigration throughout the 1930s was minimal, this is probably not the case.

Table 2.1
Urban and Rural Population by Place of Birth
Canada, 1941

	Total Population	Canadian- born	Foreign- born †
Total	11,506,655	9,487,808	2,018,847
Rural	46%	47%	40%
Urban	54%	53%	60%
30,000+	31%	29%	41%
less than 30,000	23%	24%	19%

† Includes 25,837 immigrants from Newfoundland, which joined confederation in 1949

Source: 1941 Census of Canada

Given the changes to the character of immigration, and the fact that the majority of immigrants were not bound for the farm, it is clear that immigration policy was in need of some rethinking. The immigration regulations, if not the Act itself, therefore required refurbishing, if not a complete overhaul in order to meet the challenges of the post-war era.

¹³ The 1941 Census data on immigration differs from other years looked at in this study. Figures are given for British born, which includes Canadian born, those born in the British Isles and British possessions such as Australia, India, Newfoundland, South Africa, the West Indies and those born at sea. All others are considered foreign born. For the purpose of this research, those born outside Canada, regardless of whether they are British born, are considered foreign born, and have been rolled into the foreign born category.

B. Post-War Immigration Policy:

1. The Setup: 1945-52

Political work on immigration issues just after World War II was hampered somewhat by the federal government's priority to bringing Canadian soldiers back from Europe. However, the delay also gave McKenzie King's government some breathing space to define immigration criteria. With the close of the war, there was a growing understanding that immigration would be increasingly urban: Canada required immigrants to work in the cities and build the Canadian economy. There was also a growing realization that Northern Europe and Britain could not furnish an endless supply of immigrants, and that Canada would have to compete for immigrants with other settler societies including Australia, the United States and South America (House of Commons Debates, 1946: 5493).

By now, however, immigration policy was driven by an Act that was almost two decades old, and was basically just a consolidation of a previous Act passed in 1910. The policy in place thus stressed agricultural requirements and stated preference for European (preferably Northern European) intake. Sponsorship of relatives was possible, but limited. Canadian residents of European origin could sponsor a relatively narrow band of family members to immigrate to Canada.¹⁴ Sponsorship of relatives who were not either American or European was almost impossible. However, local demand for immigrants changed as a direct consequence of the war and its aftermath. Politicians found

¹⁴. Immigration from outside Europe and the United States was almost non-existent because of barriers against non-white immigration such as the 1923 Chinese Immigration Act and the 1914 Direct Passage Laws.

themselves under increasing pressure from constituents who urgently wanted to bring relatives over from post-war Europe. For these reasons an amendment was passed which allowed both a broader range of sponsored relatives and the entrance of displaced persons. Thus, by Order in Council 2071 (May 28, 1946) it became possible for most legal residents to sponsor:

... the father or mother, the unmarried son or daughter eighteen years of age or over, the unmarried brother or sister, the orphan nephew or niece under sixteen years of age, of any person legally admitted to and resident in Canada who is in a position to receive and care for such relatives. (House of Commons Debates, 1946: 1979).

On May 1, 1947, Prime Minister Mackenzie King delivered a statement which was to guide immigration policy for the next fifteen years.¹⁵ Immigration was to be used to foster population growth, and immigrants themselves would be subject to careful selection in numbers that would ensure their absorption into the national economy (Debates, May 1, 1947). That same day the categories of admissible immigrants were again broadened to include:

...the wife or husband; son, daughter, brother or sister, together with husband or wife and unmarried children if any; the father or mother; the orphan nephew or niece under 21 years of age; or any person legally resident in Canada who [was] in a position to receive and care for such relatives. (PC 371, May 1, 1947).

Thus the new regulations no longer required immediate offspring to be unmarried and allowed the sponsorship of married brothers and sisters, together with their dependents of any age. As well, the age limit for unmarried, orphaned nieces and nephews was raised

¹⁵. Although the statement is generally attributed to King, it was drafted by the Secretary to the office of the Prime Minister, Gordon Robertson, and then redrafted by J.W. Pickersgill, King's special assistant (Hawkins, 1988: 91). Pickersgill later went on to become the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration under Louis St. Laurent.

from sixteen to twenty-one years of age. There were also provisions for allowing the entrance of immigrants for purposes of marriage, as long as the prospective husband was able to maintain his intended wife.

Agriculturalists were permitted to immigrate either independently if they had sufficient resources, or as dependents if sponsored by:

...a father, father-in-law, son, son-in-law, brother, brother-in-law, uncle or nephew engaged in agriculture as his principal occupation who was in a position to receive and establish the dependent on a farm (PC 371, May 1, 1947).

Farm labourers, or persons experienced in mining, lumbering or logging could also enter Canada to engage in assured employment (usually contract labour for a pre-specified period of time) (Kallbach 1970: 18).

The aforementioned privileges did not extend to immigration from what was considered to be 'The Orient'. Although King said that his government had taken steps to repeal the Chinese Immigration Act,¹⁶ he also stated that:

...any large scale immigration from the orient would change the fundamental composition of the Canadian population... the government has no intention of removing the existing regulations respecting Asiatic immigration unless and until alternative measures of effective control have been worked out... (Debates, May 1, 1947).

The Chinese Immigration Act itself was repealed in that same year. Chinese residents of Canada who were not already Canadian citizens were at last able to obtain Canadian citizenship and once naturalized they would be permitted to bring their 'wives and

¹⁶ The Chinese Immigration Act, passed in 1923 barred entry of all but an extremely narrow category of Chinese immigrants. This resulted in only seven Chinese immigrants entering Canada between 1923 and 1947. Prior to this, Chinese immigrants had to pay a 'head-tax' on entry, which rose steadily between 1910 and 1923 by which time it was \$500 per person.

unmarried children under 18' (Debates, May 1, 1947). Given that virtually no persons of Chinese origin had come to Canada between 1923 and 1947, the government probably did not expect a huge rise in the number of Chinese in the country. Indeed, by 1955 only eleven thousand four hundred Chinese immigrants had entered Canada.¹⁷

Given his statement about 'large scale immigration from the orient', it is safe to assume that King would have preferred to keep the Chinese Immigration Act in effect. However, he was under pressure to repeal the act, in part because it was recognized by Canadians that China had fought on the side of the Allies during the war. Further, there was pressure from the United Nations to implement government policies that were free of discrimination.¹⁸

King's statement on immigration was not particularly enthusiastic. Yes, it recognized the need for immigration as a means of fostering population growth, but it did not really broach issues of economic need. Asians were seen as undesirable immigrants, and given that the definition of 'Asian' covered the entire Asian continent as well as the

¹⁷. In that same year it was pointed out to Jack Pickersgill, by then the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, that the system was discriminatory against the Chinese because the range of sponsorable relatives was so small. In what could be described as a brilliant piece of bureaucratic prose, he responded that:

...As honourable members know, we take virtually no immigrants from beyond the iron curtain in Europe. In other words, our policy so far as Chinese are concerned, if it is discriminatory.... It is discriminatory in favour of Chinese rather than against them (February 17, 1955 : 1249).

¹⁸. The repeal of the Chinese Immigration Act poses an interesting dilemma because although it was generally agreed that the Act should be abolished, it was also clear that the vast majority of MPs did not want substantial immigration from China. Most appeared to feel as Pierre Gauthier (Portneuf) did -- that 'orientals are not easily assimilable,' (May 2, 1947: 2726) There were a few more liberal views. Mr A. Nicholson (Mackenzie) argued quite passionately that not only should the Chinese Immigration Act be repealed, but that Canada should adapt a non-discriminatory immigration policy (May 5, 1947: 2754-2758) (see also McEvoy, 1982) BC MPs responded that he wouldn't say that if he was from BC.

Middle East (and Africa), the stress was on European immigration -- preferably Northern European. Moreover, a relaxation in the list of eligible sponsorship categories meant that a broader range of relatives from Europe could be sponsored.

The stumbling block was the fact that immigration policy was still driven by the 1910 Act, and regulations remained focussed on rural and primary sector growth while immigration was increasingly urban in character. Adding to the confusion was that Immigration fell under the auspices of the department of Mines and Resources, which meant that it was probably not a ministerial priority.

Immigration was a priority for many Members of Parliament (MPs). MPs, in discussions of immigration issues, often brought up the fact that their constituents urgently wanted to bring their relatives over from Italy, Germany and Britain. An MP from Winnipeg North, for example, pressed the Minister to admit relatives of German Canadians, who he was sure were 'as fanatically anti-Nazi as those in Canada.' To which Mr. MacKinnon, the Minister replied that although this was not possible, due to a lack of a treaty between Germany and Canada, he was of the opinion that the Germans he knew were the best possible settlers and that carefully selected people with that background should be allowed into Canada as soon as possible (House of Commons Debates, 1948: 5776). Another MP spoke of the demands he faced from Italians in his riding who wanted to bring their relatives into Canada.

Granted, questions and statements regarding immigration and demands to increase the range of sponsored immigrants tended to come from MPs in ridings with concentrations of immigrants, but it should also be recognized that they came from all

political parties. Further, these were not sporadic requests. Rather, the requests became almost commonplace as MPs sought to quell increasing demands from their constituents for a more relaxed immigration policy.

When the government broadened the definition of sponsorable classes (within the then current immigration regulations), the impact was almost immediate. By 1948, immigration levels were taking off in response to both the return of veterans accompanied by 'war brides' and changes to sponsorship categories.¹⁹ Just over 125 thousand people, the bulk of whom were sponsored relatives, entered Canada in that year alone.

In 1949, under the new Liberal government of Louis St. Laurent, responsibility for immigration was shifted from Mines and Resources to a new Department of Citizenship and Immigration. Despite raising the profile of immigration issues, the Immigration Act itself was not updated, and immigration continued to be governed by an Act which had not even been consolidated since 1927. Pressures were beginning to mount for the creation of a new Act which could respond to both social pressures from Canadian constituents and to international pressures in the aftermath of World War II.

At the same time, however, immigration was becoming controversial from an economic perspective in that there was a growing feeling that immigrants could displace Canadians in the labour force. Liberal MP, Marcel Boivin (Shefford), for example, felt that if [fewer] immigrants were admitted, most of the unemployed would be employed

¹⁹. During and just after WWII, three acts of legislation were passed which allowed members of the Canadian Armed Forces to sponsor their dependants from overseas (PC 7318, September 21, 1944; Order in Council 858, February 9, 1945; and Order in Council PC 4044, September 26, 1946). This resulted in an estimated 64,451 dependents (mostly 'war brides') entering Canada (Kallbach, 1970: 17).

(March 1, 1949: 1045). A year later, Liberal MP Paul Gagnon (Chicoutimi) argued that immigration created a pool of cheap labour that unscrupulous employers could use against the best interests of the working classes (June 15, 1950). He went on to state (somewhat condescendingly) that:

Instead of spending millions to bring over from Europe, fur merchants, ladies' wear manufacturers and dealers in ready-made garments, we should think of our wage earners, of the humble folk, of all those of our people who falter under the heavy burden of taxes and the high cost of living, and use a few of those millions to alleviate their distress and suffering... (Debates, June 15, 1950: 3674).

In contrast, Liberal MP Charles Henry (Rosedale) asserted that 'despite diverse racial origins and creeds, there (was) great harmony (in his riding) and a spirit of community building among us.' He tempered his remarks, however, by saying that right-thinking Canadians agreed with a government policy which did not seek to alter the fundamental ethnic character of Canada (Debates, June 15, 1950: 3675).²⁰ Another Liberal MP, Howard Winkler (Lisgar), argued that what the country really needed was more domestics, because the supply had decreased substantially. He noted, somewhat sadly, however, that it would probably not be possible to get them from Britain, since that country had its own domestics shortage (Ibid: 3683).

There was widespread political recognition that the current immigration policy was not adequate to deal with the changes to immigration intake and the population and labour needs of Canada. And there were calls to create a new Immigration Act. Yet at

²⁰ He also wanted to ensure that 'there will be security screening, just as strictly as possible from the standpoint of keeping communists from immigrating to Canada.' (House of Commons Debates, June 15, 1950: 3676).

the same time, old ideas kept cropping up that were increasingly antiquated and irrelevant. Bert Herridge, a CCF MP from Kootenay West, for example, felt that 'cities [were] the curse of modern civilization,' and immigration should really be aimed at filling Canada's smaller centres (Ibid: 3687). His idealistic view did not prevail. By 1951, just over seventy percent of immigrants lived in urban areas, rather than in rural or farm communities (1951 Census of Canada).

Immigrants were not moving to rural areas or small towns in any great number and the incremental changes to the regulations related to expanding the definition of sponsorable classes were simply not able to keep up with the urban labour market requirements that Canada faced. Moreover, after the initial surge of post-war immigrants, immigration began to decline as the pool of displaced persons disappeared and the pool of admissible relatives shrank. Further, as Europe pulled itself out of the post-war destruction, there was less demand on the part of British-origin residents in Canada to sponsor their relatives. Overall, the immigration system was not working.

The government's response to this complex set of social pressures and declining immigration was a new set of regulations brought into force in 1950. Preference for British, Irish, French and American immigrants was maintained, but the minister was given jurisdiction to define eligibility based on two general criteria. First, suitability, having regard to climatic, educational, social, industrial, labour and other conditions and requirements in Canada; and second, whether the immigrants might be undesirable due to 'peculiar customs, habits, modes of life, methods of holding property, or general unassimilability (Manpower and Immigration, 1974: 21). In practice this regulation

meant that the following, non-Asiatic groups became admissible:

- relatives of any degree sponsored by residents of Canada
- agriculturalists, entrepreneurs, professionals, domestics and nurses' aides
- other workers specifically nominated by Canadian employers
- other workers approved by the immigration settlement service, or those approved for placement by the department of labour.

Blacks were held to be inadmissible unless they fell in the preferred classes, or were the spouses or minor children of Canadian residents. In addition, agreements were signed with the governments of India, Pakistan and Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) early in 1951, under which Canada agreed to accept a total of 300 people annually from the subcontinent (150 from India, 100 from Pakistan, and 50 from Ceylon) in addition to close relatives already admissible from Asian countries. Finally, in view of the continuing shortages of workers and the high costs of transportation, arrangements were made to subsidize immigrants' transportation by air and to make assisted passage loans to a relatively small number of selected workers and their families.

2. The 1952 Immigration Act and Beyond:

The Canadian government had been working, albeit slowly, towards the creation of an updated Immigration Act since 1947. The Act was first consolidated in early 1952, in order to bring together all the changes that had taken place since 1927. It was then revised in the form of 'Chapter 325: an Act Respecting Immigration' which was passed in 1952 and came into force in June 1953.

The 1952 Act defined who could legally enter Canada, listed almost three pages of prohibited classes, gave almost universal power to the Minister, and substantially

increased the power of immigration officers. As promised, it also broadened the scope of possible European relatives who could be sponsored. The powers granted to the Governor In Council were substantial. Cabinet was given the right to make regulations for carrying out the Act in the following areas:

- (a) defining the terms and conditions under which prospective immigrants could be granted assistance to come to Canada;
- (b) defining literacy and medical testing;
- (c) defining the terms for required documentation;
- (d,e) defining rules concerning continuous passage as well as determining which companies could transport immigrants;
- (f) prohibiting or limiting nationals of countries which refuse to readmit its nationals;
- (g) prohibiting admission based on nationality, citizenship, ethnic group (as opposed to race in previous Acts), occupation, class, habits, modes of life or holding property; and
- (h,i) defining unsuitability with regard to climate or other social or economic conditions, or inability to assimilate (Canada, 1952 Immigration Act - chapter 325: 29-30).

The Minister was given the power to define regulations within the definition of the Act as well as a number of minor powers, ranging from the designation of ports of entry to the approval of forms and uniforms for immigration officers.

Freda Hawkins (1988: 102-103) concludes that the Act had two fundamental flaws. First, the Act granted a high degree of discretionary power to the Ministry of Citizenship and Immigration and its officials to define eligibility and regulations. Buried within the regulations came the power for the minister to provide the final decision on each immigration case, and to admit any immigrant on a ministerial permit (section 31(4)). Although this can be appealing to the power hungry, it quickly became an administrative nightmare as the demands from individual immigrants wanting case reviews or ministerial permits flooded in.

The second flaw Hawkins found with the 1952 Act was that it really did not serve to actively fulfil the policy goals as set out by King five years earlier -- those of population increase and economic gain. This was because the controls were such that high levels of intake were impossible. Notwithstanding subsequent (and somewhat minor) moves to amend the Act, there was so little political will to do so, that substantial changes were not made until the 1960s.

Throughout the 1950s, immigration continued to be a topic of debate in parliament. Surprisingly, however, the issue of employment and immigration was not generally a topic of interest. Granted, there were occasional bouts of complaint related to unemployment among immigrants, but this was not the norm. Rather, the bone of contention focussed on the administrative practices of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration as well as on the possible impact of immigration on King's 'fundamental character of the population.' MP Davie Fulton (PC, Kamloops), who would later be Minister of Citizenship and Immigration under Diefenbaker, argued that there were three major problems. First, he argued that Canada still did not have a clear and consistent immigration policy; second, he maintained that the immigration branch did not always act in the best interests and needs of Canada; and third, he stated that the practices of the branch 'inflict injustice and bitter hardship on both Canadians and non-Canadians' (February 15, 1955: 1159). His main complaint, (and I assume that this is what he meant by 'not acting in the best interests of Canada') was that he felt that the government had 'neglected British immigration' ... or at least had over-emphasized all other source countries. Given that Britain was still a preferred nation and that it was therefore easier to

get in as a British subject than any other, this is hard to imagine.

Another major critique related to the overwhelming power granted to the Minister. Perhaps the most damning criticism came from the leader of the opposition, the Prime Minister to be, John Diefenbaker, who raged that:

In so far as the administration of this department is concerned, this is the first time that I know, when bungling has become the cornerstone of policy, when what is done by the supreme authority of this department is to be placed above the courts of our land. One judge after another has had to conclude that, indeed, if the department uses a reasonable degree of care, however tyrannical the decision may be, that decision is not challengeable in the courts (Debates, February 17, 1955: 1256).

Diefenbaker argued that by allowing ministerial mandates to overrule the judicial system, everyone's civil liberties were being whittled away. The fundamental issue concerned the fact that the system was shrouded in mystery. There was no requirement for the Minister or the department to give any reason for a refusal, and there was no way in which a refused candidate could get access to the reason for his or her refusal. In some cases, as MPs repeatedly pointed out, some members of a family were permitted entry, whereas a son or daughter of the same family could be denied admission. Such actions served to split families up, and no one was being given privy to the underlying reasons.

There were some calls for a 'non-discriminatory' immigration policy, generally from opposition MPs in ridings with fair numbers of non-British immigrants. Several opposition MPs from British Columbia, for example, argued that since East Indians were British subjects they should be treated as such (Immigrant intake from India had become a matter of treaty). CCF MP William Noseworthy (York South), moreover, called on the government to create an immigration plan that was non-discriminatory in so far as race,

class, colour and creed were concerned (pp: 1171). His demands waited twelve years and three governments before being granted.

The main stumbling block to these efforts came from MPs and immigration officials who sought to maintain the ethnic balance held so dear by Mackenzie King in his speech a decade earlier. No one had bothered to define what 'the fundamental character of the people' was. As one Progressive Conservative MP, Gordon Churchill (Winnipeg South Center) asked,

...is it based on race, is it based on colour, is it based on culture, is it based on religion, or is it based on any number of considerations that could quite justifiably be included in that phrase (Debates, February 17, 1955: 1288).

Churchill also pointed out that the character of the population had changed several times since confederation, and he wondered which set of ethnic splits were to be maintained (Ibid: 1271). ²¹

Perhaps as a response to such questions and to the fact that it was becoming increasingly difficult to maintain a good international reputation, the government changed the Immigration Act in May of 1956 to refer to geographical rather than racial origins. It really wasn't much of a difference. The Act was still just as discriminatory, but it did allow Jack Pickersgill to claim four years later that his immigration policy was not racially based (Debates, 1960: 4714).

In the late 1950s, several things happened to alter the shape of intake. First, in

²¹ He argued that, if trends continued, almost 40 percent of the population would claim non-British or non-French origins by the turn of the century. He therefore urged the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration to attract people from the British Isles in proportionate numbers to those who were attracted years ago (Debates, February, 17, 1955: 1273). Apparently, he was not as worried about the proportion of French in Canada.

1956, the Soviet Union clamped down on Hungarian calls for freedom. The resulting crisis resulted in the Canadian government bringing in 37,566 Hungarians as political refugees. Second, Egyptian president Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal and demanded the removal of British and French nationals working in the Canal zone. The Suez Canal Crisis either directly or indirectly resulted in the immigration of 108,989 British immigrants as Suez expatriates and disaffected British immigrants came to Canada (Hawkins, 1988: 114).²² Finally, John Diefenbaker and his Progressive Conservative party swept the Liberals out of power. His government would have to try to fix at least some of those problems with the Immigration Act which they had been complaining about over the last decade while in Opposition.

3. Immigration Policy- 1946-60, summary:

From the preceding review it can be seen that the period immediately following the war was a time which could be described as immigration experimentation. Officials tinkered with regulations and Acts, definitions were changed and generally the impact on immigration intake was immediate. A broadening in the definition of family by either relative or country of origin led to an almost instantaneous increase in intake. This is not terribly surprising, particularly when there was latent demand on the part of Canadian residents to bring in a broader range of relatives than had been previously allowed.

²². In 1957, 7,683 immigrants were landed in Canada whose last country of permanent residence was Egypt. However, there were 112,828 immigrants whose ethnic origin was British -- a number far higher than previous years. Thus although the number of actual people airlifted out of the Suez who came to Canada was small, the secondary impact in terms of dependants and British citizens who were disenchanted by United Kingdom Prime Minister Eden's handling of the Suez Crisis was enormous.

Changes to the Immigration Act made it increasingly easier for sponsored immigrants to enter Canada. Immediately after the Second World War, changes to the definition of eligible relatives made it easier for Canadian residents to sponsor European relatives. While the primary stress was on sponsored immigration, there remained a small agricultural immigration program aimed at persons from the Netherlands who came over and were required to serve a year of contracted labour as a condition of landing.

The result of fifteen years of incremental regulatory change was a shift in source countries away from Northern Europe and Britain towards Southern Europe. From 1945 to 1961, over two million immigrants entered Canada with changes to intake regulations basically controlling the ebb and flow of immigration intake (see Figure 2.1). After each change or liberalization in the regulations there was a concomitant increase in the intake. Thus, in 1947, when the definition for sponsorable immigrants was broadened, intake almost doubled, going from sixty-four thousand to 125 thousand. When the regulations were modified again in 1950, allowing almost any permanent resident to sponsor a wide range of relatives, intake shot up to almost two hundred thousand. There were also two very proactive moves on the part of the government aimed at bringing in political refugees from Hungary and the Suez Canal. These two actions caused intake to swell to over two-hundred eight thousand in 1957 alone. However, where the Hungarian move probably broadened the range of source countries, the Suez Canal crisis brought in primarily (if not wholly) immigrants of British origin -- a fact not lost to a Liberal government worried about the changing intake patterns faced by Canada, and actively searching for ways to increase British intake.

Figure 2.1

Immigrant Intake, Canada 1945-1961

Source: Immigration Statistics, 1991

The changes to the regulations had these immediate impacts because there were no preset upper limits on immigration. Rather the limits were determined by the ability of immigration officials to push the paper through. In this sense, then, the intake was unplanned and somewhat unmanaged. The fact that the Minister had more or less *carte blanche* to determine new regulations and admit people at will served to make the process even more haphazard.

Post-war immigrants settled in Canada's major areas changing both the social and economic face of the cities. The question asked here is: how did the work of immigrants change over time both in response to changes in the political agenda and in response to the amount of time immigrants spent in Canada?

C. Framing the Analysis:

The role immigrants filled within the Canadian labour force was conditioned by a myriad of factors including the terms under which they entered Canada, the labour market requirements at the time of entry, and the skills immigrants brought with them at the time of arrival. The terms under which immigrants entered Canada were a product of the political climate and the subsequent rules and regulations governing immigration intake.

The labour market requirements at time of arrival are important to take into account because regardless of skills possessed or the age on arrival, immigrants are treated as labour market entrants. As entrants, immigrants enter positions in the labour market open at the time of arrival, rather than necessarily entering a range of positions evenly distributed across both industrial and occupational categories. In the case of

immigrants, therefore, the more or less direct relationship between experience, education and skills prevalent in a human capital model is lost since the process of immigration often results in a loss of recognized human capital.

The fact that an immigrant's position in the labour market is conditioned by the requirements and state of the labour market at the time of entry is also important because if an immigrant enters during a period of low unemployment and high labour demand, the chances for success are better than if there are few entry market positions. For this reason, immigrants who enter the system in times of high employment should have an easier time entering the labour market than would be the case for those who enter during times of recession.

The post-war period through to 1960 was a time of relatively rapid and primarily urban based economic development in Canada and there was an overall demand for labour. Government recognition of these facts forced the liberalization of immigration intake regulations, through a broadening of the range of immigrants who could enter Canada. The result was an influx of immigrant intake which lasted throughout the 1950s. Thus, by 1961, there were close to three million immigrants living in Canada, four-fifths of whom lived in urban areas (see Table 2.2).

Table 2.2: Place of Birth for Urban and Rural Areas
Canada, 1961

	Total		
		Canadian-Born	Immigrant
Total	18,238,247	15,393,984	2,844,263
Rural	30%	33%	19%
Urban	70%	67%	81%
100,000+	43%	40%	61%
30,000-99,999	9%	10%	9%
<29,000	17%	18%	12%

Source: 1961 Census Publication: Immigration and Place of birth Table 7

The majority of immigrants were concentrated in the larger centres. By 1961, there were 1.4 million immigrants living in the six urban areas of Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver, eight hundred thousand of whom had arrived in the post-war period (see Table 2.3).

Table 2.3 : Immigrant Status by Period of Immigration, Canada
CMAs of Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver, 1961

	Immigrant Status				
	Total	Canadian-born	Immigrant		
				Pre 1946	1946-61
Canada	18,238,247	15,393,984	2,844,263	1,337,147	1,507,116
Total CMAs	5,735,974	4,722,573	1,413,401	547,311	866,090
Montreal	2,109,509	1,788,418	321,091	106,963	214,128
Toronto	1,824,481	1,217,359	607,122	202,418	404,704
Hamilton	395,189	284,678	110,511	44,926	65,585
Edmonton	337,568	258,532	79,036	34,607	44,429
Calgary	279,062	210,110	68,952	30,858	38,094
Vancouver	790,165	563,476	226,689	127,539	99,150

Source: Derived from 1961 Census publication Immigration and Place of Birth, Table 125

A third of those living in Toronto were immigrants, two thirds of whom had arrived after World War II. Close to thirty percent of all persons in Hamilton and Vancouver, and about a quarter of those living in Calgary and Edmonton, were immigrants. Montreal was the only major urban area in which the proportion of immigrants came close to matching that of the total for Canada (15%). However, even here, intake was weighted towards the post-war period; two thirds of all immigrants had arrived after 1945.

In 1961, ninety percent of these urban immigrants had been born in Europe. For the sake of comparison, of the immigrants who arrived in 1921, almost two thirds were from the United Kingdom. The actual mix of source countries within Europe changed through the 1950s as intake regulations changed to include a broader range of sponsorable relatives from different countries (see Figure 2.2).

The post-war period saw a dramatic shift, as immigrants from the UK made up

Figure 2.2
Selected Places of Birth by Period of Immigration
For Immigrants Living in the Six CMAs, 1961

Source: 1961 Published Census Tables

only one quarter of those who arrived between 1946 to 1961. Granted, there was some variation over time. Of the immigrants who arrived immediately after World War II, probably in response to war-bride provisions, one third were from the UK, and of those who came between 1956 to 1961 just over one quarter had been born in the UK. However, this last influx was for the most part a specific product of intake as a result of the Suez Crisis.

By broadening the definition of eligible sponsorable immigrants, the government had acted to increase immigration from countries where extended families were more common. Thus, after 1952, as a response to changes in the definition of eligible assisted relative classes, intake from Italy took off. According to the 1961 Census, immigrants from Italy represented only eight percent of all immigrants who had entered between 1946 and 1950. But they represented over one quarter of all immigrants entering Canada between 1956 to 1960, actually surpassing intake from the UK. Thus by 1961, one fifth of all immigrants who had entered after the Second World war had been born in Italy. Moreover, intake of those born in Greece rose steadily from only one percent of intake immediately following World War II, to five percent between 1956 and 1960.

Intake from the Poland and the USSR decreased over time, falling from a total of thirty percent immediately after 1945 to only 4 percent between 1956 to 1961. Order in Council PC 1950-4364 (September 14, 1950) revoked restrictions against ethnic German immigration and placed them in the same category as other European groups. PC 1952-3689 (July 31, 1952) revoked restrictions regarding enemy nationals (which were still in force under PC 1952-4364) (Kallbach, 1970: 21). After the prohibitions against German

immigration were removed by the government, intake from Germany shot up as Canadians sought to bring in their relatives. By 1961, German-born immigrants comprised ten percent of all post-war immigrants living in the six urban areas. But this increase was not sustained after the first group of close relatives were sponsored and came to Canada.

European immigration to Canada thus followed two distinct patterns. The first, representative of northern European countries, saw a sharp rise in intake as regulations were changed, but then dropped off, as the pool of immediate relatives was depleted. The second, representative of southern European countries, and Italy in particular, was characterized by a steady rise in intake over the fifteen years after the war. In these instances chain migration acted to expand the population (see Goering et al: 1989 for an analysis of chain migration in the United States) .²¹

Immigration to Canada from outside Europe and the USA remained minimal. In 1961, there were fewer than thirty-five thousand immigrants born in Asia, a figure which included both those born in Turkey (which was not subject to anti-Asian provisions), as well as a large number of British citizens born in the commonwealth colonies. According to the 1961 Census, only five percent of all immigrants had been born outside the US or Europe.

The post-war period witnessed a steady rise in non-British, albeit primarily

²¹. The other reason for decreased immigration from Northern and Central Europe was that as time passed, there was simply less reason on the part of prospective immigrants to leave. The United Kingdom was recovering, and under the Marshal Plan, Germany and Austria were also rebuilding. Thus, the push factors were disappearing, and the pull from relatives in Canada was becoming increasingly either distant or irrelevant.

European immigration. Over the course of the post-war period (from 1946 to 1961), the proportion of immigrants from Italy tripled, and that from Germany more than doubled. Nevertheless, for the six metropolitan areas at least, the largest single source country remained the United Kingdom.

By 1961, immigration had added more than eight hundred thousand people to the six metropolitan areas in only fifteen years. Of this total, almost one hundred fifty thousand were less than age 15. A further eighteen thousand were over sixty-five years of age. The remaining seven hundred thousand immigrants were potential labour force participants. This group represented over eighty percent of the post-war immigrant population. As compared to non-immigrants where less than sixty percent were of labour force age, immigrants were over-represented in the labour force, and under-represented in both the so called dependent age groups of less than fifteen and over sixty-five age groups (see Figure 2.3).²⁴ Half of all urban post-war immigrants were between the ages of twenty-five and forty-four (as compared to only thirty percent of non-immigrants). Immigrants were, thus, not only over-represented in the potential labour force population, but were concentrated in the prime working ages as compared to those born in Canada. Over fifteen percent of non-immigrants were less than five years old, and an additional

²⁴. Granted, part of this is simple demographics -- post-war immigrants were less likely to be less than fifteen years old in 1961 because by imposing a period of immigration control, we are also imposing an age control in the comparison -- if an immigrant entered Canada at age one in 1945, he would be fifteen in 1961. By the same token, there were no pre-war immigrants who were less than sixteen, but a full third were over the age of sixty-five. However, there are additional constraints operating which are a product of immigration intake policy. For example, there were comparably fewer immigrant youth because very few new-borns immigrate to Canada. Those who born the day after their parents arrive in Canada are not immigrants. As well, the post-war immigrant population had a dearth of elderly because the immigration program encouraged labour force age immigrants and their immediate families rather than older immigrants.

Figure: 2.3

58b

Age by Sex by Immigrant Status, 6 CMAs, 1961

Source: 1961 Published census tables

twelve percent were between the ages of five to nine. Close to forty percent were less than fifteen years old (a tribute to the baby boom). Only about thirty percent were between twenty-five and forty-four years old. This means that in comparison with post-war immigrants, non-immigrants had a relatively high dependency ratio.

D. The Role of Cohort-1 Immigrants in the Labour Force:

As has been argued above, each change in the regulations caused a change in the place of birth mix of the immigrant population. Immigrants arriving prior to 1950, for example, were far more likely to be of British origin, than those arriving in the latter half of the 1950s. Because each source country had a different schooling system, and different schooling norms, changing the mix of source countries also served to change the schooling mix of any given cohort of immigrants. This in turn resulted in changing the labour force roles played by different entry groups.

The following sections will examine the differences in place of birth mix and schooling by period of immigration, in order to determine the way in which the labour force role of this first cohort of immigrants (those entering between 1946-1960) changed over time. In this way, it will be possible to see not only the impact of regulatory changes to the immigrant population, but also the changes which took place after arrival as immigrants adjusted to life in Canada.

1. Period of Immigration, Place of Birth and Schooling:

With the shifts in immigrant source countries, which occurred over the 1950s, came changes to the schooling profile of immigrants. Generally, the schooling pattern for

northern-European immigrants was similar to that of the Canadian-born (see Table 2.4).²⁵

In the case of males, roughly one third had an elementary school education or less, about half had at least some high school and the rest, at least some university.

About seven percent of Canadian-born males who were not in school full time had a university degree in 1961. The same was true for post-war immigrant males from Britain. Although there were relatively few post-war immigrants from Asia or the United States, those who were here tended to be well educated. One in seven immigrant males from Asia had a university degree, and thirty-seven percent of males from the US had degrees. This was also true of one in ten men from the USSR and thirteen percent of those from Czechoslovakia and Hungary.

Immigrants from Southern Europe were less likely to have high levels of schooling. Almost seven out of ten Cohort-1 males from Greece had less than an elementary school education. The same was true for almost nine in ten Italian males, and almost one quarter had less than five years of schooling. Immigrant males from Asia had a bimodal distribution, being over-represented at both the low and high end of the schooling spectrum. Almost 40 percent of Asian males had an elementary school

²⁵. The population studied is defined in two ways. First, the comparison is between immigrants who entered Canada between 1946 to 1960 and non-immigrants. Second, the analysis looks only at people who were not in full time school attendance. Immigrants who came before 1946 are dropped from the comparison for both theoretical and methodological reasons. From a theoretical standpoint, immigrants who arrived prior to World War II are difficult to deal with because at least fifteen years had passed since their arrival. As a result, much of economic and social adjustment had already taken place. From a methodological standpoint, the data on post-war immigrants derived from the 1961 census are not comparable to the published tables because of a large amount of missing data (see Appendix III: Evaluation of the 1961 Census database for a detailed analysis). Because of this, the primary comparison is between post-war immigrants and non-immigrants who are not in full time school attendance. As the analysis tracks immigrants from census period to census period, however, those people who were in school in 1961, but had completed their schooling in 1971, are added to the comparison as they enter the labour force.

Table 2.4

Percent Distribution of Highest Level of Schooling for Canadian-born and Actual and Age Adjusted Highest Level of Schooling for Cohort-1 Immigrants (1946-60), by Place of Birth and Sex, for Persons Living in the Six CMAs, 1961

		< 5 years	Elementary 5+	High School 1-3	High School 4-6	University 1-2	University 3-4	University Degree	TOTAL
MALES									
Canadian-born	Actual	4%	30%	35%	20%	3%	1%	7%	1,054,832
Cohort-1 immigrants	Actual	9%	37%	22%	21%	4%	2%	7%	330,819
	Adjusted	9%	37%	21%	20%	4%	2%	0	100%
USA	Actual	1%	6%	10%	27%	11%	7%	37%	8,836
	Adjusted	1%	6%	13%	27%	11%	7%	35%	100%
UK	Actual	0%	16%	33%	36%	6%	2%	7%	64,877
	Adjusted	0%	17%	34%	35%	6%	2%	7%	100%
Scandinavia	Actual	1%	34%	29%	26%	3%	2%	6%	7,868
	Adjusted	1%	34%	29%	25%	3%	2%	6%	100%
Germany / Austria	Actual	1%	30%	32%	28%	3%	1%	4%	38,862
	Adjusted	1%	30%	31%	27%	3%	1%	6%	100%
Netherlands	Actual	1%	32%	30%	26%	3%	2%	5%	15,862
	Adjusted	1%	36%	26%	24%	3%	2%	6%	100%
Poland	Actual	8%	48%	17%	15%	3%	2%	7%	23,733
	Adjusted	7%	46%	20%	16%	3%	2%	6%	100%
Czechoslovakia / Hungary	Actual	2%	27%	20%	26%	7%	4%	13%	18,585
	Adjusted	3%	27%	20%	26%	7%	4%	13%	100%
Greece	Actual	12%	56%	15%	12%	2%	1%	2%	11,825
	Adjusted	15%	55%	14%	11%	2%	1%	3%	100%
Italy	Actual	23%	63%	9%	3%	0%	0%	0%	74,351
	Adjusted	27%	61%	8%	3%	0%	0%	1%	100%
USSR	Actual	8%	37%	17%	20%	5%	4%	9%	22,278
	Adjusted	6%	34%	21%	23%	5%	3%	8%	100%
Romania / Yugoslavia	Actual	8%	45%	19%	16%	3%	2%	6%	13,088
	Adjusted	8%	45%	19%	16%	3%	2%	7%	100%
Other Europe	Actual	10%	26%	25%	24%	4%	3%	9%	19,275
	Adjusted	10%	26%	25%	23%	4%	3%	9%	100%
Asia	Actual	18%	23%	18%	19%	6%	3%	15%	7,728
	Adjusted	14%	20%	16%	22%	7%	3%	18%	100%
Other	Actual	5%	22%	19%	29%	6%	3%	15%	9,184
	Adjusted	6%	24%	20%	27%	6%	3%	15%	100%
FEMALES									
Canadian-born	Actual	4%	28%	37%	24%	3%	1%	3%	1,105,768
Cohort-1 immigrants	Actual	12%	34%	23%	24%	3%	1%	2%	290,871
	Adjusted	13%	35%	23%	23%	3%	1%	0	100%
UK / Ireland	Actual	0%	18%	36%	36%	3%	1%	2%	70,343
	Adjusted	0%	20%	36%	35%	3%	1%	2%	100%
USA	Actual	1%	6%	11%	39%	15%	7%	20%	7,919
	Adjusted	1%	7%	12%	36%	15%	7%	19%	100%
Scandinavia	Actual	1%	36%	29%	28%	3%	1%	2%	5,631
	Adjusted	2%	37%	29%	27%	3%	1%	2%	100%
Germany / Austria	Actual	1%	32%	35%	28%	2%	1%	1%	33,678
	Adjusted	1%	33%	34%	27%	2%	1%	2%	100%
Netherlands	Actual	1%	36%	31%	26%	2%	1%	2%	13,538
	Adjusted	1%	42%	29%	24%	2%	1%	2%	100%
Poland	Actual	11%	47%	17%	18%	3%	1%	2%	17,983
	Adjusted	10%	44%	21%	19%	3%	1%	2%	100%
Czechoslovakia / Hungary	Actual	3%	30%	22%	34%	5%	2%	5%	13,238
	Adjusted	3%	30%	22%	34%	4%	2%	5%	100%
Greece	Actual	24%	57%	10%	8%	1%	0%	1%	11,804
	Adjusted	30%	52%	9%	6%	1%	0%	1%	100%
Italy	Actual	38%	58%	5%	2%	0%	0%	0%	58,881
	Adjusted	42%	51%	4%	2%	0%	0%	0%	100%
USSR	Actual	9%	32%	18%	29%	5%	3%	4%	18,318
	Adjusted	8%	30%	21%	30%	5%	3%	4%	100%
Romania / Yugoslavia	Actual	11%	48%	17%	18%	2%	1%	3%	10,111
	Adjusted	11%	48%	17%	18%	2%	1%	3%	100%
Other Europe	Actual	10%	25%	28%	27%	4%	2%	4%	15,727
	Adjusted	9%	27%	28%	27%	4%	2%	3%	100%
Asia	Actual	26%	21%	17%	24%	5%	1%	5%	5,907
	Adjusted	26%	21%	16%	25%	5%	1%	6%	100%
Other	Actual	5%	23%	23%	38%	4%	2%	5%	8,912
	Adjusted	7%	24%	21%	37%	4%	2%	4%	100%

Note: 0.2 % of Canadian-born women had missing data and have been omitted from the table

Note: Population age 15-64 not in school full time

Living in CMAs of Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver

Source: 1961 Census database.

education or less, but almost one quarter had at least some university (as opposed to one in ten for Canadian-born males).

Schooling distributions for women were similar to those of men, except that women tended to have fewer years of formal education. Three percent of Canadian-born females who were not in full time school attendance had a university degree, one in twenty women from Hungary and Czechoslovakia had a degree and one in five women from the United States had a degree. Where thirty-five percent of Canadian-born females had an elementary school education or less, eighty-one percent of Greek and ninety-three percent of Italian females had an elementary school education or less.

At least part of the differences in schooling attainment between immigrants and non-immigrants was a function of differences in age structure patterns. Generally, older persons had fewer years of schooling. Thus, while only five percent of Canadian-born men had less than five years of schooling, this was true for seventeen percent of the over sixty-five population. Immigrants followed the same pattern, with older immigrants tending to have fewer years of schooling than their younger counterparts.

Given that Cohort-1 immigrants were more likely to be of labour force age than the Canadian born, it is possible that their lower schooling distribution was a product of an older age profile. One way to examine the impact of a characteristic such as age on another such as schooling is to use standardization techniques. Standardization allows analysts to estimate the degree to which differences in the schooling distribution of two groups are actually a product of differences in age distribution by adjusting the age

attributes of one group to match that of the other.²⁶

Standardizing the age distribution of Cohort-I immigrants to that of the native-born population reveals that little of the difference in schooling between post-war immigrants and the Canadian-born can be attributed to age. In some cases, however, the adjustment exacerbates the differences in schooling attainment between the Canadian-born and immigrants from different countries. This means that forcing Canadian age structures on the immigrant population caused the level of schooling to decrease.

For example, forcing the age structure of the Canadian-born population on American immigrants resulted in a slightly lower proportion of Americans with at least some university (55% down to 53%). In the case of Italian men, standardization also resulted in a lower schooling profile than was actually the case (27% with less than five years of schooling as opposed to 23% in reality). A more detailed analysis of the effects of standardization on Italian males revealed that much of the shift in schooling distribution was at the expense of elementary school rather than those with high school. This is because the shift which took place, was primarily out of elementary school towards the less than five years of schooling category.

Standardizing the schooling distribution by age for women had similar results, but there was more of a tendency for schooling levels fall to after adjusting to match the age

²⁶ Standardization is a mechanical data manipulation technique which allows analysts to examine tabular data and answer questions about the impact of differences in distributions between groups. For example, in examining the degree to which differences in age were responsible for differences in schooling profile, standardization would allow a researcher to pose the following hypothetical question. What would the schooling profile of immigrants be like if it had the same age structure as the native-born population. In doing so, standardization allows a researcher to 'control' for age. For a more detailed discussion, see Appendix IV: Standardization Tables.

structure of different immigrant groups. For instance, adjusting the immigrant age profiles either had no effect or caused the overall schooling levels to fall. If Italian-born women had the same age profile as native-born women, 42 rather than 38 percent of Italian-born women would have less than five years of schooling. In the case of Greek women, standardizing by age caused the proportion of poorly schooled women to increase from 24% to 30%.

Standardizing by age revealed definite differences between men and women. In the case of men, adjusting the age profile made little difference in the case of countries other than the Netherlands, Greece and Italy. Doing the same for women, however, was far more likely to decrease the schooling attainment levels. In other words, if immigrant women had the same age profile as native-born women, their schooling levels would be lower than was actually the case. Even in these cases, however, the differences between actual and standardized levels of schooling were not substantial.

The relatively small shifts suggest that the differences in schooling characteristics had less to do with personal characteristics than it did with the country of origin schooling profiles. This suggests that the low schooling levels for Southern Europeans were a product of the schooling system in the source countries rather than the age structure of the immigrants who came to Canada.

Because the immigration regulations allowed increased intake from southern European nations after 1952, the post-war immigrant population tended to have a lower overall schooling profile after this year. The gradual decline of potential immigrants from Northern Europe sped up the process. Granted, immigrants with relatively higher levels

of schooling did enter Canada following the Suez Canal Crisis and the Hungarian Crisis between 1957 and 1958. However, this was a short term phenomenon which did not result in long term secondary migration trends. These immigrants were not as likely to sponsor close relatives as were immigrants from Southern Europe.

The differing schooling patterns of immigrants served to stream them into different sectors of the economy which, as will now be discussed, served to define the role of immigrants in the Canadian labour force.

2. The Pattern of Industry Distribution in 1961

In 1961, manufacturing was the dominant sector of Canada's urban economies. Of the one and a half million males between the ages of fifteen to sixty-four living in the six CMAs, just under one third worked in manufacturing in 1961. About one fifth worked in distributive services and one in ten were involved in construction. Only seven percent were not active in the labour force. In contrast, sixty percent of women were not active in the labour force. Of those who were, one quarter were in manufacturing and one in ten worked in distributive services. Forty percent worked in either consumer or business services and almost one in five worked in the social service related industries.

This broad picture points to definite differences between males and females in industrial location. As Myles and Fawcett (1990) argue, skill levels -- and therefore schooling -- can act as partial filters for streaming people into different industries. In the case of immigrants, other factors -- including age, ability to speak English or French, and immigrant status -- also affect where a person works in the labour market.

The aim of the following sections is to show within which sectors immigrants worked in the labour market (as opposed to the Canadian-born), how this distribution was conditioned by socioeconomic factors and how that role changed over time. The analysis is divided by both class of worker (employed or self-employed) and gender (male or female). In this way it will be possible to show how immigrants operate in different sectors of the economy.

The self-employed component of the labour force is not well understood, in part because the income characteristics of the self-employed are difficult to determine. For this reason, most studies simply omit this sector from analysis (see for example: Bloom et al., 1994; Borjas, 1987). Because immigrants are far more likely to move into self-employment than Canadian-born workers, this omission has a significant impact for analyses of immigrant workers and their role in the Canadian labour market. For this reason, I will be looking at the role of self-employed immigrants in the Canadian labour force. However, because of the relatively few self-employed immigrant women, discussion of this group will be minimal.

3. The Labour Market: Employed and Self-Employed Males

The wage labour force was, and continues to be, the dominant component of the Canadian economy, consisting of people who are primarily employed for wages, salaries, tips and commissions (see Table 2.5). In 1961, close to 1.4 million males were classified as being either wage earners or unpaid family workers in the six metropolitan areas. This accounted for ninety percent of men who were active in the labour force.

Roughly one in ten Canadian born male workers were self-employed.²⁷ The proportion of self-employed Cohort-1 males was similar at nine percent. But, as I will demonstrate, while the rate of self-employment remained steady for native-born males, it increased steadily for immigrants between 1961 and 1991. The following sections look at the employed and self-employed workers in greater detail, in order to identify differences over time, and examine the way in which the work of immigrants changed

Table 2.5

Labour Force Activity and Class of Worker by Immigrant Status
for Males Living in the Six CMAs, 1961

	Canadian-born	Cohort-1 Immigrants (1946-60)
Total	1,054,632	330,618
Not Active	6%	3%
Active	94%	97%
Active	989,966	319,816
Wage Labour	90%	91%
Self-employed	10%	9%

Note: Population age 15-64 not in school full time

Living in CMAs: Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver

Source: 1961 Census database

a. The Wage Labour Force: Cohort-1 Males in 1961

There were almost nine-hundred thousand Canadian-born males and almost three hundred thousand post-war immigrant males in the wage labour force by 1961. One third of Canadian-born males were involved in manufacturing industries and another quarter were in distributive services (see Table 2.6). A further fourteen percent were in consumer services and eight percent were in public administration.

In contrast with Canadian-born males, post-war immigrant males were over-

²⁷ For the purpose of this analysis, the employed category includes both wage earners and unpaid family workers. Self-employed comprises own-account workers and employers.

represented in manufacturing and construction, and under-represented in distributive services and public administration. Part of the reason for these differences stems from the fact that Cohort-1 males had different age, education and language attributes than native-born males. As well, structural or institutional barriers could prevent immigrants from entering certain industries. Jobs in the federal public service, for example, often required Canadian or British citizenship.

Table 2.6

**Industry by Immigrant Status for Wage
Labour Males, Living in the Six CMAs, 1961**

Industrial Sector	Canadian-Born	Cohort-1 Immigrants (1946-60)
Total	886,609	290,819
Primary	1%	1%
Manufacturing	32%	37%
Construction	8%	16%
Distributive Services	23%	13%
Consumer Services	14%	16%
Business Services	7%	6%
Social Services	4%	4%
Public Administration	8%	4%
Missing na	2%	2%

Note: Population age 15-64, not in school full time

Living in CMAs of Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver

Source: 1961 Census database

(1) The Role of Age in Industry Distribution

As has been discussed, post-war immigrants were more likely to be of labour force age than the Canadian-born. First, I have imposed an age constraint -- in 1961, there are no pre-1950 immigrants less than ten years old. Second, because immigration regulations expressed a preference for those of working age, immigrants were both more likely to be over fifteen and less likely to be over the age of sixty-five than the Canadian-born population.

The difference in age structures between native-born and immigrant males can

partially explain differences in their industry distribution. This is because different industries have different age structures. For example, in consumer services, 22 percent of Canadian-born males were less than twenty-five years old (see Table 2.7).

Manufacturing, construction, distributive and social services, on the other hand, had a higher proportion of older workers. Given that immigrants have an older age profile, they may be less likely to work in these latter sectors.

While it would appear that a range of industries have recruitment patterns which favour older immigrants, immigrants are concentrated only in manufacturing and construction. Therefore, age structure alone does not explain why Cohort-1 immigrants were less likely than native-born males to be in the social services sector which also have an older age profile. Rather, other factors -- such as language ability or education -- seem to have played a role.

(2) Official Language Ability and Industry Concentrations

Overall, the number of Cohort-1 males unable to speak an official language was low. The bulk of immigrants tend to learn an official language very quickly after arrival, if they did not already have that ability (see Pendakur, 1992). Thus, within the six CMAs, the 1961 Census identifies only 6 percent of immigrant males (about seventeen thousand persons) in the wage labour force who were unable to speak English or French. Of these, over half (9,319) had immigrated to Canada between 1958 and 1960. A further twenty percent had immigrated in 1956 or 1957 (1961 Census database)..

The ability to speak one of Canada's official languages is generally considered a

Table 2.7

**Age by Industry for Canadian-Born and Cohort-1 (1946-60) Wage Labour Males
Living in the Six CMAs, 1961**

	Age	Industry	Primary	Manufac- turing	Construction	Distributive Services	Consumer Services	Business Services	Social Services	Public Admin- istration	Missing na	Total
Canadian Born	TOTAL		10,168	279,218	73,158	208,074	120,360	61,941	37,000	73,982	21,515	888,609
	15-24		16%	15%	17%	13%	22%	18%	9%	11%	15%	15%
	25-34		34%	30%	35%	31%	29%	33%	29%	30%	33%	31%
	35-44		27%	28%	26%	29%	23%	23%	27%	30%	27%	27%
	45-54		17%	20%	18%	18%	17%	18%	23%	20%	18%	19%
	55-64		6%	8%	6%	8%	8%	9%	12%	9%	8%	8%
Cohort-1 1946-60	TOTAL		3,990	107,332	47,683	39,022	46,242	16,346	11,898	11,287	6,713	280,819
	15-24		13%	12%	12%	10%	18%	10%	5%	7%	14%	12%
	25-34		40%	38%	42%	40%	41%	41%	32%	38%	37%	39%
	35-44		28%	31%	29%	33%	24%	30%	31%	33%	28%	30%
	45-54		12%	15%	14%	14%	13%	13%	21%	17%	16%	15%
	55-64		7%	4%	3%	4%	5%	5%	11%	7%	5%	4%

Note: Population age 15-64 not in school full time

Living in CMAs of Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver

Source: 1961 Census database

Table 2.8

**Industry Distribution by Official Language Ability for Canadian-Born and Cohort-1 (1946-60)
Wage Labour Males Living in the Six CMAs, 1961**

	Official Lang uage Ability	Industry	Primary	Manufac- turing	Construction	Distributive Services	Consumer Services	Business Services	Social Services	Public Admin- istration	Missing na	Total
Canadian Born	TOTAL		1%	32%	8%	23%	14%	7%	4%	8%	2%	888,609
	English		2%	31%	7%	25%	13%	8%	4%	8%	2%	518,838
	French		1%	33%	19%	17%	15%	2%	4%	6%	3%	79,370
	Eng & Fr		0%	32%	8%	23%	14%	7%	4%	9%	2%	269,853
	Neither		2%	39%	10%	11%	14%	3%	6%	7%	8%	548
	TOTAL		1%	37%	16%	13%	16%	6%	4%	4%	2%	280,819
Cohort-1 (1946-60)	English		1%	38%	15%	14%	16%	6%	4%	4%	2%	229,011
	French		2%	36%	28%	9%	16%	2%	4%	2%	1%	12,116
	Eng & Fr		1%	35%	11%	15%	16%	10%	6%	4%	1%	32,983
	Neither		2%	29%	34%	7%	20%	1%	2%	1%	3%	16,709

Note: Population age 15-64 not in school full time

Living in CMAs of Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver

Source: 1961 Census database

requirement for entering the workforce. However, there are certain sectors of the economy in which it is possible to operate without a working knowledge of English or French. Table 2.8 shows that about one third of Cohort-1 males unable to speak an official language worked in construction and just under one third worked in manufacturing.

Some of these manufacturing jobs fell within the general typology of industries outlined earlier, demanding relatively high skills in trade for relatively good wages and job stability. However, often immigrants unable to speak an official language worked in specific niches of this sector which were not characterised by high wages or job stability. The needle trades, for example, tend to be driven by piece work and generally have very low wages. Jobs outside manufacturing for immigrants unable to speak an official language were few and far between. The construction sector, however, did have the potential to offer relatively good jobs for immigrants unable to speak an official language.

Within manufacturing, males unable to speak an official language were concentrated in the needle trades, food manufacturing and wood and paper manufacturing. Twenty percent of wage labour immigrant males unable to speak an official language worked in consumer services. Over half of this group worked in food and lodging.

Despite similarity in terms of limited official language capacities, different groups -- as distinguished by place of birth -- were concentrated in different sectors of the economy. Thus, while over forty percent of the twelve thousand Italian men unable to speak an official language worked in construction, only two percent of Greek males

unable to speak English or French did so. Rather almost 60 percent of these Greek men worked in food and lodging. For any given place of birth group, the concentrations across industries between those who can speak an official language and those who cannot are similar. This similarity suggests that men unable to speak English or French find work within ethnic enclaves of the larger group.

b. Assessing Differences Between Groups using Angles

In the previous section, I pointed to differences in the industry profiles of immigrants and non-immigrants and suggested that they may be due to differences in either the age or schooling characteristics of the two groups. The following sections will explore these differences further in order to assess the degree to which the work of immigrants is conditioned by their characteristics as opposed to their status as immigrants.

One way to assess differences between two groups is to compare the two distributions within a specific industry using an index which expresses differences as an angle (see Beaman and Vaske: forthcoming). This index, based on a geometric interpretation of a correlation coefficient using the arccos method ($\arccos(r_p)$), varies between 0° and 90° . Zero degrees of distance (or difference) means that the distributions are exactly the same and 90° means that they are completely different. Angles of less than 5° indicate that the two groups are practically identical. Angles of between 6 and 10 degrees indicate minimal difference. Angles of between 10° and 20° indicate that some difference is apparent. Angles which are greater than 30° indicate that

the two distributions are very different and often indicate that immigrants are highly concentrated in particular sectors. With these cutoffs in mind, the angle of difference measure can serve to focus attention on where the greater contrasts lie between immigrants and non-immigrants.²⁸

(1) Education levels and industry distribution

Different industries have different skill requirements. As such, it is likely that people working within any given sector have similar schooling profiles. If this is true, then immigrants with low levels of schooling will be concentrated in sectors with low schooling requirements, such as construction or consumer services, and those with high schooling levels will concentrate in industries with high requirements such as social services. Table 2.9 uses the arccos (rp) measure to examine differences between Canadian-born and immigrant schooling profiles.

Table 2.9

Difference in Schooling Profiles for Cohort-1
Immigrants and Canadian-born Wage labour, Males,
by Industry for Aggregate of CMAs, 1961

Manufacturing	16.1°
Construction	21.2
Distributive Services	16.9
Consumer Services	19.8°
Business Services	13.6°
Social Services	14.9°
Public Administration	18.2

The arccos (rp)s presented in Table 2.9 point to differences in immigrant and non-

²⁸ See Appendix VII: The Mechanics of the Angle of Difference, for an explanation of how this index is calculated.

immigrant schooling distributions by sector.²⁹ The greatest distance is found in construction with 21° separating the schooling distributions of immigrant and Canadian-born males. The sector in which educational differences are the most similar is within business services, where the difference is 14°. In public administration, 18° of distance separated immigrants and non-immigrants and for consumer services, almost 20°. For the remaining three sectors, the differences were between 15° and 17°.

This range of differences across industries suggests two things. First, overall, the "within sector" differences between immigrants and non-immigrants in schooling credentials are quite low in comparison to the overall differences in schooling profiles between immigrant and Canadian-born males. Business services (14°), social services (15°) and manufacturing (16°), in particular, show relatively low levels of distance in the schooling profiles between immigrants and the Canadian-born. It is possible, particularly in the case of the social services, that these sectors demand particular skill or education credentials for entrance. In sectors where the angles are higher, such as construction and consumer services, it is possible that immigrants are either filling particular niches within that more general sector or that the sector does not have stringent entry requirements.

Cohort-1 immigrants were not particularly well represented in public administration. Those immigrants who did work in this sector tended to have both higher and lower levels of schooling than their Canadian-born counterparts. Seventeen percent of immigrant males working in this sector had at least some university (as opposed to

²⁹. The primary sector has been dropped from the table because it is a very small sector in the urban areas (only about 1% of all workers).

twelve percent for Canadian-born males) while 34 percent only had an elementary school education (as opposed to only 27 percent of Canadian-born males) (see Table 2.10).

Cohort-1 immigrants were better represented in consumer services than in public administration. About one quarter of all male workers in consumer services were post-war immigrants. While the proportion of immigrants with at least some university education in this sector was about the same as the Canadian-born (about 6 percent), immigrant schooling levels were generally lower in this sector than in others. Half of all immigrants working in consumer services had less than a high school education (as opposed to thirty-seven percent for the Canadian-born).

The schooling profile of immigrants in construction was far lower than that for the Canadian-born. While half of Canadian-born males had less than a high school education, over two-thirds of immigrant males had less than grade nine. Forty-six percent of Canadian males had at least some high school, while only 28 percent of immigrant males did. What this suggests is that even though construction attracted workers with a fairly broad range of schooling levels, immigrants who worked in this sector tended to be from the lower end of the schooling spectrum. Commensurate with this is the fact that this was also the sector over-represented by immigrants unable to speak an official language.

Half of all immigrant males in Cohort-1 employed in construction came from Italy. Their presence in the construction sector was even higher in Toronto and Montreal. Almost one fifth of immigrant males employed in consumer services and manufacturing were Italian, as were almost one fifth of those working in consumer services. Overall,

Table 2.10

**Industry by Schooling and Immigrant Status for Wage Labour Males
Living in the Six CMAs, 1981**

		Industry									Total
	Schooling	Primary	Manufac- turing	Construc- tion	Distrib- utive Services	Consumer Services	Business Services	Social Services	Public Admin- istration	Missing	
Canadian Born	TOTAL	10,168	279,212	73,158	208,074	120,380	81,941	37,000	73,982	21,515	888,609
	< 5 years	3%	3%	6%	3%	4%	1%	3%	3%	5%	3%
	Elementary 5+	25%	33%	44%	28%	33%	9%	20%	24%	28%	29%
	HS 1-3	33%	36%	35%	38%	40%	25%	18%	38%	37%	36%
	HS 4-5	19%	19%	11%	23%	18%	38%	13%	23%	23%	20%
	Univ 1-2	4%	3%	1%	3%	2%	8%	5%	3%	3%	3%
	Univ 3-4	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	3%	5%	2%	1%	1%
	Univ Degree	15%	5%	2%	4%	3%	16%	36%	7%	3%	6%
Cohort-1 (1946-60)	TOTAL	3,980	107,332	47,683	39,022	46,242	16,346	11,898	11,287	6,713	290,819
	< 5 years	12%	7%	16%	6%	9%	1%	5%	7%	15%	9%
	Elementary 5+	35%	38%	52%	28%	40%	10%	23%	27%	40%	37%
	HS 1-3	19%	23%	18%	24%	24%	15%	18%	23%	20%	22%
	HS 4-5	12%	21%	10%	18%	20%	38%	20%	25%	19%	21%
	Univ 1-2	4%	3%	1%	5%	3%	10%	5%	5%	2%	4%
	Univ 3-4	2%	2%	1%	2%	1%	5%	4%	2%	2%	2%
	Univ Degree	15%	5%	2%	6%	2%	22%	26%	10%	3%	6%

Note: Population age 15-64 not in school full time

Living in CMAs of Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver

Source: 1981 Census database

then, Italian men in Cohort-I were concentrated in industries that did not have high schooling requirements.

In comparison with Italian males, German males were more evenly distributed across industries. German men comprised between 7 and 12 percent of the immigrant workforce in each of the seven major industry sectors (see Table 2.11). In contrast to both Germans and Italians, immigrant males from the UK were over-represented in sectors which required relatively higher levels of schooling. Thus, immigrant males from the UK comprised thirty-nine and thirty-six percent of the immigrant labour force active in business and public administration respectively.³⁰

Standardizing industry distributions for males by either age, education, official language, or a combination of the three, did not change the distributions to any large degree (see standardization tables in the appendix). Any change resulting from standardizing the data was only on the order of a percentage point or two. It appears, therefore, that differences in industry profiles between immigrants and Canadian born employed workers were not strictly or solely a product of schooling, age or official language ability.

(2) Differences by Sub-Cohort:

Shifts in immigration intake caused by changes to government regulations during the post-war period resulted in changes to the type of work done by different sub-cohorts

³⁰. The reason for under-representation in public administration is that Canadian citizens are preferred. Given that in most cases citizenship acquisition took a minimum of five years, it is not surprising that most immigrant groups (particularly recent immigrants) do not work in this sector. Immigrants from the United Kingdom however, were well represented in public administration, probably in part because British citizens were accorded automatic citizenship rights on entry to Canada.

Table 2.11

Industry by Selected Place of Birth
for Cohort-1 (1946-60) Wage Labour Males, Living in the Six CMAs, 1961

Place of Birth	Industry										Total
	Primary	Manufac- turing	Construc- tion	Distributive Services	Consumer Services	Business Services	Social Services	Public Admin- istration	Missing		
USA	5.8%	28.0%	5.7%	16.1%	8.8%	15.2%	6.7%	3.3%	6.4%	5,813	
UK	0.8%	37.6%	6.6%	19.5%	11.6%	10.5%	4.9%	6.8%	1.7%	60,781	
Scandinavia	4.2%	31.6%	21.6%	14.0%	14.0%	5.8%	2.3%	2.5%	3.2%	6,515	
Germany Austria	1.1%	41.2%	15.0%	13.6%	16.4%	4.9%	3.4%	2.7%	1.6%	31,618	
Netherlands	2.7%	32.5%	13.1%	16.8%	15.1%	6.4%	6.1%	4.3%	3.0%	14,001	
Poland	0.4%	49.2%	14.3%	11.0%	12.6%	3.5%	3.9%	3.3%	1.8%	18,775	
Czechoslovakia Hungary	2.8%	38.2%	10.2%	11.9%	17.8%	6.4%	7.0%	2.6%	3.1%	14,973	
Greece	0.3%	26.0%	3.1%	4.4%	59.8%	1.4%	2.9%	0.5%	1.5%	9,851	
Italy	1.3%	33.2%	35.6%	8.7%	13.1%	1.2%	1.4%	2.7%	2.8%	65,913	
USSR	0.8%	45.6%	12.5%	12.7%	12.5%	4.9%	5.3%	4.0%	1.6%	19,556	
Romania Yugoslavia	1.8%	45.5%	15.7%	9.3%	14.6%	3.3%	4.8%	2.9%	2.1%	11,010	
Other Europe	1.9%	32.4%	15.0%	14.3%	18.6%	6.5%	4.5%	4.2%	2.7%	17,463	
Asia	0.9%	23.0%	2.6%	12.6%	41.7%	7.3%	5.0%	3.7%	3.1%	6,119	
Other	0.9%	33.8%	5.1%	21.3%	14.2%	9.8%	8.3%	5.3%	1.3%	8,488	

Note: Population age 15-64 not in school full time

Living in CMAs of Montreal Toronto Hamilton Edmonton Calgary and Vancouver

Source: 1961 Census database

of immigrants. This was because, as has been detailed above, different place of birth groups gravitated towards different industry sectors. However, patterns of sub-group industry concentrations were also influenced by Canada's changing economic requirements. In the following sections I look at the labour market entrance experiences of three sub-cohorts of immigrants who entered Canada between 1946 to 1960.

Sub-cohort-1.1 includes those entering between 1946-1950. These immigrants were primarily British and Northern European. Sub-cohort-1.2 includes immigrants who entered between 1951 and 1955, when immigration regulations were broadened to allow former enemy aliens (Germans and Austrians) as well as a wider range of sponsorable relatives. This sub-cohort marks the real start of Southern European intake. Sub-cohort-1.3 includes immigrants who entered between 1956-1960. Although intake patterns were largely an extension of past immigration trends, this includes immigrants brought in as a result of the Hungarian and Suez Canal crises.³¹

(3) Sub-Cohort 1.1 - Males Entering Between 1945-1950

As compared with Canadian-born males, immigrant males who arrived between 1945 and 1950 were over-represented in manufacturing and construction and under-represented in distributive services and public administration. Where about one third of native-born males worked in manufacturing, this was true of over 40 percent of immigrant males. Standardizing the distributions by age, education or official language knowledge did not change the representation within public administration or distributive

³¹ Tables for this section can be found in Appendix IV.

services.

Results of the standardization suggest that over-representation in manufacturing was at least partially because a large number of immigrants unable to speak an official language worked in this sector. Controlling by language caused the proportion of immigrant males working in manufacturing to fall from 41% to 38 percent. Within construction, standardizing by official language knowledge caused their already high representation to increase marginally from twelve to thirteen percent (as opposed to 8% for the Canadian-born).

(4) Sub-Cohort 1.2: Males Entering Between 1951-55

Immigrants who arrived in Canada between 1951 and 1955 followed a pattern similar to that of those in cohort-1.1: they were reasonably well represented in consumer, business and social services, poorly represented in public administration and distributive services and over-represented in manufacturing and construction. However, immigrants entering within this period were less likely to be in manufacturing and more likely to be in construction than the previous sub-cohort, a fact which is consistent with the shift in Canadian immigration intake towards southern Europe and away from the United Kingdom. Eighteen percent of immigrant males who immigrated between 1950 to 1955 worked in construction. This was true for only eight percent of native-born workers. Within manufacturing, standardizing to Canadian-born age, education or language characteristics tended to increase, rather than decrease representation. Forcing Canadian educational characteristics on immigrant males caused their representation in that sector

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to increase, thereby making them even more over-represented in the sector. However, the opposite was true in the construction sector, where standardizing for education or education in combination with the other two variables caused a convergence towards the Canadian norm (from 18% to 15% as opposed to 8% for the Canadian-born).

(5) Sub-Cohort 1.3: Males Entering Between 1956-60

The third sub-cohort of immigrants, who entered Canada between 1956 to 1960, included a large number of refugees from both the Hungarian and Suez crises. Because this group (and within this those from the UK in particular) had language and educational characteristics similar to those of the Canadian-born population, their general labour force pattern was closer to the Canadian norm. Thus, immigrant males entering between 1956 and 1960 were well represented in manufacturing, business services and social services. As opposed to the other two sub-cohorts, they were somewhat over-represented in consumer services. They were also over-represented in construction, and under-represented in distributive services. Controlling for various combinations of variables did not substantially change their distribution across industries.

(6) Wage Labour Males, 1961 Summary:

The lack of change in distribution despite standardizing for different combinations of variables suggests that the roles immigrants played in the labour force had less to do with differences in education or official language knowledge, than it had to do with the fact that they were immigrants. Granted, not knowing English or French appeared to

draw workers into particular niches, but the number of men unable to speak an official language was relatively small. Standardizing the data by schooling caused the industry distributions of Cohort-1 immigrants to move towards that of Canadian-born males, but substantial differences remained after standardization. It appears, therefore, that the differences in the work done by wage labour immigrants were not strictly a result of their schooling, age or official language ability.

c. The Self-employed Labour Force: Cohort-1 Males in 1961:

In 1961, 10 percent of Canadian-born males living in the six CMAs were self-employed as were 9 percent of Cohort-1 immigrant males.³² However, where the proportion of self-employed Canadian-born men remained fairly stable over time, the proportion of self-employed immigrants rose with the time they spent in Canada. For example, in 1961, while only 3% of males who entered Canada between 1958 and 1960 were self-employed, 10% of those who entered between 1951-1955, and 14% of those who entered just after World War II were self-employed.³³ The difference in self-employment rates between these sub-cohorts suggests that there may have been some shifting from the employed to the self-employed labour force as immigrants adjust to life in Canada.

³² For the purposes of this research, employers and proprietors of incorporated companies are included within the self-employed category along with own-account workers.

³³ The same was generally true for female immigrants. Two percent for those who arrived immediately prior to 1961 were self-employed whereas this was the case for 4% for those who arrived between 1951 and 1955. However, because the number of self-employed immigrant women was fairly low, it is difficult to make any firm conclusions.

(1) Self-Employed Immigrant Males in 1961:

In 1961, there were almost twenty-nine thousand self-employed Cohort 1 males living in the six CMAs. As shown in Table 2.12, over one-third worked in consumer services and another quarter worked in construction.³⁴ The industry breakdown was somewhat similar to that of employed males, in that as compared to the Canadian-born, self-employed immigrants were over-represented in construction and manufacturing while under-represented in distributive services. Compared to immigrant males in the wage labour force, self-employed male immigrants were actually slightly more over-represented in construction and less under-represented in distributive services. They were substantially more under-represented in business and social services, as opposed to Canadian-born males.

Table 2.12

Percent Distribution by Industry Sector for Canadian-born and Cohort-1 (1946-60)
Males Who were Self-Employed and Living in the Six CMAs, 1961

Industrial Sector	Canadian-Born	Cohort-1 Immigrants (1946-60)
Total	103,356	28,997
Primary	2%	3%
Manufacturing	10%	13%
Construction	15%	25%
Distributive Services	15%	10%
Consumer Services	36%	37%
Business Services	14%	8%
Social Services	7%	3%

Source: 1961 Census database

Note: Population age 15-64 not in school full time

Living in CMAs of Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver
note that missing cases constituted less than one percent of the total

Generally, self-employed males were older than males in the wage labour force. While 15 percent of wage labour males born in Canada were less than twenty-five years

³⁴ Self-employed workers were not coded as working in public administration even if that sector was their major source of income. Rather these workers were coded as working in business services

old, this was the case for only 2 percent of self-employed Canadian-born males. While almost a third of Canadian-born wage labor males were between thirty-five to forty-four, only one fifth of the self-employed were in this age group.

Self-employed, Cohort-1 males tended to be younger than self-employed Canadian-born males. A third of self-employed immigrant males were between the ages of twenty-five to thirty-four, another third were between thirty-five and forty-four and just under one quarter were between the ages of forty-five and fifty-four.

Within industries, however, age profiles followed the same pattern for immigrants and non-immigrants. In the case of those working in distributive, business and social services, the age profiles of immigrants and non-immigrants are almost identical (see Table 2.13). The greatest differences were in manufacturing where immigrants were generally older than the Canadian-born and consumer services where they were generally younger (27° and 20° of difference respectively).

Table 2.13
Difference in Age and Schooling Profiles for Cohort-1
Immigrant and Canadian-born Self-Employed
Males by Industry, Six CMAs, 1961

Sector	Age	Schooling
Manufacturing	26.7	23.2
Construction	17.7	19.4
Distributive Services	7.0	21.5
Consumer Services	20.3	22.6
Business Services	9.2	7.6
Social Services	10.9	2.4

Source: 1961 Census database

Note: Population age 15-64, not in school full time

Living in CMAs of Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver

Different sectors displayed different schooling patterns. In business and social services, for example, the schooling profiles of native-born and Cohort-1 self-employed workers were almost identical. Within business services, 40 percent of immigrants and 45 percent

of Canadian-born males had university degrees. Roughly nine out of ten males working in social services also had university degrees, regardless of immigrant status. In other sectors the two schooling profiles were more divergent. Within manufacturing, for example, 23 degrees separated the two schooling distributions, with immigrants having a somewhat lower schooling profile than the Canadian-born. The same was true in construction, where over half of self-employed immigrant males had less than a high school education. Immigrants working in consumer services also tended to have lower levels of schooling than the Canadian-born, with just under half having less than a high school education. However, those working in distributive services tended to be better educated than their native-born counterparts, with almost one quarter of all self-employed Cohort-1 males having at least some university (as opposed to 11% for Canadian-born males).

(2) Standardizing: Self-employed Cohort-1 Males

Once again standardizing the attributes of self-employed immigrant males to those of Canadian-born self-employed males tended not to change their industry distributions to any great degree. The major differences were between different sub-cohorts of immigrants.³⁵ This suggests that in the case of wage labour immigrants, differences in

³⁵. For example in the case of immigrants who arrived between 1946 to 1950, standardizing by different combinations of age, official language or schooling had little impact on where immigrants worked (see standardization tables in Appendix IV). For those self-employed immigrants who arrived between 1951 to 1955, changing the schooling pattern did shift the industrial distribution towards the Canadian norm, but only slightly. For self-employed immigrants who arrived between 1956 to 1960, shifting the age and education profiles had the greatest impact. However, once again, the shifts were not very large. Rather, they were on the order of one or two percent, and the shifts still did not cause the industry distribution of immigrants to match those of Canadian-born self-employed males.

age and schooling do not completely explain labour force role. It further indicates that the changes in immigration regulations which occurred through the late 1940s and 1950s did change the type of work immigrants did.

Self-employed immigrants who entered after 1956, for example, were more likely to work in consumer services and somewhat less likely to work in construction than previous cohorts of immigrants. Immigrants entering after 1958 were more likely to work in business services than those who came prior to that year. Further, adjusting the age and schooling attributes of those entering after 1958 to match those of the Canadian-born increased their participation in this sector to just short of the Canadian standard. It also decreased their participation in consumer services to more closely match self-employed Canadian-born males.

E. The Changing Structure of the Labour Force 1961-1991

Between 1961 and 1991, there was tremendous growth in Canada's urban economies. The gross number of workers in the six CMAs of interest in this thesis more than doubled to almost five and a half million. However, growth was not even across industries and thus the shape of the economies changed. In 1961, Canada's urban industrial profile was centered on manufacturing and consumer services and over half of all workers were to be found in those two sectors, with almost thirty percent in manufacturing alone. By 1991, the shape of the labour market had changed markedly (see Table 2.14).

Table 2 14

Distribution of Jobs by Industry, 6 CMAs
1961, 1971, 1981, 1991

	1961	1971	1981	1991	% change in number of jobs by sector
TOTAL	2,129,514	3,121,225	4,537,050	5,466,095	257%
Primary	1%	1%	2%	2%	454%
Manufacturing	29%	26%	21%	16%	142%
Construction	8%	7%	6%	6%	211%
Distributive Services	17%	15%	15%	14%	205%
Consumer Services	20%	20%	24%	26%	328%
Business Services	9%	11%	13%	16%	473%
Social Services	8%	14%	13%	15%	446%
Public Administration	6%	6%	6%	6%	260%

Source: 1961, 1971 census base, 1981, 1991 Public Use Samples, individual files

Note: Population age 15-64 not in school full time

Living in CMAs: Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver

First, the preeminence of manufacturing as the economic base of the CMAs dropped steadily by almost half from 29 to 16 percent of all workers. Second, the service sectors took off. The number of workers in consumer services increased three fold to comprise a total of almost one and a half million jobs by 1991. The number of jobs in business services increased five fold to almost nine hundred thousand jobs. As well, the rise of the welfare state, which took place through the 1960s, meant that the number of jobs in social service related industries increased by almost five times over the course of the three decade, going from 8 to 15 percent of all jobs.

These structural changes had a tremendous impact on the skills and educational levels required by the labour force. Emerging occupations in social services, as well as those in business services, tended to require far higher levels of schooling than was the case for other sectors. Those coming on stream in consumer services tended to require relatively low levels of skill and education. The new labour force was therefore very much dichotomous both in terms of the skills required and the remuneration received (see

Myles and Fawcett, 1990). There was little growth in manufacturing, which in the past had offered relatively high wages without high education requirements. Rather growth was in sectors at both the high and low end of the wage - education spectrum. How immigrant males fared through the changes that occurred will be examined in the next section.

1. The Changing Labour Force Role of Cohort-1 Males

By 1971, Cohort-1 immigrants had spent between ten and twenty-five years in Canada. About ninety-seven per cent of male immigrants under sixty-five were still in Canada.⁶⁶ Of these, almost three hundred fifty thousand were not in school full time and were between the ages of fifteen and sixty-five.

The nature of the population, however, had changed. Most important, a large proportion of the people who were still in school in 1961 had, by 1971, entered the work force, and those who were over sixty-five by 1971 had dropped out of the labour force. This means that a far greater proportion of Cohort-1 immigrant workers had taken at least part of their schooling in Canada than was the case in 1961. These Canadian-trained immigrants were far more likely than other immigrants to have schooling credentials

⁶⁶. Some differences in 'survival' were found from one census period to another. For example, there were actually more younger males (ie: younger than 24 in 1961) in 1971 than there were in 1961. This is probably a product of both the 1961 database (there were missing data for people less than 15), and the fact that the youth population is highly mobile. The increase could be due to youths moving into the urban areas from the surrounding rural areas. In the case of older cohorts, there was a loss of between eight and fourteen percent -- far more than could be accounted for by mortality, indicating that the greatest component of loss is due to out-migration, both to other parts of Canada and other countries. A more detailed evaluation of cohort survival is available in Appendix III

similar and comparable to the Canadian-born population. This in turn meant that their position in the labour force should have shifted, to more closely match that of the Canadian-born population.

At the same time, important differences remained. As compared to the Canadian-born, immigrants were both more likely to be active in the labour force and more likely to be self-employed. There were almost three hundred forty-thousand Cohort-1 males who were active in the labour force in 1971. The proportion of self-employed Cohort-1 immigrants had increased from 9 percent in 1961 to 12 percent in 1971, whereas it had decreased for native-born males from 10 to 8 percent (see Table 2.15). There was thus a proportional shift by immigrants, out of wage labour and towards self-employment. This left a total of two hundred eighty-six thousand Cohort-1 males in the wage labour force and just short of forty-thousand who were self-employed.

By 1981, one out of every six economically active Cohort-1 immigrant males was self-employed and by 1991, almost one in five were self-employed. But, because the group was aging, the overall participation rate had decreased to 88 percent as more and more of these post-war immigrants left the labour force. This is also reflected in the fact that the overall size of the group had decreased by over a third (from 330 to 196 thousand).

Table 2.15

Labour Force Activity and Class of Worker for Canadian-born and Cohort-1 Immigrant
(1946-60) Males Living in the Six CMAs 1961-1991

	1961	1971	1981	1991
Canadian Born				
Total	1,054,632	1,494,387	1,812,650	2,155,464
Not Active	6%	6%	6%	7%
Active	94%	94%	94%	93%
Active	989,966	1,407,380	1,712,600	2,001,364
Wage Labour	90%	92%	91%	89%
Self-employed	10%	8%	9%	11%
Cohort-1 Immigrants (1946-60)				
Total	330,618	346,820	312,300	196,467
Not Active	3%	3%	3%	12%
Active	97%	97%	97%	88%
Active	319,816	337,130	301,550	173,166
Wage Labour	91%	88%	84%	81%
Self-employed	9%	12%	16%	19%

Note: Population age 15-64 not in school full time

Living in CMAs of Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver

Source: 1961, 1971 Census database, 1981, 1991 Public Use Samples

2. Change over time: Wage Labour Cohort-1 Males:

The changes to the wage labour force between 1961 and 1991 affected immigrants and the Canadian-born population in very different ways. For Canadian-born males, there was a decrease in the percentage of persons in manufacturing of 12 percent from one third to one fifth of all positions, and a substantial increase in the importance of public administration (from eight to sixteen percent). The proportion of workers in distributive services decreased gradually from 23 to 20 percent, and consumer services rose steadily from 14 to 22 percent. Business services was another growth sector for Canadian-born males. This sector employed 13 percent of the native-born wage labour male population by 1991. Construction, on the other hand remained relatively constant (see Table 2.16).

The proportion of Cohort-1 males working in manufacturing also decreased by

Table 2.16

**Industry by Immigrant Status for Canadian-born and Cohort-1 (1946-60)
Wage Labour Males Living in the Six CMAs, 1961-1991**

Canadian-Born	1961	1971	1981	1991
Total	886,609	1,291,498	1,557,900	1,730,798
Primary	1%	2%	2%	2%
Manufacturing	32%	27%	25%	19%
Construction	8%	7%	8%	9%
Distributive Services	23%	20%	21%	20%
Consumer Services	14%	14%	19%	22%
Business Services	7%	8%	10%	13%
Social Services	4%	7%	7%	7%
Public Administration	8%	8%	8%	8%
Missing na	2%	8%		
Cohort 1 Immigrants (1946-60)				
Total	290,814	296,493	254,500	141,033
Primary	1%	1%	1%	2%
Manufacturing	37%	34%	31%	25%
Construction	16%	13%	12%	11%
Distributive Services	13%	14%	17%	17%
Consumer Services	16%	15%	17%	18%
Business Services	6%	7%	9%	10%
Social Services	4%	7%	8%	10%
Public Administration	4%	5%	6%	7%
Missing na	2%	3%		
Angle of difference	18.9°	18.1°	12.4°	12.2°

Note: Population age 15-64, not in full time school attendance.

Living in Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver

Source: 1961, 1971 Census database, 1981, 1991 Public Use Samples

12% from 37% to 25% over the course of the three decades. As well, the proportion of immigrants employed in construction fell by a quarter (from 16 to 11 percent). As in the case of the native born population, business services was also a growth area for Cohort-1 males. By 1991, one in ten Cohort-1 males were employed in business services.

Regardless of the decade, immigrants were more likely to be involved in manufacturing and construction and less likely to work in distributive services. As time went on, they became more likely to work in social services related industries, to the point where, in 1991, they were over-represented in this sector, as compared to the Canadian-born males.

Despite the continuation of gross differences between immigrants and non-immigrants, there was a convergence in the two distributions. As table 2.16 shows, the sector distributions for the two groups gradually converged. The arccos (r_p) between the two distributions decreased from 19 to 12 degrees between 1961 and 1991. The work done in the wage labour force by Cohort-1 males and Canadian-born males was therefore becoming increasingly similar.

The greatest change in the type of work done by immigrants in Cohort-1 took place during the 1960s. This was a product of several factors, including changes in the labour force itself, the amount of time these immigrants had to adjust to life in Canada and changes to the nature of the immigrant population itself. This last category has to do with the entrance of young immigrants into the labour market -- immigrants who would leave school with Canadian credentials and were thus more likely to have schooling credentials which matched those of the Canadian-born.

(1) Wage Labour Males in 1971

Cohort-1 males who were less than fifteen in 1961 were the most similar to their Canadian-born counterparts. The angle of difference between these two groups was only six degrees in 1971, reflecting the fact that the two industry distributions was almost the same (see Table 2.17).³⁷

Table 2.17

Angle of Difference in Industry Distribution by Age
between Wage Labour Canadian Born and Cohort-1
(1946-60) Males Living in the six CMAs

Age in 1961	1961	1971	1981	1991
Total	19 1°	15 1°	13 0°	12 2°
0-4			17 7°	12 5°
5-14		11 0°	5 5°	6 6°
15-24	17 6°	18 1°	14 8°	13 6°
25-34	19 9°	17 1°	20 2°	17 6°
35-44	19 2°	18 9°	16 9°	
45-54	18 6°	17 2°		
55-64	21 2°			

Note CMAs of Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver

Source 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991 Census of Canada

The similarity in work is probably attributable to the fact that these young immigrants received at least part of their schooling in Canada and thus entered the labour force with the same type of qualifications as those born in Canada.

There were differences between period of immigration cohorts as well as by place of birth. Wage labour males from Austria, Germany, Poland and the USSR were heavily

³⁷ Table 2.17 shows the arccos (r_{ij}) in industry distribution between immigrants and Canadian-born wage labour males by age. In 1961, the angles of distance for groups twenty-five years and older varied between 18° and 22°. In the case of immigrants between fifteen and twenty-four who were not in school full time the angle of difference was somewhat lower than was the case for the other groups (18°). By 1991, the angle had dropped to 14 degrees. For those who received the majority of schooling in Canada (those less than fourteen years old in 1961) there is little difference between the two distributions. This indicates, not surprisingly, that immigrant cohorts that receive their schooling in Canada have the most similar industry distributions to the Canadian-born population.

over-represented in manufacturing (see Table 2.18). Immigrants from Yugoslavia and Romania were also more likely to work in manufacturing than any other sector. Italian and Portuguese males, however, were, as before, over-represented in construction, while almost half of Greek men worked in consumer services. Males from the UK and the Netherlands were more evenly distributed across sectors with profiles that more closely matched that of the Canadian born.

Often, as can be shown through standardization, at least part of the difference was related to differences in age, schooling and period of immigration. For immigrants in Sub-cohort-1.1 standardizing the 1971 industry distribution by age had the most impact, whereas in the case of Sub-cohort 1.3 males, standardization did not change the distribution a great deal. Standardizing by age of Sub-cohort-1.1 males caused the proportion of workers in manufacturing to fall by 3 percent (to 34%) and the proportion in distributive services to increase by 2 percent (to 15 percent).

(2) Wage Labour Males in 1981

By 1981, despite the general shift away from a manufacturing economy in the urban areas, a third of Cohort-1 males remained in the sector. However, as before, there were differences by country of origin. Males from the USA were relatively more concentrated in business and social services, while under-represented in manufacturing and distributive services. Immigrants from Germany, Austria, Poland and the USSR, in contrast, remained concentrated in manufacturing at similar rates to those of a decade earlier. Those from Italy and Greece remained over-represented in construction and consumer services respectively (see Table 2.19).

Table 2.18

Industry by Place of Birth for Canadian-born and Cohort-1 (1946-60)
Wage Labour Males, 1971

	Primary	Manufac- turing	Construction	Distributive Services	Consumer Services	Business Services	Social Services	Public Admin- istration	na	TOTAL	Angle
Canadian-born	2%	27%	7%	20%	14%	8%	7%	8%	8%	1,291,498	comparison
Cohort-1	1%	34%	13%	14%	15%	7%	7%	5%	3%	296,493	15.1
USA	6%	25%	5%	17%	13%	14%	13%	4%	4%	4,313	16.4
Austria Germany	1%	38%	12%	15%	13%	7%	6%	4%	3%	32,073	16.4
UK Ireland	1%	32%	6%	19%	11%	11%	9%	8%	3%	71,023	8.7
Netherlands	3%	29%	12%	16%	14%	8%	9%	6%	3%	15,990	10.4
Czechoslovakia	1%	36%	7%	15%	15%	10%	9%	4%	4%	2,863	14.3
Poland	1%	44%	11%	13%	12%	6%	6%	4%	4%	16,364	22.2
Scandinavia	3%	28%	21%	16%	12%	8%	5%	4%	3%	6,845	21.94
Hungary	2%	36%	11%	13%	14%	8%	8%	4%	4%	10,850	16.6
Portugal	2%	28%	25%	12%	17%	4%	6%	2%	5%	5,076	29
Greece	0%	27%	4%	8%	46%	3%	6%	2%	5%	8,335	41
Italy	0%	33%	27%	10%	14%	3%	4%	3%	4%	65,844	31.1
USSR	1%	43%	10%	14%	10%	7%	7%	5%	3%	17,998	20.6
Yugoslavia	1%	47%	14%	10%	12%	5%	6%	3%	3%	8,824	26.15
Other Europe	1%	32%	9%	15%	18%	8%	9%	5%	4%	11,506	13.2
West Asia	1%	30%	8%	18%	20%	11%	6%	4%	3%	1,100	11.9
China	1%	16%	1%	11%	54%	5%	4%	2%	5%	5,227	49.3
Other Asia	3%	37%	3%	16%	7%	11%	11%	6%	5%	2,674	18.6
Caribbean	1%	30%	3%	18%	12%	11%	14%	7%	3%	3,236	13.3
Latin America	2%	33%	9%	15%	12%	13%	8%	5%	4%	565	14.3
Other	1%	30%	6%	19%	15%	10%	10%	6%	4%	5,987	7.8

Note: Population age 15-64 not in school full time

Living in CMAs of Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver

1971 Census database

Source

Table 2.19

**Industry by Place of Birth for Canadian-born and Cohort-1 (1946-60)
Wage Labor Males, Living in the 6 CMAs, 1981**

	Primary	Manu- facturing	Business Services	Construc- tion	Distrib- utive Services	Con- sumer Services	Social Services	Public Admin- istration	TOTAL	Angle of Difference
Canadian-born	2%	25%	10%	8%	21%	19%	7%	8%	1,557,900	Comparison
Cohort-1 (1946-60)	1%	31%	9%	12%	17%	17%	8%	6%	254,500	12.4°
USA	2%	13%	18%	11%	17%	15%	18%	6%	4,200	26.8°
UK Ireland	1%	27%	12%	7%	21%	13%	10%	9%	57,800	10.8°
Austria Germany	1%	37%	8%	10%	18%	13%	7%	6%	27,800	18.3°
Netherlands	3%	29%	11%	9%	18%	14%	11%	6%	12,900	12.2°
Poland	0%	41%	6%	10%	13%	16%	9%	4%	11,700	23.1°
Czech/Hungary	2%	30%	7%	11%	17%	20%	7%	5%	11,850	11.5°
Portugal	0%	21%	6%	23%	18%	19%	9%	4%	4,500	24.0°
Greece	1%	23%	6%	3%	9%	50%	6%	1%	6,950	27.7°
Italy	0%	32%	6%	21%	14%	17%	6%	4%	62,500	23.7°
USSR	2%	44%	7%	9%	14%	12%	9%	4%	11,300	26.1°
Yugoslavia	0%	46%	5%	10%	16%	11%	6%	6%	8,850	27.3°
Other Europe	1%	33%	8%	10%	19%	15%	8%	7%	17,550	13.1°
Asia	2%	17%	14%	3%	15%	36%	7%	6%	9,700	26.4°
Latin Amer & Carib	1%	19%	9%	6%	23%	22%	10%	9%	3,900	10.6°
Other	2%	15%	12%	5%	25%	18%	15%	8%	3,000	19.0°

Note Population age 15-64 not in school full time
Living in CMAs of Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver

Source 1981 Public Use Sample, individual file

Table 2.20

**Industry by Place of Birth for Canadian-born and Cohort-1 (1946-60)
Wage Labour Males, Living in the 6 CMAs, 1991**

	Primary	Manufac- turing	Construc- tion	Distrib- utive Services	Con- sumer Services	Business Services	Social Services	Public Admin- istration	TOTAL	Angle of Difference
Canadian-born	2%	19%	9%	20%	22%	13%	7%	8%	1,730,798	Comparison
Cohort-1 (1946-60)	2%	25%	11%	17%	18%	10%	10%	7%	141,033	12.2°
USA	5%	18%	3%	13%	20%	14%	20%	7%	2,533	23.1°
UK	1%	20%	6%	21%	15%	16%	13%	9%	26,633	14°
Germany	3%	29%	10%	15%	14%	11%	12%	6%	15,400	20.5°
Poland	2%	29%	8%	17%	16%	11%	13%	4%	3,733	19.1°
Portugal	1%	16%	24%	18%	25%	5%	6%	5%	3,233	24.2°
Italy	1%	27%	21%	14%	18%	6%	6%	8%	37,367	24.6°
USSR	1%	31%	9%	13%	14%	15%	8%	10%	3,100	22.4°
Other Europe	3%	25%	8%	17%	19%	10%	10%	7%	38,333	12.1°
China HK	1%	14%	3%	18%	47%	8%	6%	3%	5,233	30.4°
Other Asia	4%	36%	6%	13%	15%	13%	11%	2%	1,566	27.9°
Latin Amer & Carib	0%	25%	7%	16%	18%	12%	11%	12%	1,900	14.5°
Other	0%	25%	3%	12%	22%	22%	13%	3%	2,000	21.9°

Note Population age 15-64 not in school full time
Living in Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver

Source 1991 Public Use Sample, individual file

Standardizing the immigrant data by age, for immigrants entering prior to 1955, resulted in a shift away from manufacturing into distributive and business services, both of which tend to attract older workers (see standardization tables in Appendix IV). The proportion working in public administration, however, remained constant at six percent. In the case of immigrants who entered between 1956 to 1960, standardizing by age caused the proportion of workers in manufacturing to increase rather than converge towards that of the Canadian-born, however standardizing by education caused a convergence across all sectors.

(3) Cohort-1 Wage Labour Males in 1991

By 1991, one hundred forty thousand Cohort-1 males remained active in the wage labour force, the rest having either moved into self-employment, retired, emigrated or died. However, time had caused their role in the labour force to more closely match that of the Canadian-born than in previous decades. There was some movement on the part of wage labour immigrants out of manufacturing and construction and into either public administration and consumer services, however, immigrants were still consistently over-represented in manufacturing and construction

At the same time, the impact of older immigrants leaving the workforce was showing through. The proportion of immigrant males from Poland working in manufacturing fell from 41 to 30 percent by 1991 (see Table 2.20), while the proportion of Italians working in construction remained constant at about 21 percent.

3. Change Over time: Self-employed Cohort-1 Males

As has been stated, the proportion of male immigrants in the self-employed sector increased steadily from nine percent of the active population in 1961 to nineteen percent in 1991, while the proportion of self-employed Canadian-born males remained constant at about 10 percent. This suggests both that immigrants are more likely to be self-employed than the Canadian-born, and that the likelihood of entering self-employment increases with time spent in Canada.

Self-employed immigrants were concentrated in basically the same industrial sectors as wage labour immigrants. As with their wage labour counterparts, self-employed immigrants were concentrated in construction and consumer services, where 60 percent of male immigrants worked in 1961 (see Table 2.21). As compared to Canadian-born self-employed males, Cohort-1 men were over-represented in manufacturing, but under-represented in business and social services. This pattern was maintained over the entire thirty year period. For example, between 1961 and 1981, the proportion of self-employed immigrant males who worked in construction dropped from 25 to 22 percent. This was consistently higher than was the case for males born in Canada.

Table 2.21
Industry Sector by Immigrant Status for Self-Employed Males
Living in the Six CMAs, 1961-1991

Canadian-Born	1961	1971	1981	1991
Total	103,356	115,882	154,700	226,834
Primary	2%	4%	5%	4%
Manufacturing	10%	8%	7%	7%
Construction	15%	14%	18%	19%
Distributive Services	15%	13%	13%	11%
Consumer Services	36%	28%	28%	26%
Business Services	14%	15%	21%	26%
Social Services	7%	7%	7%	6%
Cohort-1 Immigrants (1946-60)				
Total	28,997	40,637	47,505	32,132
Primary	3%	2%	3%	4%
Manufacturing	13%	11%	12%	11%
Construction	25%	24%	22%	18%
Distributive Services	10%	9%	9%	10%
Consumer Services	37%	38%	36%	32%
Business Services	8%	9%	14%	19%
Social Services	3%	4%	4%	4%
Angle of Difference	16.4°	18.9°	16.3°	12.3°

Note. Population age 15-64, not in full time school attendance

Living in Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver

Source: 1961, 1971 Census database, 1981, 1991 Public Use Samples

However, the gap was closing as the proportion of Canadian-born self-employed males working in construction increased from 15 percent in 1961 to 20 percent by 1991. By 1991, the proportion of self-employed immigrant males working in construction had decreased to only 19 percent -- actually below that of the Canadian-born. This last change was likely a product of age and the effect of immigrants leaving the labour force rather than of a general trend towards immigrants leaving the sector.

Consumer services was another sector where self-employed immigrant males were over-represented. Their proportion rose from thirty-five percent in 1961, to forty percent in 1971, and then back to thirty percent by 1991 (as opposed to 32%, 32% and 24% for Canadian-born males).

As has been stated, part of the reason for this shift within self-employment on the

part of immigrants is related to the aging of the group. Between 1981 and 1991, the number of self-employed immigrant males dropped by a third, primarily because older immigrants were leaving the labour force. This left immigrants in industries which were more likely to have older workers such as business services and social services rather than construction.

There were also changes in the differences in educational profiles between immigrants and non-immigrants. For example, in 1961, the arccos (r_p) distance in schooling distribution by industry was 22°. However, for social services, which demand relatively high levels of schooling, the difference was only four degrees (see Table 2.22).

Table 2.22

Difference in Schooling Profiles for Cohort-1
Immigrant (1946-60) and Canadian-Born Self-employed Males
by Industry, Aggregate of 6 CMAs, 1961-1991

	1961	1971	1981	1991
Total	20°	21°	23°	21°
Manufacturing	23°	23°	19°	21°
Construction	19°	15°	21°	29°
Distributive Services	22°	23°	14°	24°
Consumer Services	23°	23°	30°	23°
Business Services	8°	17°	22°	9°
Social Services	2°	4°	4°	5°

Note: Population age 15-64, not in full time school attendance.

Living in CMAs of Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver

Source: 1961, 1971 Census databases, 1981, 1991 Public Use Samples

Over time, the situation changed. By 1971, although the overall angle of difference in education had remained the same, the angle for business services increased to twenty-three degrees. The change in the angle signals the fact that business services were increasingly attracting Cohort-1 immigrants with lower levels of schooling than was previously the case. In construction, however, the schooling distribution remained fairly stable, with 95% of all self-employed immigrant males having high school or less. And

in fact, the differences between educational profiles for immigrants and non-immigrants had actually decreased over the ten year period.

Differences were apparent, however by country of birth group. Self-employed Italian men, for example, were more likely to be in construction or consumer services than in any other sector (see Table 2.23). Eighty percent of self-employed Greek men worked in consumer services. Self-employed immigrants from the UK and Ireland were concentrated in business services, while those from Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia were over-represented in manufacturing. As was the case for wage labour males, however, immigrants who had received their schooling in Canada were more likely to have the same industry distribution as other self-employed males.

By 1981, the number of self-employed immigrants was at its peak. However, the differences in the type of work done by Cohort-1 and Canadian-born males were becoming more exacerbated, particularly in some industry sectors. Immigrants were still concentrated in construction and consumer services, but the proportion in business services was also growing. Further, the differences in schooling between immigrant and Canadian-born worker in these first two sectors were becoming more visible, as the average level of schooling for the Canadian-born increased. In construction, for example, the angle of difference increased from 15 to 21 degrees, and in consumer services, it increased from 23 to 30 degrees. This indicates that the schooling characteristics of immigrants and non-immigrants were becoming more divergent. In both cases the difference was rooted in the fact that immigrants tended to have lower levels of schooling than Canadian-born males. In construction, for example, over 40 percent of self-

Table 2 23

**Industry Sector by Place of Birth for Canadian-born and Cohort-1 (1946-60)
Self-Employed Males, Living in the 6 CMAs, 1971**

	Primary	Manu- facturing	Construc- tion	Distnb- utive Services	Con- sumer Services	Business Services	Social Services	TOTAL	angle of Difference
Canadian-born	4%	8%	14%	13%	39%	15%	7%	231,764	comparison
Cohort-1	2%	11%	24%	9%	42%	9%	4%	40,637	16°
USA	4%	11%	9%	14%	28%	24%	10%	582	19°
UK Ireland	1%	9%	17%	11%	30%	22%	8%	4,728	15°
Austria Germany	2%	16%	30%	10%	31%	8%	3%	4,823	27°
Czech/Hungary	1%	18%	22%	13%	33%	9%	4%	2,931	20°
Netherlands	8%	10%	34%	8%	29%	8%	2%	2,570	31°
Scandinavia	5%	11%	42%	6%	27%	7%	1%	1,294	38°
Poland	1%	17%	19%	10%	44%	7%	3%	3,825	17°
Greece	1%	5%	3%	7%	80%	3%	1%	2,564	28°
Italy	0%	8%	35%	6%	47%	3%	1%	8,621	27°
USSR	3%	9%	30%	7%	35%	13%	5%	2,013	22°
Yugoslavia	3%	14%	32%	6%	36%	6%	2%	1,169	27°
Other Europe	2%	15%	18%	12%	39%	9%	4%	2,386	13°
China	2%	1%	2%	1%	89%	3%	3%	1,510	31°
Other Asia	3%	9%	7%	15%	38%	16%	11%	568	10°
Other	2%	10%	9%	12%	36%	15%	17%	1,053	14°

Note

Population age 15-64 not in school full time

Living in Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver

Source

1971 Census database

employed male immigrants had less than eight years of schooling, whereas this was the case for only 22 percent of their Canadian-born counterparts. In consumer services, a third of immigrant males and only 12 percent of Canadian-born males had less than eight years of schooling. Immigrants from the UK remained over-represented in business services, while those from Italy remained concentrated in construction (see Table 2.24). The same was true for self-employed Greek immigrants, just short of 80 percent of whom worked in consumer services.

By 1991, the number of self-employed immigrants had fallen, due primarily to an aging population. The proportion of self-employed immigrants in both construction and consumer services had dropped by 3 and 5 percent respectively (to 19% and 30%). However the proportion in business services had risen by 4 percent. Further, the difference in schooling distribution between immigrants and the Canadian-born had increased markedly since 1981 in particular sectors. The difference in construction in particular was forty degrees, which pointed to the fact that immigrants working in this sector were far less likely to have high levels of schooling.

With few exceptions, self-employed immigrants remained concentrated in the same sectors as did their wage labour counterparts. This suggests, once again that immigrants transfer out of the wage labour force, but remain within the same industries. Thus immigrants who start out in wage labour construction switch to self-employed construction, if they make the move to self-employment.

Table 2.24

Industry by Place of Birth for Cohort-1 (1946-60)
Self-Employed Males, 1981

	Industry							Grand Total
	Primary	Manufacturing	Construction	Distributive Services	Consumer Services	Business Services	Social Services	
USA	5%	14%	5%	10%	33%	14%	19%	1,050
UK	2%	9%	18%	8%	25%	32%	6%	7,100
Germany Austria	1%	16%	31%	6%	24%	17%	5%	5,950
Czechoslovakia Hungary	2%	11%	21%	18%	26%	15%	7%	3,050
Netherlands	14%	15%	19%	16%	22%	12%	3%	3,700
Poland	0%	13%	9%	15%	38%	26%	0%	2,350
Italy	2%	15%	39%	3%	33%	6%	1%	10,350
Greece	0%	8%	2%	8%	78%	3%	2%	3,250
USSR	0%	0%	35%	6%	29%	29%	0%	850
Other Europe	6%	14%	22%	9%	32%	9%	8%	5,000
Asia	7%	4%	7%	7%	61%	9%	5%	2,850
Other	0%	5%	5%	18%	45%	18%	9%	1,100

Note:

Population age 15+, not in school full time

Living in CMAs of Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver

Source:

1981 Public Use Sample

F. Women in the Workforce, 1961:

Women were not as likely to be active in the labour force as males. In 1961, 40 percent of Canadian-born females were active in the labour force (as opposed to 94% of Canadian-born men). Of the economically active Canadian-born population, only 4 percent of females were self-employed, as compared to 10 percent of males (see Table 2.25). Important differences were apparent, however, between immigrant and Canadian-born women. While immigrant women were less likely to be active in the labour force than their male counterparts, they were more likely to be active than Canadian-born women. Almost half of post-war immigrant females were either employed for wages or self-employed. Further, immigrant women who were working were more likely to be self-employed than Canadian-born females (6 percent as compared to 4 percent respectively).

Table 2.25 **Class of Worker For Canadian-Born and Cohort-1
Immigrant (1946-60) Females, Living in the Six CMAs, 1961**

	Canadian-born	Post-War Immigrants, 1946-1960
Total	1,105,766	290,871
Not Active	60%	52%
Active	40%	48%
Active	439,261	140,011
Wage Labour	96%	94%
Self-employed	4%	6%

Source: 1961 Census of Canada

Note: population age 15-64, not in full time school attendance.

This pattern held true for all ages, with immigrant women being both more likely to be active and more likely to be self-employed.

In general, the more recent the arrival, the more likely a woman was to be active in the work force. Thus, while 40 percent of women in Sub-cohort 1.1 were either self-

employed or employed for wages in 1961, this was true for over half of women in Sub-cohort-1.2. However, recent arrivals who were older (55 to 64), were actually less likely to be active in the labour force than Canadian-born females, with only 20 percent active as compared to 26 percent for Canadian-born females of that age group.

In all, there were one hundred forty thousand post-war immigrant women who were active in the labour force living in the six CMAs, constituting almost one quarter of the female active labour force.³⁸ They thus comprised an important part of the female work force. However, they did not necessarily work in the same industries as Canadian-born women. Part of the reason for differences between the labour force role of native-born and immigrant women may be a product of immigration regulations. Immigration regulations of the 1950s did not act to encourage female independent immigration. First, the vast bulk of all immigrants were sponsored -- Jack Pickersgill, the minister in charge of immigration, had already stated his preference for sponsored immigration -- and that preference was carried through in policy and regulation. Second, independent class immigrants who were admitted to Canada tended to be either destined for agricultural occupations which were generally rurally based and fall outside the parameters of this study, or had particular skills which were identified as being in demand (and were usually filled by males). The exception to this rule was a relatively small domestic workers program which was generally considered to be a kind of temporary migrant worker program. Given the regulations, and the prevailing social norms, the vast bulk of

³⁸ In 1961, there were just over one hundred thirty wage labour immigrant women, and only eight-thousand four hundred self-employed immigrant women. The small numbers for self-employment make it difficult to discuss the role of self-employed immigrant women in any detail. Thus the analysis will concentrate only on the wage labour force.

immigrant women came in as assisted relatives, accompanying spouses or as children. It is possible that this process also had an effect on the type of work which these immigrant women did in Canada.

1. Cohort-1 Wage Labour Women: 1961

Through the 1950s, the urban labour force was concentrated in manufacturing. This was true for both the Canadian-born and immigrant populations regardless of sex. However, the experiences of women within this sector, and immigrant women in particular, differed markedly from those of their male counterparts. Although manufacturing jobs overall could be considered 'good' jobs in terms of pay and security, women were concentrated in small niches of that sector characterized by poor pay and little security.

The role women played in the wage labour force was distinctly different from that of males. While it is true that in 1961 both males and females were concentrated in manufacturing, the second largest sector for males was distributive services, whereas for females it was consumer services. A quarter of Canadian-born females worked in either manufacturing or consumer services. Almost one fifth worked in social services, whereas this was the case for only 4 percent of Canadian-born males. However, only 5 percent of Canadian-born women worked in public administration, as opposed to 8 percent of males. Overall, then, Canadian-born women, were under-represented in manufacturing, construction, distributive services and public administration in comparison to men, but over-represented in consumer, business and social services.

Table 2.26

Industry Sector: Canadian-born and Cohort-1 Immigrant
Wage Labour Females Living in the Six CMAs, 1961

Industry	Immigrant Status	
	Canadian-born	Cohort-1 Immigrant
TOTAL	421,782	130,930
Primary	0%	0%
Manufacturing	24%	35%
Construction	1%	1%
Distributive Services	11%	8%
Consumer Services	25%	27%
Business Services	13%	11%
Social Services	18%	14%
Public Administration	5%	2%
missing na	2%	2%

Note: Age 15-64, not in full time school attendance.

CMAs: Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver

Source: 1961 Census database

Immigrant women occupied a role that was markedly different from that of their Canadian-born counterparts. In 1961, of the almost one hundred thirty-one thousand post-war immigrant women active in the wage labour force, thirty-five percent worked in manufacturing (see Table 2.26).

Just over one quarter worked in consumer services and a further 14 percent worked in social services. As compared to Canadian-women, they were thus over-represented in manufacturing and consumer services, but under-represented in all other sectors.

Of the forty-five thousand immigrant women in manufacturing, almost half worked in the needle trades, a sector characterized by poor pay, minimal benefits and a high degree of piece work. The twelve thousand immigrant women who were unable to speak an official language, were even more concentrated. Over half of all immigrant women unable to speak an official language worked in the needle trades, and a further eleven percent worked in personal services (see Table 2.27).

Table 2.27

**Detailed Industry Sector for Wage Labour Cohort-1 Immigrant
Females (1946-60) Unable to Speak an Official Language
Living in the 6 CMAs, 1961**

	Total	1946-50	1951-55	1956-60
TOTAL	11,540	2,111	1,668	9,642
Food Manufacturing	7%	2%	7%	7%
Needle trades	52%	37%	52%	53%
Other Manufacturing	10%	8%	7%	11%
Distributive Services	3%	6%	2%	4%
Retail Trade	3%	11%	2%	3%
Food & Lodging	5%	16%	5%	5%
Personal Services	11%	11%	13%	10%
Other Consumer Services	1%	2%	3%	1%
Other industries	7%	8%	10%	6%

Note: population age 15-64 not in school full time

Living in CMAs of Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver

Source: 1961 Census database

Overall, one out of every ten wage labour women in Cohort-1 worked in personal services (almost double the proportion of Canadian-born women), another sector characterized by poor pay and benefits. However, comparable to Canadian-born women, 10 percent of immigrant women worked in the health sector and 9 percent worked in finance, insurance and real estate (FIRE). Only 3 percent of immigrant women worked in the education sector, as compared with 8 percent of Canadian-born women.

a. Sub-cohort-1.1 Wage Labour Women

Immigrants who entered between 1946 to 1950 came in under an immigration act that basically encouraged Northern European immigration in general, and British immigration in particular. Independent immigration, although not discouraged, was not particularly encouraged, and generally immigration was sponsored. Further, this sub-cohort also included a large number of 'war brides' brought to Canada by returning Canadian soldiers. It is thus not surprising that women who entered during this period

had roughly the same distribution across industries as Canadian-born women. Schooling credentials were roughly similar to those of the non-immigrant population because basically the same educational system was used in Canada as in Britain.

By 1961, therefore, the differences in industry distribution between this cohort of immigrant women and native-born women were minor -- slightly more in manufacturing (28% versus 26%), slightly more in consumer services (29% versus 27%), and a somewhat lower proportion in social services, public administration and distributive services. Adjusting for education did not really change this situation, in part because educational qualifications were so similar. However, adjusting for age did cause the distribution to shift slightly towards that of the Canadian-born population (Appendix IV: standardization tables).

This early sub-cohort of female immigrants was also the most likely to work in public administration, as compared to more recent immigrants in Cohort-1. This is probably because Sub-cohort-1 had a much higher proportion of immigrants from the UK who were eligible for citizenship upon entry as well as the fact that they had spent a longer amount of time in Canada.

b. Sub-Cohort-1.2 Wage Labour Immigrant Women

Immigrants who entered between 1951-55 came under new immigration regulations which allowed Canadian residents to sponsor a much broader spectrum of relatives than was previously the case. The new regulations also allowed relatives from a greater number of countries to be sponsored. Provisions against Germans and Austrians (formerly considered enemy aliens) were dropped and it became possible to sponsor

relatives from southern Europe. This led to fairly dramatic changes in the type of immigrants coming to Canada, a trend which was to continue until the end of the decade. Immigration from southern European countries such as Italy and Greece soared, and British intake decreased. Concomitantly, as has been shown, the new regulations also changed the skill profiles of immigrants entering Canada.

Immigrant women arriving during this period who worked in the wage labour force were far more likely than those in Sub-cohort-1.2 to work in manufacturing and less likely to work in public administration or social services. Over one third worked in manufacturing, half of whom worked in the needle trades. To a large degree this concentration in manufacturing can be explained through differences in schooling and age. When the data were controlled for education, the proportion of women working in manufacturing dropped to thirty-one percent. Controlling for both age and education brought this down a further 2 percent. Nevertheless, the proportion involved in manufacturing remained higher than was the case for Canadian-born women. Adjusting the data to account for differences in education also served to increase the number of immigrant women working in distributive services and increased the proportion working in business services beyond that of the Canadian-born population (from 11% to 13%). In contrast, adjusting for education served to decrease the proportion of immigrant women working in consumer services (most of whom were in the personal services sector where low wages were common). What this suggests is that a large part of the difference in industry profiles between immigrant and non-immigrant women was attributable to differences in age, schooling and official language knowledge.

c. Sub-cohort-1.3 Wage Labour Women

Immigrant women entering Canada between 1956 and 1960 came in under regulations that were similar to those which governed the migration of the previous cohort. Sub-cohort-1.3, however, included a larger than usual number of immigrants from Hungary and the UK because of the two crises, as well as a large number of southern European immigrants. Political refugees from Hungary entered Canada with relatively high levels of schooling. British citizens who came as a result of the Suez Canal crisis had both high schooling levels and the ability to speak English.

Southern European immigrants, who made up the other large block of intake had very different characteristics, having both low schooling levels and not always conversant in either English or French. This combination of immigrants created an immigrant population with a bipolar schooling distribution which was mirrored by a bipolar distribution across industries. Further complicating the picture is the fact that this sub-cohort of immigrant women, because of the recency of their arrival, had probably not had time to fully adjust to the labour market in Canada and initially took jobs wherever possible.

Recency of arrival and low schooling credentials resulted in this sub-cohort having the highest proportion of women employed in manufacturing. Thirty-six percent were employed in manufacturing, and almost 60 percent of these women worked in the needle trades. Consistent with the previous sub-cohort, just over half of all women unable to speak an official language worked in the needle trades, with a further 11 percent in personal services.

Women in Sub-cohort-1.3 were also under-represented in social services, overall, but well represented in the health sector: 10 percent of this sub-cohort worked in health and other social services related industries. They were also well represented in the three service sectors (distributive, consumer and business, 9%, 26% and 11% respectively).

Adjusting for age caused a shift away from the industry distribution of Canadian-born women, resulting in 30 percent in consumer services (as opposed to 27 percent for Canadian-born) and only 7 percent in distributive services (as opposed to 10 percent for Canadian-born women). Adjusting for education however, caused a shift towards the distribution of Canadian-born. This suggests that the bulk of difference between this sub-cohort of women and native-born women is attributable (at least on a broad industry level) to differences in schooling. This is not true at the more detailed industry level, where differences between immigrant and non-immigrant women remain, particularly within the manufacturing and social services where far more Canadian-born women are involved in the education sector.

d. Summary: Cohort-1 Women in 1961

Just as was the case for men, regardless of which combination of variables was adjusted, differences between immigrants and native-born women remained. This suggests that the work done by immigrant women has more to do with their status as immigrants than with differences in educational or age characteristics. There were also important differences by period of immigration. Specifically, the more recent the arrival of the group, the more likely women were to be concentrated in manufacturing and more

specifically, in the low paid niches of that sector. Part of this is attributable to the fact that a higher proportion of recently arrived immigrant women were unable to speak English or French and were therefore restricted to jobs where such knowledge was not required. Immigrant males were in a similar position, but with an important difference -- industry niches controlled by immigrant enclaves existed, such as construction, which paid reasonably well. Many recent immigrant males, even those unable to speak an official language were thus able to get reasonably remunerated entry level jobs. This was not the case for women.

Immigrant women who were able to speak an official language had a very different and more even distribution across industries than those who could not speak English or French. They were far less likely to work in the needle trades, and more likely to work in retail trade or health related industries. However, they remained under-represented in certain industries, such as education and public administration.

2. The Changing Role of Cohort-1 Women, 1961-1991

Over the next thirty years, the proportion of working women increased dramatically in Canada. In 1961, only 40 percent of Canadian-born women were active in the labour force. By 1991, that percentage had doubled (see Table 2.28). For immigrant women who had entered between 1945 to 1960, there was also an increase, but it was neither as great, nor was it sustained.

Table 2.28

**Class of Worker by Immigrant Status
for Females Living in the Six CMAs**

Canadian Born				
	1961	1971	1981	1991
Total	1,105,766	1,606,320	1,910,300	2,175,931
Not Active	60%	41%	27%	19%
Active	40%	59%	73%	81%
Active #	439,261	939,740	1,388,100	1,796,632
Wage Labour	96%	98%	97%	94%
Self-employed	4%	2%	3%	6%
Cohort-1 Immigrants 1946-60				
	1961	1971	1981	1991
Total	290,871	313,071	287,400	187,668
Not Active	52%	39%	32%	33%
Active	48%	61%	68%	67%
Active #	140,011	190,155	196,150	126,534
Wage Labour	94%	96%	94%	91%
Self-employed	6%	4%	6%	9%

Note: Population age 15-64 not in school full time

Living in CMAs of Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver

Source: 1961, 1971 census base, 1981, 1991 public use samples

In 1961, almost half of immigrant women in Cohort-1 were active in the labour force. By 1971, the proportion had risen to sixty-one percent, with Canadian-born women trailing by just two percent. Ten years later, the absolute number of Cohort-1 women had fallen, and the proportion active in the labour force had risen by only seven percent. In contrast, the proportion of native-born women who were active in the labour force had risen an additional fourteen percent to seventy-three percent.

As was the case for male immigrants, the proportion of female immigrants who were self-employed was consistently higher than was the case for Canadian-born females, and rose steadily between 1971 to 1991 from 4 to 9 percent of the active labour force. The absolute number of self-employed women in Cohort-1, however, remained low ranging from 7,600 in 1971 to 11,800 in 1981.

As was to be expected, there was substantial change over time in terms of the

work that women did in general, and that of immigrant women in particular. Overall, for example, the proportion of native-born women employed in manufacturing fell from twenty-four to ten percent, while the proportion in business services rose from 3 percent in 1961 to 18 percent in 1991 (see Table 2.29). Immigrant women remained over-represented in manufacturing, but their concentration dropped from 35 percent in 1961 to only 16 percent in 1991. This resulted in a convergence of the distributions on the part of immigrant women towards that of Canadian-born women. In 1961, for example the arccos (r_p) between the two groups was 15 degrees. Thirty years later, it had dropped to only ten degrees.

a. Wage Labour Immigrant Women in 1971

The shifts in industry distributions were not even across sub-cohorts. In 1971, 10 percent of all immigrant women were still employed in the needle trades. However, whereas ten years prior the bulk of women were from women Sub-cohort-1.2, by 1971 the majority were from Sub-cohort-1.3. This suggests that recency of immigration plays a strong part in determining a woman's role in manufacturing.

The two sectors which attracted well-educated immigrant women (business and social services) also attracted similarly trained native-born women. Social services, for example, attracted almost three quarters of Canadian-born degree holding women, and two thirds of immigrant women with university degrees, but did not attract a large number of women with low levels of schooling.

A more detailed examination reveals that immigrant and non-immigrant women were attracted to different branches of social services. Twelve percent of all Canadian-

Table 2.29

**Industry by Immigrant Status for Wage Labour Females
Living in the Six CMAs, 1961-1991**

Canadian-Born	1961	1971	1981	1991
Total	422,596	918,481	1,345,350	1,659,065
Primary	0%	1%	1%	1%
Manufacturing	24%	16%	13%	10%
Construction	1%	1%	2%	2%
Distributive Services	11%	9%	12%	11%
Consumer Services	25%	22%	27%	27%
Business Services	13%	13%	18%	18%
Social Services	18%	23%	22%	25%
Public Administration	5%	5%	6%	7%
Missing na	2%	10%		

Cohort-1 (1946-60)	1961	1971	1981	1991
Total	130,930	182,960	185,350	115,334
Primary	0%	1%	1%	1%
Manufacturing	35%	25%	22%	15%
Construction	1%	1%	2%	2%
Distributive Services	8%	8%	8%	8%
Consumer Services	27%	25%	28%	29%
Business Services	11%	12%	14%	15%
Social Services	14%	19%	20%	24%
Public Administration	2%	3%	4%	5%
Missing na	2%	7%		
Angle of Difference	15°	15°	14°	10°

Source: 1961, 1971 Census database, 1981, 1991 Public Use Samples

Note: Population age 15-64 not in full time school attendance

Living in Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver

born wage labor females worked in health and welfare and 10 percent worked in the education sector. In the case of immigrant women, 8 percent worked in the education sector. More recently arrived immigrants, however, were less likely to work in the education sector. For example, 11 percent of all Cohort-1 women were employed in education sector. However, this is true of only 7 percent of women in Sub-cohort-1.3. At least part of the under-representation in the education sector was due to issues of accreditation . Even if an immigrant woman had teaching credentials from abroad, there was no guarantee that these credentials would be recognized in Canada.

Immigrants who attended school in Canada and who had the same type of credentials as their native-born counterparts were more likely to have similar industry profiles. In fact, immigrant women age 15-24 had the most similar profile to native-born women in the same age group. Standardizing the distribution of immigrant women by age and education did cause a shift towards that of the Canadian-born (Appendix IV: standardization tables). In the case of Sub-cohort-1.1 women, adjusting by age caused a shift out of consumer services and into social services, suggesting that at least part of the differences were due to differences in the age distribution between the two groups. For those in Sub-cohort-1.2, however, standardizing the data did not change the results. Adjusting the industry distribution of women in Sub-cohort-1.3 by education had the greatest impact, causing a shift towards social and business services, and out of manufacturing. Thus each sub-cohort of immigrant women faced obstacles in addition to those due to the fact that they were immigrants.

As was to be expected, there were also differences between immigrant groups by

place of birth. Half of the wage labour Italian women, for example, worked in manufacturing, far higher than the 16 percent of Canadian-born women (see Table 2.30). Greek women were split across two industries -- manufacturing and consumer services (40 percent and 31 percent respectively). A third of American women worked in social services, while women from the UK had a distribution that closely matched that of native-born women. As was the case for younger male immigrants, women who had received their schooling in Canada were distributed across industries in the same way as native-born women regardless of place of birth.

b. Cohort-1 Wage Labour Women in 1981

Between 1971 and 1981, the number of Canadian-born wage labour females increased by almost sixty percent to 1.3 million, while the number of Cohort-1 immigrant women in the wage labour force increased 5 percent. Almost all the new jobs were in the service sectors, with business and distributive services showing the biggest proportional increase. One indication that the shifting between sectors was about the same for immigrant and native-born women is that the arccos (r_p) in industry distribution did not change very much between 1961 and 1971, dropping only one degree (from 15 to 14°). The age distributions of the two groups, however, were becoming increasingly disparate. By 1981, only 2 percent of women who had immigrated to Canada prior to 1961 were less than twenty-five years of age. Virtually all immigrants who were thirty-four years of age or less had received at least part of their schooling in Canada. They were unlikely, therefore, to face the same kind of accreditation problems as immigrants who had received their schooling outside Canada.

Table 2.30

Industry by Place of Birth for Canadian-born and Cohort-1 (1948-60)
Wage Labour Females, 1971

	Primary	Manufacturing	Construction	Distributive Services	Consumer Services	Business Services	Social Services	Public Administration	Unemployed	TOTAL	Age
Canadian-born Cohort-1	1%	16%	1%	9%	22%	13%	23%	5%	10%	918,491	comparative
USA	1%	25%	1%	8%	25%	12%	19%	3%	7%	182,960	15"
Austria Germany	1%	11%	1%	8%	21%	12%	34%	4%	7%	3,846	15"
UK Ireland	1%	19%	2%	9%	28%	13%	18%	3%	7%	23,146	11"
Netherlands	1%	16%	1%	9%	25%	15%	23%	5%	5%	53,116	4"
Czechoslovakia	3%	13%	1%	8%	28%	12%	24%	3%	9%	8,511	9"
Poland	2%	20%	2%	11%	23%	8%	22%	3%	9%	1,631	9"
Scandinavia	1%	27%	2%	6%	27%	8%	18%	2%	9%	8,129	19"
Hungary	2%	16%	2%	7%	30%	13%	21%	3%	7%	3,902	11"
Portugal	0%	21%	1%	7%	26%	12%	21%	3%	7%	5,841	10"
Greece	1%	39%	0%	6%	24%	9%	12%	1%	9%	1,890	33"
Italy	0%	40%	0%	3%	31%	6%	7%	1%	12%	5,729	36"
USSR	0%	50%	1%	5%	19%	7%	8%	1%	8%	34,103	44"
Yugoslavia	1%	23%	1%	6%	23%	12%	22%	3%	8%	9,982	11"
Other Europe	1%	31%	1%	5%	26%	8%	16%	2%	7%	4,045	24"
West Asia	1%	21%	1%	9%	24%	11%	22%	3%	8%	7,130	8"
China	1%	17%	2%	9%	21%	15%	21%	2%	10%	685	6"
Other Asia	3%	30%	0%	6%	33%	7%	8%	2%	10%	3,005	32"
Caribbean	2%	17%	0%	8%	18%	13%	30%	6%	6%	1,551	11"
Latin America	0%	16%	1%	8%	16%	11%	36%	6%	4%	2,992	20"
Other	1%	14%	2%	7%	23%	12%	27%	7%	7%	562	7"
	1%	17%	1%	9%	22%	15%	22%	4%	8%	3,344	5"

Note: Population age 15-64 not in school full time

Living in CMAs of Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver

Source: 1971 Census database.

Just as was the case for men, immigrant women were attracted to different sectors of the economy based on their schooling. However, certain industries received a broader range of workers. Thus, where the arccos (r_p) in schooling distribution between Cohort-1 and Canadian-born women was only 6 degrees for social services and 8 degrees for business services, indicating very similar schooling profiles, it was 35 in manufacturing. This indicates that immigrants working in the sector tended to have very different levels of schooling from those born in Canada (see Table 2.31).

The arccos (r_p) in education within consumer services was also high (albeit not as high) at 22 degrees. The sectors with low degrees of difference (social and business services and public administration) were the industries that attracted workers with higher levels of schooling (high school or university). These were also the sectors where younger immigrants with Canadian schooling tended to work. Older immigrant women were more concentrated in manufacturing and consumer services.

Table 2.31

Angle of Difference in Schooling Profiles Between Cohort-1
(1946-60) and Canadian-Born Wage Labour Females
by Industry, Aggregate of 6 CMAs, 1961-1991

	1961	1971	1981	1991
Total	20°	20°	17°	14°
Manufacturing	25°	31°	35°	35°
Construction	18°	23°	30°	16°
Distributive Services	15°	16°	14°	8°
Consumer Services	19°	20°	22°	23°
Business Services	13°	13°	8°	5°
Social Services	13°	13°	6°	5°
Public Administration	16°	5°	10°	6°

Note: Population age 15-64, not in full time school attendance

Living in CMAs of Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver

Source: 1961, 1971 census database, 1981, 1991 public use samples (individual files)

Regardless of census period, Cohort-1 women from Italy remained the most likely to work in manufacturing, while women from Greece remained split across

manufacturing and consumer services. The proportion of women from Poland working in social services rose from 18 percent in 1971 to 30 percent in 1981. Women born in the USA also remained over-represented in social services. In the case of Italian women, however, there were profound differences by age.

Table 2.32

Angle of Difference in Industry Distribution Between Canadian-born and Cohort-1
Wage Labour Females, by Age and Place of Birth, 1981

Country of Birth	Total	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64
USA	20°				
UK	3°	17°	10°	5°	11°
Germany Austria	8°	16°	14°	20°	20°
Czechoslovakia Hungary	14°			18°	
Netherlands	11°			23°	
Poland	16°				20°
Italy	40°	15°	41°	53°	53°
Greece	36°			40°	
USSR	12°				24°
Asia	16°				

Note: Population age 15-64 not in school full time

Living in CMAs of Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver

Source: 1981 public use sample, individual file

Note: blanks shown where weighted cell count is less than 2500

The arccos (r_p) in industry distribution for Italian women twenty-five to thirty-four was 15 degrees, while that for women over thirty-five was 53 degrees (see Table 2.32). This meant that the older the immigrants, the more likely they were to have different industry profiles as compared to native-born workers in the same age group. In these cases, high angles of difference also point to high levels of concentration within specific sectors. Thus, the high angles for Italian and Greek women in Cohort-1 point to concentrations in either manufacturing (as in the case for Italian women) or consumer services (Greek women).

c. Cohort-1 Wage Labour Women in 1991

By 1991, the characteristics of female immigrant workers had changed once again due to aging and schooling. Over one third of all women who had immigrated prior to 1961 had received at least part of their schooling in Canada. This was also the period in which the industrial profile of immigrant women most closely matched that of Canadian-born women (with only twelve degrees separating the two industry distributions). The main reason for such a high degree of similarity is that a large proportion of Cohort-1 women had been schooled in Canada and therefore held Canadian schooling credentials. These credentials allowed these women to enter the labour market on a more equal footing with Canadian-born women.

Immigrant women were still over-represented in manufacturing, but this was largely an age phenomenon. One in five immigrant women forty-five and over worked in manufacturing. However, only 11 percent of immigrant women less than forty-five worked in this sector, just marginally higher than was the case for native-born women. In all but a few cases, by 1991, immigrant women had a similar industry distribution to that of Canadian-born women.

G. Summary: The Changing Labour Force Role of Cohort-1 Immigrants:

In the decade and a half between 1946 and 1960, immigration intake policy focussed primarily on sponsored immigration which required a relative living in Canada to guarantee the well-being of a prospective immigrant. Combined with changes to regulations expanding the range of sponsorable relatives this resulted in a shift in immigration source countries, away from Northern Europe towards Southern Europe.

Given that different countries have different schooling systems, the regulatory changes acted to alter the skill profile immigrants brought with them to Canada, and thus served to shape the work immigrants could engage in upon their arrival. However, because new immigrants are labour force entrants, their place in the labour force is, at least initially, also a product of the labour force structure and job openings at the time of entry.

Through a process of regulatory change and shifting intake patterns different groups of immigrants brought different skills with them and thus ended up differentially distributed across industries. Overall, male and female immigrants were both more likely to be active in the labour force and more likely to be self-employed than were Canadian-born men and women. If employed for wages, immigrants were far more likely to work in manufacturing than was the Canada-born population. However, while immigrant males tended to be concentrated in manufacturing and construction, immigrant women were more evenly distributed across industries.

Although there was some change in the distribution of Cohort-1 immigrants across industries over time, that change did not match the rate of change experienced by the labour force as a whole -- immigrants remained concentrated in those sectors within which they had entered. It appears therefore, that it is the entry status and place of schooling which to a large degree determined the sector within which this cohort of immigrants worked. Given the variations found in labour force role by sub-cohort, it is also apparent that the period of entry, and therefore the regulations which governed entry are also important because they determine the type of immigrants who come to Canada.

Those who received their schooling in Canada had the most similar distribution to

the Canadian-born population. Those who received their credentials abroad were the most dissimilar as a cohort. The exception to this was immigrants from the UK and the USA. These immigrants brought credentials which were readily recognized and they spoke at least one of the official languages upon entry. They were, therefore, able to enter the labour market in a fashion similar to that of Canadian-born workers.

Thus despite dramatic changes to the Canadian economy between 1961 and 1991, which saw the relative decline of manufacturing and the growth of both a service sector and a welfare state, Cohort-1 immigrants remained to a large extent concentrated within those industries in which they first entered. Immigrant men remained over-represented in construction and manufacturing, while women continued to work in manufacturing and service industries. Standardizing the data by either education or age or a combination of the two did not alter the distributions radically, suggesting that differences in the role immigrants play in the labour force had less to do with their age or schooling characteristics than the fact that they were immigrants.

The longer the time in the country, the more likely immigrants were to shift into self-employment. The proportion of self-employed was consistently higher for immigrants, both males and females than it was for their native-born counterparts, to the point where, by 1991, one in five males who immigrated prior to 1961 was self-employed. In the case of females, there was some growth in self-employment over time, and immigrant women were more likely to be self-employed than Canadian-born women. However, because of the large proportion of Cohort-1 women who were not in the labour force, it is difficult to determine the degree to which this shift to self-employment was

made by women who had previously worked in the same sector. If there was a move into self-employment, it was often within the same industry. For example, there would be a move from the wage labour construction to self-employed construction.

This is not to say that the work of immigrant and Canadian-born males remained dissimilar. However, it appears that the bulk of this convergence was due to young immigrants entering the labour market who had Canadian credentials and thus were more likely to join different industries in the same proportions as the Canadian-born population. And in fact, with few exceptions, regardless of place of birth, immigrants who had received their schooling in Canada had the closest industry profile to that of the Canadian-born. This indicates that having Canadian credentials results in immigrants entering industries rates at far more similar to the Canadian-born than those holding foreign credentials.

It appears that older workers did not shift sectors. The increasing similarity in distributions is therefore caused by labour market entrants which further suggests that the changes to the labour market which took place between 1961 to 1991 were driven by labour market entrants rather than by those who were already working. Given that immigrants on arrival are labour market entrants, they were subject to the same labour entry conditions as those which affected the Canadian-born at the time. The changes to the labour market which took place in Canada affected the labour market entrants, and it is these entrants who shaped the new economy. Thus it is the entry status and conditions under which an immigrant enters Canada that are of primary importance.

Along the same lines, it appears that the bulk of change in the labour force which

took place during the last three decades was not shared by immigrants who had started work prior to 1961. Rather, this change was driven by the labour market entrants who followed them. This is not to suggest that these post-war immigrants were unsuccessful. Given that immigrant males sustained a consistent ninety-seven percent participation rate in the labour force through to 1981, and were far more likely to be self-employed than Canadian-born males, they could be considered very successful. A large part of the success however, is attributable to the fact that, during the 1950s and 1960s, jobs in manufacturing and construction were available which offered decent wages, but did not require high levels of Canadian-based schooling.

Immigrant women did not have the same range of opportunities open to them as did their male counterparts, and were thus more likely to end up in industry niches characterized by poor pay and low security such as the needle trades. However, as was the case for immigrant men, immigrants who received their schooling in Canada were likely to have the same kind of industry distribution as was the case for the Canadian-born population.

In the next section of the thesis I will look at the labour force role of immigrants who arrived in the 1960s and 1970s in order to examine the relationship between immigration policy, the immigrant population and their place in the labour force. These immigrants came to Canada in the midst of the changes taking place in the labour force, and did so under immigration guidelines which were very different from those of the past. It is hoped that the comparison between the two groups will offer insight into the long term implications of immigration policy and the labour force.

Chapter 3

III. The Next Wave: Immigration Intake 1961-77

A. Introduction

Canadian immigration policy in the 1960s marked a profound departure from that which had been in force during the previous decade. Where previously policy had emphasized family reunification, the new regulations stressed skills and schooling. While during the late 1940s and fifties, immigrants had been primarily from Europe, they were now beginning to come from non-European, and more specifically, 'non-white' countries.

These shifts in immigration intake patterns took place when the Canadian economy was shifting away from manufacturing toward service industries. Thus the roles these newly arrived immigrants would play in Canada's labour force would likely be very different from those of previous generations.

B. Canadian Immigration Policy

1. The Dawn of the 1960s

In 1960, two years after John Diefenbaker's Progressive Conservative government took power, Ellen Fairclough, the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, reviewed the state of immigration policy. She argued that Canada required a steady flow of immigrants to balance and offset emigration. She further asserted that counter to popular belief,

immigrants brought productive capital to Canada and established businesses which employed both Canadian and immigrant workers. She went on to say that her government had made several significant changes concerning immigration.

First, the government had changed immigration regulations which formerly prevented Canadian residents of Asian origin from sponsoring their spouses and children until they became Canadian citizens. Second, the immigration appeal board had been strengthened and its scope expanded. Third, a new policy governing temporary residents of Canada was announced in August 1958 which made it possible to regularize the status of several thousand persons who had previously entered the country on a non-immigration basis (Debates, June 9, 1960: 4711-4712).

The reality was, however, that through the first five years the Conservatives had done very little to change Canada's Immigration Act. Granted, there were some minor changes, but the tone of immigration intake remained the same, based primarily on European family reunification. Opposition MP Jack Pickersgill, the former minister of Citizenship and Immigration under Louis St. Laurent, was quick to point this out, saying that:

The Hon. lady might just as well have saved herself the trouble of original composition and read the excellent statement which Mr. Mackenzie King made in this house on May 1, 1947 because she has not deviated in any single particular that I can discover from any aspect of that statement (Debates, June 9, 1960: 4713).

Given that Pickersgill co-wrote the statement in question, he was being somewhat self-serving, but truthful. The Conservatives had instituted some small changes and made minor moves to remove barriers to intake from non-European countries. Intake from the

Indian subcontinent, for example, was increased from three hundred persons to three hundred families per year in 1958 (PC 1958-7), but nothing had been done toward changing the Act itself. In fairness, however, there did appear to be a genuine wish to revamp immigration policy to meet the needs and demands of the new decade.

In part these demands for a new Act revolved around creating a nondiscriminatory immigration policy. On one side of the debate were people like Stanley Winch, a Vancouver MP who argued that:

...there is something fundamentally wrong with the way Canada develops an immigration policy when countries outside the commonwealth are not put on a quota system and we allow these people to come in even though they may have been our enemies in two world wars (Debates: June 9, 1960: 4719).

In the same manner, Mr. Peters (Timiskaming) pointed out that it was hypocritical of Diefenbaker to sponsor a Bill of Rights for the Canadian people on the one hand, and at the same time have on the statute books, laws that were discriminatory toward particular groups (ibid.: 4753). Others argued that Canada's immigration regulations should be further relaxed to answer the demands of constituents trying to bring their relatives into Canada.

On the other side of the debate were people such as Pickersgill, who wished to maintain the status quo and conserve an immigration policy based primarily on sponsorship. In part, this was because, in Pickersgill's words, he was 'an unrepentant believer in the system of sponsorship.' He felt that immigrants would adjust much more quickly if they had a system of family support to fall back on (Debates, June 9, 1960: 4758). Further, he appeared to truly accept King's statement about maintaining the ethnic

balance of Canada. This sentiment was not abated by the fact that illegal immigration from China was a 'hot' issue in the House of Commons -- news of illegal Canadian entry documents being printed in Hong Kong and the unreliability of Chinese birth statistics and passports were daily news in the Canadian press.³⁹ Possibly in response to the UN's declaration of 1961 as the International Year of the Refugee, moves were made to 'regularize' the status of illegal Chinese immigrants.

There was also pressure to relax entry restrictions placed on sponsored immigrants and, more fundamentally, to choose a basic strategy for managing immigrant intake. Many MPs saw moving to a global quota system as a solution. However, as Pickersgill pointed out, defining the regional allocation of such a system would be very difficult (Debates, June 9, 1960: 4758).

On the surface, it did not appear that much was happening in the area of immigration. Behind the scenes however, the Department of Citizenship and Immigration was drafting changes to the immigration regulations which amounted to an overhaul of the Immigration Act. The changes were by regulation rather than by Act for several reasons, not least of which was speed of implementation. The minister could pass changes to regulations, whereas a new Act would have to be passed by the House. Speed

³⁹. Even the debate around illegal Chinese immigration was not straightforward, for although there was general agreement that something should be done, there was also sympathy for people who took this route to immigration. Miss Alex Toppin, for example, in a letter to Mr. Jung, Canada's first MP of Chinese descent, threatened to take the case of Weldon Chan, an illegal immigrant who had gone into hiding, to the Queen:

My father has the honour of being on the royal household staff in his capacity as the Norroy and Ulster king of arms and I know that Her Majesty would intervene if the position were made clear to her. It is quite usual at home to bring these kind of things to her notice (Debates, June 9, 1960: 4721)

was an issue, given that the Conservatives faced an election within the year and, after four years of promises, wanted to show some progress on immigration issues. And move they did. On January 10, 1962, Ellen Fairclough outlined for the Prime Minister an immigration intake system stressing, in large part, selection based on skills and qualifications (Citizenship and Immigration, 1962). Sponsorship was maintained, but extended relatives would now be required to demonstrate that they possessed necessary skills. Twenty-two days later the proposed system was law.

The changes were sweeping. References to either geographic area or ethnicity were for the most part removed. The Minister retained the right to make regulations on the grounds of ethnicity and other cultural attributes, and intake agreements were still in place with countries in the Indian subcontinent but, overall, the wording removed restrictions based on region or colour. Intake was divided into three categories. Independent class immigrants (and accompanying family) were admitted based on education, training, skills or other qualifications (for the actual wording, see Appendix V). Family class intake was retained, essentially intact, with immigration from the Americas and Europe allowing a broader range of relatives than was possible from Asia and Africa. The third 'nominated' class represented a hybrid of the two previous classes. Immigrants in this class were admitted on the basis of their skills but also had to have a relative living in Canada who was willing to sponsor their application and provide the prospective immigrant with some degree of support.⁴⁰

⁴⁰. The suggested regulations Fairclough took to Diefenbaker were far more stringent, and proposed reducing family class immigration from Europe by disallowing sponsorship of brothers, sisters and orphan children from European countries (mimeo: 1962. Aide memoire re: proposed immigration (continued...))

The new regulations allowed the Conservatives to make several claims. First, they could claim that Canada now had a nondiscriminatory immigration policy. Second, the independent class immigration category could be seen as directly linked to the economic needs of Canada. Third, the nominated relative class allowed a broader range of relatives than was permissible under the old sponsorship program. The nominated class answered to the demands by MPs and immigrant groups, while at the same time allowing the Conservatives to claim that it too was economically motivated immigration.

The sledgehammer approach -- changing the Act by regulation rather than by revising the Act itself -- was not well received in Parliament. Mr. Cretohl (MP for Cartier), quoting Lord Hewart, decried the system of law making by bureaucratic operation as 'the new despotism' (Debates, February 27, 1962: 1329). However, Fairclough, in a somewhat clever repartee stated that she was:

... a little surprised that the hon. member should criticize the actions of his own colleagues when they were on this side of the house because under the Immigration Act, which was their baby ... I find that in Part VII section 61, the Governor in Council is authorized to make regulations for carrying into effect 'the purposed and provisions of this act and without restricting the generality of the foregoing may make regulation (Debates, February 27, 1962: 1334).

She further pointed out that the new regulations were 'workable, flexible and [would] permit the entry of many persons who were previously denied entry to Canada (Ibid: 1335). While true, the changes also responded to many factors not highlighted by the

⁴⁰(...continued)

regulations). The intent was to reduce low skill, sponsored immigration from Europe, while increasing skilled immigration from a wider range of countries. However, to withdraw what were probably considered immigration 'rights' from Canadians, particularly with an election looming was probably considered political suicide, particularly when many MPs were advocating broadening the range of sponsorable relatives.

minister.

First, the supply of European immigrants was starting to decline. Despite advertising campaigns abroad, the number of skilled European immigrants had slowed dramatically. Even sponsored immigration had fallen off, and total intake had dropped to almost one quarter of what it was when it peaked in 1957. The range of eligible immigrants therefore had to be broadened. Second, there was Canada's international reputation. In the summer of 1961, the World Council of Churches had laid down several principles regarding immigration, one of which was the need to avoid any exclusion of migrants on the basis of race, nationality or religion. The new regulations would allow Canada to argue that it was attempting to follow those guidelines. It appears that Mr. Peters' earlier comment was correct -- legislation could not be seen to ignore the Canadian Bill of Human Rights. Finally, and perhaps not entirely coincidentally, Britain, just a few months previous, had changed its Immigration Act to concentrate on skills rather than sponsorship, so Canadian officials could argue that they were following the United Kingdom's lead.⁴¹

The new regulations instituted many other significant changes. In principle all visitors and immigrants to Canada (with the exception of Americans) now had to be in possession of a visa, and work began on designing regulations for a new and improved literacy test for independent and nominated class immigrants.

⁴¹. Granted, in the United Kingdom, Macmillan's Conservative government had done so to reduce the intake of what was seen as low skill, Commonwealth immigration from the Caribbean, but the principle was still there and the rationale was not common knowledge (see Dean, 1993). In Canada's case however, the restrictions against non-white immigration were, for the most part, lifted, and the range of eligible immigrants was broadened across the board.

The impact of the new regulations was slow compared to previous regulatory changes. However, this was partially because the selection criteria, although approved in principle, had not yet been established. Nevertheless, there was a steady increase in intake over the next five years as the new immigration regulations were put into practice.

2. The Pearson Years: Putting the New Regulations into Practice

In 1963, Pearson's Liberals defeated Diefenbaker's short-lived minority government and work began on immigration policy anew. Pearson went through, in rapid succession, four Ministers of Citizenship and Immigration (on average one a year), starting with Guy Favreau. Favreau instituted an advertising campaign to attract skilled workers, concentrating his efforts on what he termed 'the countries which have traditionally been our principal sources' (the UK, France and the USA) (Debates, December 14, 1963: 5879). However, his campaign was not very successful, since the bulk of intake continued to come from outside those countries.

Despite former accusations of 'despotism,' it appears that the Liberal government did not have any real problems with the new immigration regulations because very little was done to change them. Rather, the process of refining the regulations continued and a system for determining skills and education was developed over the next four years. Meanwhile, the immigration debates continued, with few exceptions, along much the same lines as before. One exception was Quebec. For the first time, immigration was put forward to increase the Quebec population, and thereby the relative importance of Quebec in the 'Union' of Canada. Mr. Lessard (Lac St. Jean) in discussing how to maintain the

present percentage of French speaking people and avoid assimilation to English in Canada suggested that:

If we could attract a large number of Italian immigrants to Quebec, it would be the only really practical solution for us to offset the present trend indicating that the proportion of French speaking Canadians or those of Latin culture is decreasing in the country (Debates, September 25, 1964: 8441).

His preference was still for immigrants from France, but he appeared to realize that there was no reason for French citizens to emigrate given that 'the climate, both economic and atmospheric [in France] was as good or better than Canada's' (ibid). Further, there had been no significant intake from France since the seventeenth century, so sponsored immigration was out of the question. Mediterranean immigrants seemed like an acceptable alternative (immigrants from the French West African colonies were not suggested as a possible solution).

Still, the pressure was on in parliament to allow more non-European immigrants to enter Canada. For as Peters said:

Why would anybody leave France to come to Canada? Why would anybody leave Germany today to come to Canada? Why would anybody immigration from Holland to Canada? Why should people wish to leave most of the European countries, particularly those which are now prospering under the European common market, and where the employment rate is extremely high? ... We shall have to be charitable. We shall have to accept people from countries which are less fortunate than those from which the bulk of our immigrants have come in past years.... We shall be forced to reconsider this present policy which, as everyone knows, discriminates for instance against people from the West Indies (Debates, September 25, 1964: 8451-2).

The Liberals were well aware of these facts, as well as of the other fundamental flaws in the 1962 regulations. First, although the stated intent was to eliminate discriminatory

sections of the Act, restrictions against non-European immigration remained. Quotas remained in place for intake from South Asia and the range of relatives eligible for sponsorship by Canadian residents was narrower than was the case for Europeans. Second, despite the political rhetoric linking immigration to economic need, there was no formalized system for evaluating the relative merit of either independent or nominated candidates. The closest measure achieved was a system of regular bulletins which provided information on occupation vacancies. Immigration officers could then use this information (if they so chose) to rank candidates.

René Tremblay, Pearson's second minister of Citizenship and Immigration, announced that a new Act was in the works and late in the year, work began on a White Paper designed to provide guidelines for a new Immigration Act (Debates, September 25, 1965: 8457). The following year, Bill C-69 was passed. Its stated purpose was to repeal Section 61 of the Act which allowed denial of admission based on cultural and climatic attributes.

1965 also saw the release of the Report on Immigration by Joseph Sedgewick (QC) which looked at the arrest and deportation of illegal immigrants in Canada. He concentrated his efforts on cases involving Greek sailors who had jumped ship and argued that, although there were no significant problems, the government could toughen regulations. Sedgewick didn't say anything particularly new, but reaction from the opposition was strong and negative. In debating the new regulations two years later, David Orlikow suggested that then Minister Jean Marchand burn all the copies, arguing that it was based on a restrictionist, elitist view of immigration (Debates, June 3, 1966:

5963). Marchand countered by stating that while he had reviewed the document, no one had stated that they were going to implement the recommendations in their original form.

The biggest change came, however, in December of 1965 when (much to the surprise of immigration officials) Pearson announced that authority for immigration was to be transferred to a new department of Manpower and Immigration. Jean Marchand, minister for the new department, later argued that the linkage made sense because it allowed immigration to realize its full economic potential, since shortages related to skilled or professional areas could be more easily filled by immigrants this way (Debates, June 3, 1966: 5940). Immigration officials, however, saw it as a take over by the Department of Labour. Political opponents, such as Richard Bell (MP, Carleton) argued that immigration would inevitably be the weaker of the two sectors (Debates, October 26, 1967: 3538; Hawkins, 1988: 152). However, the Liberals countered by stating that the new department would more firmly tie immigration to labour force issues and thus more firmly entrench immigration as an economic asset.

a. **The 1967 Act**

In October of 1966, Manpower and Immigration finally released the White Paper on Immigration. It was basically an advocacy piece, designed to sell the status quo. The document laid out a somewhat revised schema for immigration which for the most part just tinkered with the 1962 regulations. However, it also explicitly linked immigration to economic requirements, stating that immigration policy must be consistent with national economic policy, in general, and with national manpower and social policies, in

particular, as well as with demographic requirements (Manpower and Immigration, 1966: 7). In a general statement, immigration was aligned with economic, cultural growth and national identity and juxtapositioned against the same pulls from south of the border. In a sense, then immigration was seen as what kept Canada different from the United States.

The document outlined a system of immigration which would build on the 1962 regulations. First, there would be a rigorous recruitment of educated and skilled unsponsored immigrants. Second, there would be controlled intake respecting two classes of sponsored relatives -- family and nominated class. These classes were assumed to be (rightly or wrongly) unskilled and poorly educated. Family class immigrants were immediate family who qualified for admission based on having a sponsoring relative in Canada. Nominated class relatives were more distant relatives. They were required to score a small number of assessment points as well as have a sponsoring relative in Canada (Manpower and Immigration, 1966: 13). Control of sponsorship was seen as necessary because:

Such sponsorship has a potential for explosive growth. One skilled immigrant comes to Canada and quickly establishes himself. Very soon, he can sponsor the immigration of his brothers and sisters and his wife's brothers and sisters. They do not have to meet any standards of education or skill. They bring their wives and husbands.... (Ibid: 14)

This argument was something of a red herring, because chain migration had always been a feature of Canadian immigration. Further, the authors of the report recognized that 'we cannot expect to bring workers in, without also welcoming their dependents'. The report also identified a nondiscriminatory policy as a goal, if for no other reason than 'any discrimination in the selection of immigrants creates strong resentments in international

relations' (Ibid: 17).

Apparently a 'colour free' Immigration Act was in the works because, answering to questions about continuing discrimination within the Immigration Act, Marchand agreed that there was discrimination of certain groups and that he personally felt that:

...discrimination should be eliminated from every provision of the Act so that people wishing to come to Canada be all on the same footing (Debates, October 26, 1967: 5972).

b. The Point System

True to his word, in August of 1967 Immigration Minister Marchand announced that the government had revised Canada's immigration regulations again (P.C. 1967-1616). The same basic classes were maintained. However, the schema for evaluating the skills and training of independent class applicants was formalized under a system awarding points for socio-economic and demographic attributes. Further, the same sponsorship privileges were granted to all groups, making Canada's immigration policy (on the surface at least) colour blind.

The point system was both elaborate and flexible, requiring prospective immigrants to gain a specified number of points depending on the class under which they wished to enter. The point system was heavily weighted in terms of occupation and skills with up to forty assessment units based on occupational demand, skill and employment. Next in importance were education and training, worth up to twenty points, followed by the personal assessment by the immigration officer (fifteen points). Finally, attributes such as age and an applicant's ability to speak an official language were valued up to ten

points each (see Appendix V, Schedule A for the exact wording).⁴²

Independent applicants had to attain at least fifty out of a possible one hundred assessment units. An applicant who agreed to establish a business also required fifty points, but was granted twenty-five automatically in lieu of possible points from occupation and skill.

Generally, assessment of nominated relatives was based on education, occupational demand, age, skill and a personal assessment by an immigration officer. However the number of points required varied by the relationship to the sponsoring relative, the age of the applicant and whether or not the sponsoring relative was a Canadian citizen. At least twenty units had to be achieved if a close relative (offspring, sibling, parent or young unmarried niece or nephew) was sponsored by a Canadian citizen. Twenty-five points were required if the sponsor was a landed immigrant. Older nieces or nephews, or aunts and uncles required thirty or thirty-five points depending

⁴² Each year of formal schooling, trades, vocational or professional training was worth one assessment unit (or point), up to a maximum of twenty. Up to fifteen points could be awarded by the immigration or visa officer on the basis of a personal interview with the applicant. The intent of the interview was to measure such unmeasurable attributes as adaptability, motivation, initiative and resourcefulness.

Occupational demand was determined primarily by the employment side of the new department which submitted a list of occupations for which there was likely to be a demand. Immigration officials would then assign up to fifteen points to each occupation.

Up to ten points could be granted for the occupational skills held by the applicant. The higher the level of skill, the greater the number of points awarded. As well, having prearranged, long term employment was worth ten points. A maximum of five points could also be granted if the applicants intended destination was in an area of high labour demand.

Being between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five was worth ten points, however, being older cost one point for every year over thirty-five. Knowledge of English or French was worth up to five points for each official language. Finally, if there was a relative who was willing to assist in establishing the immigrant (but not formally sponsor him), five points were granted.

upon whether the sponsor was a Canadian citizen (see Appendix V Schedule B for details).

The Liberals argued that the new regulations broadened the classes of relatives who could be considered and treated all people equally, regardless of origin. The point system provided a more flexible approach than the former system in which an applicant either qualified completely on the basis of skills or had to be sponsored (Debates October, 26, 1967: 3531). Opponents, such as Richard Bell, argued that:

... if the ancestors of the members of this chamber had to meet the selection criteria laid down in the white paper, few of us would even be citizens of this country of which we are now representatives in the parliament of the nation (Debates, October 26, 1967: 3536).

Perhaps he was right. However, the doorway for unskilled immigration was still open through sponsorship. Further, independent immigration to Canada had always demanded some level of skill or occupational credentials, whether related to farm labour or otherwise. The point system served to formalize this system into one which was flexible and open to change depending on the requirements of the day. Assessment units for different occupations could be changed easily as demand shifted, as could the points assigned to different training areas. Further, because the Manpower division of the department defined demand for occupations, Department officials could argue that the immigration process was bringing in people who were required by the labour force.

One problem with the data from Manpower was that Immigration used the figures to assess the demand for occupations to be filled by immigrants even though immigrants represented only a small part of the labour market flow. No one looked at the degree to which these occupational demands would or could be met by people already living in

Canada. Further, given that it could take a year or more to receive landed status after making an application, there was no guarantee that there would still be a demand for people to fill a particular occupation once the immigration process was complete.

The other major loophole was that under Section 34, it was possible for a prospective immigrant to apply for landed status after having arrived in Canada. People could arrive in Canada as visitors and then declare their intention to stay. Granted, applying from within Canada required a marginally higher number of points, but that was more than offset by points granted if the candidate had found a job. And given that the 1960s was a growth period in which labour shortages were relatively common, this was not difficult. The loophole did not remain unnoticed, and many immigrants took this route to entrance.

Overall, the assessment system allowed the Liberals to argue that they were getting immigrants who were best suited to assist the Canadian economy, and there was an implicit assumption that Canada was getting highly skilled immigrants. This was not the case for a number of reasons. First, although the point system stressed education and training, the number of assessment units awarded for occupation was not directly related to the skill level of the applicant. Low wage, low skill jobs such as domestic workers could be assigned high points if there was a perceived demand for persons to fill those occupations. As well, certain occupations requiring professional accreditation would be given a low number of points even if demand was relatively high, because foreign qualifications were not readily recognized in Canada. Thus, occupations in the health sector such as doctors would be assigned low points, whereas domestic workers could be

assigned relatively high points.

Second, for the purposes of immigration processing, everyone in a family, including babes in arms, entered under the same class. Yet only one person -- the primary applicant, was required to meet assessment unit standards. The accounting system thus inflated the number of skilled immigrants by including family members in the same class.⁴¹ Still, counting everyone in the family under the same class was probably the quickest way to process candidates and keep families intact. While it was possible to separate out the primary applicant from the rest of the family, this was never done in the government's annual release of statistics.

The system of assessment was straightforward and relatively free of discrimination by country of origin, something which could not be said for the previous system. The major exception to this was the fifteen points assigned on the basis of a personal assessment by the immigration officer. This was because the norms for the assessment could vary from officer to officer, even within a single office. And a good assessment could easily make the difference between acceptance and rejection.

The other source of bias was related to consulate placement and staffing. For although it was possible to submit an application for immigration in Canada, the closer a candidate was to an overseas immigration office, the easier it was to submit and have an application processed. This was particularly the case for independent and nominated applicants who were required to have a face to face interview. Moreover, the more fully

⁴¹. Family members who accompanied the primary applicant within one year of arrival were designated as being in the same class. Family members who waited more than a year to follow had to be sponsored by the primary applicant or some other near relative.

staffed a consulate, the more quickly an application could be processed. In 1967, for example, there were seven immigration offices in the United Kingdom, nineteen in the rest of Europe and five in the United States. There were a total of ten offices in the Middle East and Asia (Hawkins: 1988: 410-413). In large part, the location of immigration offices explains why, even though there were no specific regulatory barriers against immigrants from South America, intake from those countries remained very low throughout the post-war period.

3. The Trudeau Years: Building An Immigration Act

Pierre Trudeau and his Liberal government came into power in July of 1968 on a wave of public support. With the recent changes to immigration regulations still fresh in everyone's mind, there was no real drive to work on an Immigration Act. In Quebec, however, things were somewhat different. In the past, immigration had often been seen as a threat to Quebec culture to the primacy of the French language. Immigrants were viewed as generally opting for English rather than French and, for this reason, tended to be viewed as a liability to the dominance of French in Quebec. However, as the birth rate in Quebec dropped, immigrants began to be seen, by the provincial government at least, as a means of increasing the francophone population. Largely for this reason, the Quebec government established a separate department of immigration in 1968, encompassing both recruitment and settlement functions. Within three years, agreements were in place between the federal government and Quebec which allowed provincial orientation officers to be stationed within a number of overseas immigration offices (Manpower and

Immigration, 1974a: 56).

Through his first term, which ran till 1972, Trudeau had three Ministers of Manpower and Immigration, none of whom made any significant contribution to immigration policy.⁴⁴ Granted, some preliminary work was done under Alan MacEachen, toward a new Act, but little else. Bryce Mackasey backed the entrance of some five thousand Asian refugees from Uganda. However, pressures to update the policy were building. Almost two decades of regulatory change meant that there was increasingly little relationship between the Act and the way immigration actually worked. Further, problems with the regulations themselves were rapidly becoming evident.

Section 34, for example, allowed immigration applications to be filed from within Canada. This in itself was not too much of a problem. However, 1967 also saw the passing of the Immigration Appeal Board (IAB) Act. The IAB was an independent appeals tribunal with the authority to make binding decisions regarding deportations. Anyone who was under a deportation order was granted the right to appeal to the Board. Prospective immigrants learned very quickly that the easiest way to get landed status was to enter Canada as a visitor, apply for landed status and, appeal if rejected. The system rapidly got out of control. In 1970, one sixth of all immigrant applications came from within Canada (Hawkins: 1989, 46). Subsequently, the IAB was swamped with prospective immigrants who appealed immediately upon receiving a deportation order. One of Mackasey's last acts as minister therefore, was to revoke Section 34 in November

⁴⁴. Alan MacEachen (July 1968 to September 1970; Otto Lang (Sept 1970 to Jan 1972) and Bryce Mackasey (Jan 1972 to Nov 1972).

of 1972.

The 1972 federal election returned Trudeau to power but in the form of a minority government with the New Democratic Party (NDP) holding the balance of power.

Although many NDP MPs felt that they could accomplish quite a bit because of more direct contact with ministers, David Lewis, the NDP leader, was under pressure from the press and unions to pull out (Orlikow, 1994). For this reason, the government lasted only a year and a half.

On the face of things, it did not appear that immigration was a major issue, particularly in the first half of the term. There was very little debate in the House regarding immigration and little was done to change immigration regulations aside from minor house cleaning. In January 1, 1973 for example, all visitors staying for more than three months were required to register with the Canadian government; those wishing to work had to obtain employment visas.

The visa requirement solved part of the problem. The backlog of IAB appeal cases would not grow any further. However, there was still the matter of what to do with the more than seventeen thousand cases that were before the IAB by March of 1973, 90 percent of whom were either visitors or illegal entrants (Hawkins, 1989: 47). Given that the IAB could only handle about one hundred cases a month, another mechanism had to be found.

Some members of parliament took a hard line approach. Liberal MP Peter Stollery, representing Spadina, a riding with a large number of immigrants, argued rather surprisingly that the government should change the IAB Act to take away the right of

appeal against a deportation order in most cases. Espousing the government view, he argued that:

We cannot allow people to get off airplanes in Montreal or Toronto airports and, on the strength of being on Canadian soil embark on a prolonged legal procedure which becomes more seedy as it progresses (Debates, June 22, 1973: 5024).

He went on to state that:

... no person, other than those originating from the US or St. Pierre and Miquelon should be allowed into Canada without having first visited a Canadian consular authority abroad ... (Debates, June 22, 1973: 5024).

This last point probably was a bit of a departure since it advocated requiring entry visas for British citizens. The new minister, Bob Andras, chose a somewhat softer approach. First, the IAB act was amended, second a program was announced in which 'visitors' who had lived continuously in Canada since November of 1972 could be granted immigrant status. The Adjustment of Status Program ran for sixty days from August 15 to October 15, 1973, resulting in thirty-nine thousand visitors being granted immigrant status. In this respect, the program was a success -- so successful in fact, that the opposition Conservatives called for an extension of the program. The Liberals argued, however, that the program was meant to be a temporary, humanitarian effort with a fixed time limit and that in order to protect the integrity of future efforts, the sixty day limit had to be respected.

4. Policy Summary -- 1961-1977

Immigration policy and programs through the 1960s and early seventies passed through three distinct political regimes, two distinct organizations, and a plethora of ministers. The focus shifted from family reunification to skill requirements and from regionally based (and hence discriminatory) intake, to an arguably 'colour free' intake. The source countries also slowly shifted away from Southern Europe toward Asia for the first time. However, the underlying basis of the program remained the same as it was conceived during Diefenbaker's regime in the 1960s. The policy changes instituted by the Conservatives and Liberals merely tinkered with the original format, shifting ministries, tightening or changing regulations.

Although work had begun toward development of a new immigration policy, the passage of a new Act was to wait until 1978. Immigration remained a program mandated by regulation and incremental change rather than a policy formalized and mandated by an Act.

As pointed out in the previous chapter, Canada's economic base was also changing. The skills required by Canada were very different from those required in previous eras. While manufacturing saw only modest growth, the service sectors took off. At the same time, the unemployment rate, which had been less than 5 percent before 1960 started to creep toward 7 and 8 percent by the mid-1970s (see Figure 3.1).

Through these economic shifts, a new wave of immigrants arrived in Canada's major cities. Those who came between 1961 and 1966 came in under a set of regulations that were still in their infancy. The point system was still not formalized and, in many

Figure 3.1

Unemployment Rate, Canada, 1946-91

Source: Household Surveys Division, Statistics Canada

senses, the immigration procedures could be seen as somewhat haphazard. By 1967, however, the regulations were well established.

The changes which Diefenbaker's government brought forward allowed immigration intake to rise rapidly, but in two distinct directions -- skilled and sponsored -- which were linked over time. Overall, the regulations had a two pronged effect, encouraging intake from countries where potential migrants would have access to high levels of schooling, and from which Canadian residents would be willing to sponsor a wider range of relatives. This meant that the first wave of immigrants would be well skilled, and that there was almost guaranteed to be a second wave of sponsored relatives who were not selected on the basis of skill requirements.

The regulatory changes had their effect. Immigration levels themselves were relatively low compared to the previous decade. Intake in 1961, for example was the lowest it had been since 1947, a time when there were similar changes occurring to immigration regulations and procedures. While intake was only seventy-one thousand in 1961, it increased by more than two and a half fold to just short of two hundred twenty-thousand by 1966 (see Figure 3.2). The mix of source countries also changed, for although sponsored immigration continued, the new regulations allowed increased (and skilled) immigration from outside Europe. Thus, immigration from Asia gradually increased through the 1960s from about two thousand in 1961, to twenty-three thousand by 1970, and then up to fifty thousand by 1974.

Immigration from Southern Europe, which was primarily sponsored, remained constant through most of the period, but started to decline by the early 1970s.

Figure 3.2

Immigration Intake, Canada, 1946-77

Immigration Statistics, 1991

Immigration from Italy reached a high of thirty-one thousand in 1966, but then fell to only forty-five hundred by 1976. In the same way, while immigration from the UK remained relatively high, there was a slow decline from the mid-1960s through to 1977. Where one third of all immigrants came from the UK in 1966, this was true of only one in seven by 1976 (Annual Immigration Statistics 1960-1977).

The intake pattern for European countries was one which followed a rise and fall, but was primarily based on sponsored intake. As the supply of sponsored immigrants ran dry, so did the intake from a particular country. Intake from Asia and outside Europe rose however, because the new regulations allowed a new supply of skilled entrants who established roots in Canada and then called for their relatives. In this sense, the pattern for Asians was similar to that of Italian immigration a decade earlier, when changes to regulations allowed a broader range of relatives, thereby encouraging immigration from Southern Europe.

Immigration from the United States remained an anomaly, hovering around 10 to 20 percent of intake across the fifteen-year period, but with massive return migration to the United States.⁴⁵ The return migration meant that there was no substantial growth of the 'American immigrant' population during the period.

Overall then, the changes in regulations served to alter the intake which then in turn changed the shape of the immigrant population. Given that the new regulations were

⁴⁵ An evaluation of the similarity between immigrant cohorts from one census period to another suggests that there was a constant flow of American immigrants both in and out of Canada. This means that with the exception of draft dodgers who entered during the 1960s, immigrants from the United States did not stay in Canada (see Appendix II Comparing immigrant cohorts across census periods).

more economically focussed, and that immigration was dynamically linked to labour force requirements when sistered with Manpower during the Liberal regime, new immigrants should more closely match the new demands for labour in Canada.

From the preceding discussion it can be seen that to a large degree the immigrant population is a product of immigration policy and regulations which act to select and screen potential migrants. This selection also affects the labour force role played by immigrants, in part because immigrants enter positions in the labour market open at the time of their arrival rather than necessarily entering a range of positions evenly distributed across both industrial and occupational categories. Changes to the structure of the labour market should therefore change the type of work immigrants do, at least on entry.

Generally, the role immigrants fill within the Canadian labour force is conditioned by a myriad of factors, including the terms under which they enter Canada, the labour market requirements at the time of entry and the skills immigrants brought with them at the time of arrival. Given changing economic demand for labour, and the fact that different immigrant groups came with different skills and schooling levels, the place of immigrants in the labour force tends to change with time. Complicating this is the fact that the labour force was shifting from one based on manufacturing to one focused on a service economy.

The analysis which follows looks at how the role of immigrants who entered Canada between 1961 and 1977 changed in response to the shifts in policy, intake and the labour force. Where the previous chapter examined the changing role of Cohort-1 immigrants (those who came between 1946-1960), this chapter divides the period into

two distinct cohorts. Cohort-2 includes all immigrants entering between 1961 and 1970. These immigrants entered Canada under new regulations which broadened the list of eligible immigrants to include those from 'non-white' countries. However, there were still restrictions on non-white immigration until 1967 when new regulations came into force. This cohort will be examined in 1971, 1981 and 1991. The last cohort includes those who came to Canada between 1971 and 1977. It will be looked at in two census periods (1981 and 1991). During this period, non-European immigration grew steadily, as it continues to do.

C. Immigrants in Cohort-2: an Overview

One significant impact of the regulations brought into place by the Canadian government in the early 1960s was that they encouraged the creation of a bipolar immigrant population, defined by schooling characteristics. As compared to the native-born population, immigrants as a group had higher proportions of both well and poorly schooled individuals. This bipolar distribution was at least partially a result of the split between independent class immigrants who came in with recognized and required skills and sponsored immigrants not assessed on the basis of schooling or skills.

Using the $\arccos(r_p)$ measure employed in Chapter 2, it is possible to see that 22 degrees separate the schooling profiles of immigrant and Canadian-born males. The difference is a product of both higher and lower levels of schooling. Thirteen percent of immigrant males who came to Canada during the 1960s had an undergraduate degree or higher, well above the Canadian norm of 9 percent. An additional 10 percent of male

immigrants had at least some university training.

At the opposite end of the spectrum, almost one third of male immigrants had less than nine years of schooling, as opposed to 27 percent of Canadian-born males (see Table 3.1). Female immigrants as a whole showed about the same angle of difference and displayed the same bimodal distribution, with 37 percent having less than grade nine, and 15 percent having at least some university (as opposed to 22 percent and 11 percent for native-born women).

A large part of the bimodality in rates of schooling was a reflection of differences by place of birth and the split between sponsored and independent migration. Thus, high angles of difference mean different things for different place of birth groups. Italian and Portuguese immigrants show high angles of difference because almost three quarters of Italian and Portuguese men and over 80 percent of Italian and Portuguese women entering in the 1960s had less than nine years of schooling. Immigrants from countries that had previously been denied entry, however, show high angles and in many cases had higher levels of schooling. About 40 percent of males from South Asia, and almost half of those from Japan, had a BA or higher degree.

Men from Czechoslovakia also tended to be well schooled, with about 40 percent having at least some university training. American immigrants represented something of an anomaly in that the United States had traditionally been a source country, but there was probably not a great deal of sponsored immigration. Half of American males, and more than one third of American women had a bachelor's degree or higher. Immigrants from other countries had schooling profiles which were similar to that of the native-born

Table 3.1

**Schooling by Place of Birth for Canadian-born and Cohort-2 Immigrants (1961-70)
by Sex, Living in the Six CMAs, 1971**

MALES	TOTAL	Lt Grade 8	gr 9-11	gr 12-13	Some University	BA +	Angle
Canadian-born	1,494,387	27%	37%	20%	7%	9%	comparison
Cohort-2 (1961-70)	231,902	31%	20%	26%	10%	13%	22°
USA	10,647	2%	5%	17%	23%	53%	67°
UK Ireland	41,831	3%	21%	52%	11%	13%	46°
Austria Germany	8,012	15%	30%	37%	9%	9%	24°
Czechoslovakia	4,004	8%	16%	37%	16%	23%	43°
Netherlands	2,673	10%	24%	44%	11%	10%	36°
Poland	3,717	34%	29%	19%	7%	12%	13°
Portugal	12,049	73%	16%	7%	2%	1%	45°
Greece	16,639	60%	18%	15%	5%	2%	38°
Italy	46,917	74%	16%	7%	3%	1%	45°
Yugoslavia	8,979	40%	25%	20%	9%	6%	20°
Other Europe	17,205	17%	25%	30%	11%	17%	24°
West Asia	4,341	23%	27%	23%	12%	15%	15°
China	5,198	24%	18%	23%	12%	22%	28°
S. Asia	9,215	6%	16%	19%	20%	40%	52°
Japan	1,072	4%	7%	24%	17%	48%	60°
Other Asia	4,732	5%	9%	21%	22%	44%	59°
Jamaica	5,623	20%	40%	28%	8%	4%	13°
Other Caribbean	10,838	8%	30%	40%	13%	9%	32°
Other	18,210	12%	19%	29%	16%	24%	36°

FEMALES							
Canadian-born	1,606,320	25%	41%	25%	6%	4%	comparison
Cohort-2 (1961-70)	240,547	37%	21%	28%	8%	7%	26°
USA	11,720	2%	7%	30%	26%	36%	62°
UK Ireland	46,080	4%	28%	56%	8%	4%	39°
Austria Germany	9,384	19%	35%	35%	7%	4%	14°
Czechoslovakia	3,088	10%	24%	40%	14%	11%	31°
Netherlands	2,828	18%	28%	41%	10%	4%	24°
Poland	4,879	40%	28%	20%	7%	5%	22°
Portugal	13,413	82%	12%	4%	2%	0%	54°
Greece	15,094	75%	12%	10%	3%	1%	51°
Italy	42,998	86%	9%	3%	1%	0%	57°
Yugoslavia	8,498	59%	17%	15%	6%	3%	41°
Other Europe	16,550	24%	28%	30%	10%	8%	16°
West Asia	3,406	39%	27%	19%	9%	6%	22°
China	7,866	49%	17%	21%	6%	7%	36°
S. Asia	6,527	18%	20%	25%	14%	23%	33°
Japan	1,139	7%	15%	46%	15%	16%	44°
Other Asia	6,694	7%	10%	17%	25%	41%	62°
Jamaica	7,579	20%	37%	34%	7%	2%	12°
Other Caribbean	14,038	12%	36%	41%	8%	4%	22°
Other	18,466	18%	26%	37%	10%	9%	23°

Note:

Population age 15 to 64 not in school full time

Living in Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver

Source: 1971 Census database

population.

Schooling levels constrained and shaped the choices immigrants could make in terms of entry into industry sectors. Jobs in certain sectors of the labour force, such as social services or public administration, were more likely to require higher levels of formal schooling. This was not so for others such as those found in consumer services or the construction. The sector demands were thereby reflected back in the work of immigrants, because different groups had different schooling backgrounds. These differences were also reflected by employment status, because different industry sectors had both different self-employment patterns and levels of growth from one census period to another.

As in the previous chapter, the discussion which follows has been divided by immigrant cohort, gender and class of worker, as well as by census period. This format allows a detailed examination of how Canadian labour force requirements changed over time, and how the work of immigrants fit into this larger framework.

D. The Canadian Labour Market

Immigrants arriving in Canada during the 1960s came during a time of tremendous change. Manufacturing, although experiencing a slight increase in the overall number of jobs, was in decline, accounting for one quarter of all jobs, as opposed to almost thirty-percent ten years earlier. The service sector, on the other hand, was growing. This was particularly the case for the major urban centres. In the six CMAs examined here, the number of jobs in consumer services alone had doubled over the

course of the 1960s. Business services increased by almost 80 percent and social services (health, education and welfare) went up by one and half times, accounting for 14 percent of all jobs. The real growth was in the service sectors, with relatively little growth in manufacturing, construction, or distributive services such as communication, transportation and utilities (see Table 2.14)

Canada's unemployment rate, which had been less than 5 percent prior to 1960, increased to 8 percent by the mid 1970s (a rate, which by today's standards is quite low, but was nevertheless considered high at the time). The unemployment rate for males in Ontario, where most immigrants tended to move, was generally a percentage point or two lower, whereas the opposite was the case for Quebec and British Columbia. Granted the unemployment rate was slightly higher than the national average in Quebec and British Columbia, but even in these provinces, the male unemployment rate reached a high of eleven percent and was generally around 6 percent or less (see Appendix VI). The unemployment rate for women was usually lower than was the case for men, regardless of the province, but in part this was because unemployed women were often not counted as labour force participants whereas men were.

The transformation of the labour force was in some sense driven by a dramatic rise in the number of women who entered the labour force. Between 1971 and 1991, the proportion of native-born women active in the labour force rose from just less than 60 percent to 80 percent. These labour market entrants gravitated toward the newly open positions in the service sectors.

Through these changes, immigrants came to Canada, established new lives and

entered the labour force. However, their role in the labour force was, and continues to be, different from that of the native-born population. Despite some notable differences, the immigrants who came to Canada during the 1960s had one thing in common with those who had come during the 1950s. They were both more likely to be active in the labour force and if active, more likely to be self-employed than was the Canadian-born population. Two thirds of recently arrived immigrant women, for example, were active in the labour force, whereas this was the case for only 59 percent of Canadian-born women. Likewise, immigrant males who had arrived after 1960 were more likely to be active than their Canadian-born counterparts (see Table 3.2). However, the differences were not as dramatic as in the case of women, mostly because males in general are more likely to be active in the labour force.

Table 3.2

**Class of Worker by Immigrant Status, for Males
Living in the Six CMAs, 1971**

	Canadian-born	Cohort-2 Immigrants (1961-70)
Total	1,494,387	231,902
Not Active	6%	3%
Active	94%	97%
Active	1,407,380	224,494
Wage Labour	92%	95%
Self-Employed	8%	5%

Note Population age 15-64 not in school full time, Living in CMAs
Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver

Source 1971 Census database

What was more dramatic was the changing level of self-employment for immigrants. Where previous generations of immigrants tended to have relatively high self-employment rates relatively soon after entry, this was not so for those who came to Canada during the 1960s. Commensurate with an overall drop in the self-employment

rate, only one out of twenty Cohort-2 males was self-employed in 1970, as compared to 8 percent for native-born males.

One possible explanation for the relatively low level of self-employment in 1971, as opposed to previous decades, is that it was a product of changes in the industry distribution -- perhaps the emerging jobs in the service sectors were simply less conducive to self-employment. However, it does not appear that changes to the labour force led to reductions in self-employment because standardizing the differences in industry and class of worker distributions across the two periods did not change the proportion of self-employed immigrants.⁴⁶ Rather it appears that labour force participants were simply less inclined to enter self-employment than was previously the case. Immigrants who had arrived prior to 1960, however, did show higher propensities to be self-employed.⁴⁷

⁴⁶. I drew a table of class of worker by industry by sex in 1961 and 1971. Males and females were pooled and the industry distribution in each year was standardized against the other (similar to a decomposition analysis). However, the analysis revealed little or no change in the total self-employment rate for either year.

⁴⁷. Self-employment had been in decline since the mid 1930s (see Gardner 1994). The decrease between 1960 and 1970 was a continuation of that trend. Research by Crompton (1993) suggests that part of the reason for the decrease in self-employment rates through the 1960s was a product of industrial restructuring. Another possible reason is the accumulation of capital in the retail and other sectors, the visible signs of which were in the growth of retail chains and malls. This move towards centralization of capital meant that there was simply less room for self-employment during the 1960s. By the mid-1970s, however, there was a resurgence of self-employment, in part because rising unemployment rates, and constriction of the retail and other employment sectors, forced the move to self-employment.

E. The Labour Force Role of Male Immigrants in Cohort-2

1. Wage Labour Males in 1971

The immigrant population which came to Canada during the 1960s was markedly different from previous generations, being at the same time more and less schooled than the Canadian-born population. This bimodality was also reflected in the work that they did on arrival. In comparison to those who had arrived a decade earlier, immigrant males who had come to Canada during the 1960s were concentrated not only in manufacturing and construction, but also in social services (see Table 3.3). As compared to Canadian-born wage labour males, they were under-represented in distributive industries, but were well represented in consumer services.

Table 3.3

Industrial Sector for Wage Labour Males,
Canadian-Born and Cohort-2 Immigrants
(1961 and 1970), Living in the Six CMAs, 1971

Industry	Immigrant Status	
	Canadian-born	Cohort-2 (1961-1970)
TOTAL	1,291,498	212,295
Primary	2%	1%
Manufacturing	27%	34%
Construction	7%	13%
Distributive Services	20%	11%
Consumer Services	22%	22%
Business Services	8%	7%
Social Services	7%	9%
Public Administration	8%	3%

Source: 1971 Census database

Note: Population age 15-64 not in school full time

Living in CMAs of Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver

For analytical purposes, immigrants arriving during this period can be divided into two distinct sub-cohorts -- 1961-66 and 1967-70. The first sub-cohort (Cohort-2.1) is made up of immigrants who arrived when the new regulations were in their infancy and the system was still being formulated. The second sub-cohort (Cohort-2.2) consists of

immigrants who arrived when the point system was formulated and restrictions against non-European immigration were completely removed. Although both sub-cohorts were over-represented in manufacturing and construction, those who had arrived prior to 1967 had a much higher representation in those two sectors than was the case for immigrants who arrived later. Immigrants arriving between 1967 and 1970 were actually over-represented in social services, with a 10 percent of wage labour immigrant males working in industries related to health, education or welfare services.

This was partially the result of the different schooling characteristics of the two sub-cohorts. Compared to the Canadian-born population, members of the first sub-cohort were more likely to have both higher and lower levels of schooling (see Table 3.4). Eighty ten percent had at least some university, and 4 percent had earned masters or doctoral degrees. Only fourteen percent of Canadian-born wage labour males had university schooling, and only 2 percent had higher level degrees. Immigrants in the second sub-cohort were far more likely to have at least some university than either the previous cohort of immigrants, or indeed, Canadian-born males.

In fact, immigrants in Cohort-2.2 tended to be very well educated, with 6 percent having either masters or doctoral degrees. More than one quarter had at least some university, while this was true of only 14 percent of their Canadian-born counterparts. These high levels of schooling, even for the cohort of immigrants arriving prior to 1967, are attributable to the new immigration regulations which included provisions for intake based on education and skills.

Table 3.4

**Schooling by Immigrant Status
for Wage Labour Males, Native-born and Cohort-2 Immigrants, 1971**

	Immigrant Status			
	Canadian-born	Immigrants		
		Cohort-2 (1961-70)	Sub-Cohort-2 1 (1961-66)	Sub-Cohort2 2 (1967-70)
TOTAL	1,291,498	212 295	103,591	108,704
< grade 5	3%	6%	8%	5%
grades 5-8	22%	24%	29%	19%
grades 9-11	38%	20%	21%	19%
grades 12-13	21%	26%	25%	28%
Some university	6%	6%	5%	7%
Diploma below BA	2%	4%	3%	4%
BA	4%	6%	4%	8%
1st prof degree	2%	3%	2%	3%
MA / Ph D	2%	5%	4%	6%
arccos (r_{ij})	comparison	23°	25°	23°

Source 1971 Census database

Note Population age 15-64 not in school full time

Living in CMAs of Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver

The regulations served to select a class of immigrants who were allowed into Canada on the basis of skills required by the Canadian labour force. However, because it took time to get the regulations into place, and set up procedures, it was not until the second half of the decade that highly skilled immigrants started coming to Canada in large numbers. The higher levels of schooling also meant that the schooling profile of more recent immigrants more closely matched that of Canadian-born wage labour males (25° for Cohort-2.1 and 23° for Cohort-2.2).⁴⁸

An evaluation of the angle of differences in industry distribution by age and

⁴⁸ Given these factors, it is possible that the differences in industry distribution between the two immigrant cohorts are explainable on the basis of schooling characteristics. Standardizing the data by age and schooling, however, was just as likely to exacerbate the differences as it was to make the data converge. Standardizing by age, for example, caused the proportion of males arriving after 1966 in social services to increase, whereas standardizing by schooling caused it to decrease. Standardizing the distribution of males who arrived prior to 1967, however caused an increase in the proportion working in manufacturing. In neither case did the distributions shift appreciably towards those of the Canadian-born (see Appendix IV: standardization Tables).

schooling reveals that, generally, younger immigrants, and immigrants with higher levels of schooling had industry profiles similar to that of Canadian-born wage labour males with the same levels of schooling (see Table 3.5). Thus, while the angle of difference for all immigrants who arrived during the 1960s was twenty degrees, it was only sixteen degrees for those less than twenty-five years old and only six degrees for those with masters or doctoral degrees.

The relationship between industry sector and age was not as strong. A closer examination of the angle differences by age reveals that the differences do not change much across ages (only eight degrees difference between those 15-24 and those who are 55-64). As a group, younger immigrants had closer industry distribution to the native-born population as compared to old immigrants. This was mostly because younger immigrants were at least partially schooled in Canada, whereas this is not as likely for older immigrants. These younger immigrants leave school with Canadian credentials and therefore enter the labour force in the same way as their native-born counterparts.

There were differences by age and schooling. For example, immigrants age forty-five and older with low levels of schooling had the most dissimilar industry profile as compared to a similar cohort of Canadian-born males. High levels of dissimilarity indicated concentration in particular sectors, usually construction and manufacturing. For example, two thirds of immigrant males who had less than nine years of schooling and were younger than forty-five worked in these two sectors. This was the case for only 43 percent of similarly schooled Canadian-born males of the same age.

Perhaps counter-intuitively, given general theories about integration, immigrants

Table 3.5

**Angle of Difference in Industry Distribution by Age and Schooling
Between Canadian-born and Cohort-2 (1961-70) Wage Labour Males
Living in the Six CMAs, 1971**

Cohort	Schooling	Age					
		TOTAL	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64
Cohort 2 1 1961-66	TOTAL	21°	18°	22°	23°	23°	25°
	< 5	32°	17°	33°	34°	31°	31°
	Gr 5-8	26°	14°	24°	27°	26°	29°
	Gr 9-11	21°	14°	22°	24°	26°	21°
	Gr 12-13	19°	15°	21°	20°	20°	19°
	Some University	14°	19°	15°	15°	15°	
	Dip < BA	16°		17°	11°	20°	
	BA	13°	14°	23°	9°	9°	14°
	1st prof degree	15°		21°	15°	19°	
	MA / PhD	4°		4°	4°	7°	8°
Cohort 2 2 1967-70	TOTAL	19°	15°	18°	21°	22°	29°
	< 5	29°	17°	26°	29°	32°	38°
	Gr 5-8	28°	18°	24°	27°	27°	35°
	Gr 9-11	22°	15°	22°	24°	25°	28°
	Gr 12-13	17°	17°	19°	19°	20°	23°
	Some University	19°	15°	19°	24°	21°	
	Dip < BA	14°	16°	16°	10°	25°	
	BA	16°	20°	20°	17°	13°	
	1st prof degree	14°	26°	19°	14°	21°	
	MA / PhD	7°	11°	8°	7°	6°	13°
Cohort 2 1961-70)	TOTAL	20°	16°	19°	22°	22°	26°
	< 5	31°	17°	30°	32°	30°	34°
	Gr 5-8	27°	16°	24°	27°	26°	30°
	Gr 9-11	21°	14°	22°	24°	25°	23°
	Gr 12-13	18°	16°	20°	19°	20°	19°
	Some University	16°	15°	17°	19°	18°	16°
	Dip < BA	14°	16°	16°	9°	18°	27°
	BA	14°	19°	20°	12°	10°	16°
	1st prof degree	14°	28°	19°	14°	11°	15°
	MA / PhD	6°	14°	7°	5°	6°	9°

Note Blanks shown where weighted cell counts are below 250

Population age 15-64 not in school full time

Living in Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver

Source 1971 census database

in Cohort-2.2 had a more similar industry distribution than was the case for immigrants who had arrived earlier (21° versus 19° respectively). However, this is readily explained by the fact that the more recent sub-cohort of immigrants had higher levels of schooling, and thus more closely matched the characteristics of the Canadian-born population.

Although the overall angle of difference in industry distribution is only twenty degrees, there were differences in the work done by different groups of immigrants as defined by place of birth. This partially stemmed from the changes to the regulations. The new regulations which came into effect during the 1960s allowed immigrants from a number of new source countries to come to Canada based on Canadian requirements for labour and skills. The selection process resulted in these new immigrants being streamed into different sectors of the economy than was the case with previous generations of immigrants. One indication of this is that, although the angle of difference in industry distribution for most place of birth groups tends to be high, the distributions themselves vary dramatically from group to group. As Table 3.6 shows, there were 37 degrees of distance between the industry distribution of American and Italian immigrants and that of native-born males in the wage labour force. However, where Italians were highly concentrated in construction, almost a third of American immigrants worked in social services. In the same way, almost half of Greek and Chinese immigrant males worked in consumer services. Other immigrant groups, such as those from South Asia and Jamaica had more similar industry profiles to the native-born population.

Some of these differences stemmed from the schooling distribution of the immigrant groups, and the degree of attraction which different industries had to people

Table 3.6

Industry by Place of Birth for Canadian-born and Cohort-2 (1961-70)
Wage Labour Males, 1971

	Primary	Manufacturing	Construction	Distributive Services	Consumer Services	Business Services	Social Services	Public Administration	Percentage	TOTAL	Angle
Canadian-born Cohort-2	2%	27%	7%	20%	14%	8%	7%	8%	8%	1,291,498	comparison
USA	1%	34%	13%	11%	17%	7%	9%	3%	4%	212,295	15°
Austria Germany	5%	20%	3%	12%	15%	11%	29%	2%	4%	9,690	37°
UK Ireland	1%	39%	13%	14%	16%	7%	6%	1%	3%	7,212	15°
Netherlands	1%	35%	9%	15%	11%	12%	9%	5%	3%	39,820	12°
Czechoslovakia	4%	30%	10%	15%	17%	10%	7%	4%	4%	2,394	9°
Poland	2%	39%	8%	12%	14%	8%	10%	3%	4%	3,740	15°
Scandinavia	1%	48%	11%	10%	10%	5%	8%	3%	5%	3,343	23°
Hungary	3%	32%	20%	14%	12%	9%	5%	2%	3%	1,871	19°
Portugal	1%	45%	8%	9%	16%	8%	8%	2%	3%	1,904	21°
Greece	2%	30%	24%	8%	22%	3%	5%	1%	6%	11,107	28°
Italy	0%	32%	7%	5%	42%	2%	3%	1%	7%	14,566	37°
USSR	0%	37%	30%	6%	16%	2%	2%	1%	5%	43,083	33°
Yugoslavia	1%	45%	10%	9%	12%	5%	10%	4%	4%	1,068	22°
Other Europe	1%	54%	15%	6%	11%	3%	3%	1%	5%	8,306	29°
West Asia	0%	32%	7%	11%	22%	8%	13%	2%	5%	10,624	18°
China	0%	37%	5%	11%	23%	7%	8%	3%	6%	3,587	18°
Other Asia	1%	19%	2%	11%	42%	9%	7%	3%	6%	4,369	40°
Caribbean	2%	33%	3%	14%	12%	12%	14%	5%	4%	13,783	16°
Latin America	0%	33%	5%	16%	14%	9%	13%	5%	4%	15,422	11°
Other	1%	34%	10%	9%	20%	9%	10%	3%	5%	1,651	18°
	1%	28%	4%	15%	17%	12%	15%	4%	4%	14,755	16°

Note: Population age 15-64 not in school full time

Living in CMAs of Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver

Source: 1971 Census database

with different levels of schooling. The higher the level of schooling, the more likely that a given cohort of immigrants had a similar industry profile to Canadian-born workers with similar levels of schooling. Within any given industry, however, the schooling characteristics of immigrants were generally not the same as those of native-born workers in the same industry. Table 3.7 shows the angle of difference in schooling profiles within each industry sector, for native-born workers and immigrants from different places of birth. With relatively few exceptions the schooling profiles of immigrant groups within industries were not similar to those of the Canadian-born. Some groups, such as immigrants from Austria, Germany, Poland and West Asia did have similar schooling profiles within industry sectors. However, most others did not. Immigrants from Italy, the USA, Greece, Czechoslovakia and the UK, had overall angles of distance of over forty degrees. For example, Italian workers in manufacturing and construction (where they were concentrated) had much lower schooling levels than native-born men working in the same sectors. Immigrants from the United States working in the social services sector had much higher levels of schooling than their Canadian-born counterparts (Almost two-thirds of American immigrants working in this sector had graduate degrees while only 15 percent of Canadian-born males had graduate degrees). One reason for such skewed patterns is that within any given industry, immigrants appear to have been more highly streamed by schooling than were Canadian-born workers.

Sometimes these differences in schooling by sector were also a product of immigrant groups being streamed into particular sub-sectors of the economy. For example, although almost one out of three American immigrants worked in social

Table 3.7
Angle of Difference in Schooling Distribution by Industry Between Canadian-Born and Cohort-1 (1961-70)
Wage Labour Males Living in the Six CMAs, 1971

Place of Birth	Total	Primary	Manufac- turing	Construc- tion	Distrib- utive Services	Consu- mer Services	Business Services	Social Services	Public Admin- istration
Cohort 1 Immigrants	23°	37°	23°	25°	32°	25°	27°	30°	39°
USA	68°	69°	68°	61°	65°	51°	56°	54°	
UK Ireland	45°	39°	48°	48°	47°	42°	35°	34°	42°
Scandinavia	13°		13°	9°	34°	12°			
Netherlands	35°		37°		39°	34°			
Austria Germany	23°		26°	20°	32°	24°	22°	37°	
Czechoslovakia	42°		42°	44°	43°	46°	51°	42°	
Poland	14°		9°	15°	15°	30°		28°	
Hungary	28°		26°						
Portugal	53°		47°	57°	46°	49°	47°	56°	
Greece	40°		39°	26°	30°	43°	38°	47°	
Italy	48°		45°	42°	45°	44°	45°	48°	58°
USSR	20°		16°						
Yugoslavia	20°		23°	10°	21°	11°	36°	28°	
Other Europe	26°		27°	20°	39°	18°	30°	41°	
West Asia	14°		9°		31°	23°		42°	
China	28°		39°		50°	21°	46°	38°	
Other Asia	54°		43°	41°	55°	33°	69°	81°	64°
Caribbean	24°		18°	19°	19°	27°	50°	36°	54°
Latin America	25°		22°						
Other	35°		28°	29°	38°	30°	32°	36°	51°

Note Population age 15-64 not in school full time
 living in Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver
 Blanks where cells size is less than 250

Source 1971 Census database

services, they were highly concentrated within one sub-sector. One in five American immigrants works in education. In the same way, Greek and Chinese wage labour males are concentrated in the food and lodging sector within consumer services (see Appendix VI for details). However, this type of concentration in a particular industry sub-sector was the exception rather than the rule.

2. Self-Employed Cohort 2 Males in 1971

In comparison to Cohort-1 immigrants, the propensity for self-employment on the part of Cohort 2 immigrants was relatively low in 1971. Eight percent of Canadian-born males and only 5 percent of male immigrants who entered during the 1960s were self-employed. The distance between the two industry profiles was 15 degrees, somewhat closer than was the case for wage labour males (20°). In part this was because both groups were highly concentrated in particular sectors of the labour force.

Almost 40 percent of self-employed native-born males worked in consumer services. Another one in seven worked in business services and 14 percent worked in construction. In contrast, of the twelve-thousand self-employed immigrants, almost half worked in consumer services, and just less than one fifth in construction (see Table 3.8).

Table 3.8

**Industrial Sector for Self Employed Males,
Canadian-Born and Cohort-2 Immigrants
(1961 - 1970), Living in the Six CMAs, 1971**

Industry	Immigrant Status	
	Canadian-born	Cohort-2 Immigrants (1961-1970)
TOTAL	115,882	12,199
Primary	4%	1%
Manufacturing	8%	11%
Construction	14%	17%
Distributive Services	13%	8%
Consumer Services	28%	41%
Business Services	15%	9%
Social Services	7%	8%
missing	11%	5%

Source 1971 Census database

Note Population age 15-64 not in school full time

Living in CMAs of Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver

Although consumer services was definitely the largest self-employment sector, there were differences depending on place of birth. About one fifth of American and British self-employed immigrants worked in business services, while 29 percent of Italian males worked in construction. Almost four out of five Greek males worked in consumer services, while this was the case for only 40 percent of their native-born counterparts (see Table 3.9).

As was the case for wage labour immigrants, the differences in concentration by place of birth were a reflection of differences in schooling. Self-employed males, whether immigrant or native-born, were more likely to have high levels of schooling as compared to wage labour males. Twenty-nine percent of self-employed immigrants entering during the 1960s, and more than a third of those entering after 1966 had at least some university schooling. Self-employed immigrants were also more likely to have undergraduate or graduate degrees, while native-born males were more likely to have

Table 3.9

**Industry Sector by Place of Birth for Canadian-born and Cohort-2 (1961-70)
Self-Employed Males, 1971**

	Primary	Manu- facturing	Construc- tion	Distrib- utive Services	Con- sumer Services	Business Services	Social Services	TOTAL	angle of Differ- ence
Canadian-born	4%	8%	14%	13%	39%	15%	7%	115,882	compar- ison
Cohort-1	1%	11%	17%	8%	46%	9%	8%	12,199	
USA	2%	16%	6%	9%	36%	21%	10%	708	
UK Ireland	2%	8%	20%	8%	27%	18%	17%	1,682	
Austria Germany	1%	17%	30%	7%	34%	9%	2%	643	
Greece	0%	7%	8%	5%	78%	1%	1%	1,354	
Italy	1%	11%	29%	5%	52%	2%	1%	2,228	
Other Europe	2%	15%	23%	10%	38%	7%	4%	2,590	
China	2%	0%	2%	9%	75%	8%	4%	415	
Other Asia	1%	11%	10%	16%	45%	7%	11%	1,164	
Other	0%	10%	7%	10%	41%	13%	19%	1,415	

Note

Population age 15-64 not in school full time

Living in Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver

Source

1971 Census database

professional degrees.

This last point may be a reflection of the fact that people with professional degrees are often members of professional organizations. These organizations do not readily recognize foreign credentials and the immigration selection process does not assign assessment points to immigrants whose credentials will not be recognized in Canada. Thus, potential migrants with professional degrees who apply as independent class primary applicants are not likely to be selected through the immigration process for independent class admission to Canada, unless the professional organization is willing to recognize the degrees held.

The similarity in schooling and industry concentration, and the fact that self-employment usually attracts older individuals, meant that the angles of difference in industry distribution by age and schooling between immigrants and Canadian-born males were lower than was the case for wage labour males. Only 12 degrees distance separated the industry distribution of immigrants entering Canada between 1961 and 1970 from that of native-born males.

The relationship to schooling is not as clear as was the case for wage labour males. The arccos (r_p) between Cohort-2 and Canadian-born self-employed males was 15 degrees for those with high school but 35 degrees for those with a bachelor degree (see Table 3.10). Examining the relationship of industry distribution by age suggests that the lower the age, the more similar the industry profile. Consequently, while 11 degrees separates the industry distributions of young Canadian-born and immigrant males 21 degrees separates those who are older than fifty-five.

Table 3.10

**Angle of Difference in Industry Distribution by Age and Schooling
Between Canadian-born and Cohort-2 (1961-70) Self-Employed Males
Living in the Six CMAs, 1971**

Cohort	Schooling	Age					
		TOTAL	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64
Cohort 2 1 1961-66	TOTAL	19*	16*	21*	19*	20*	21*
	< 5	20*		15*	27*		
	Gr 5-8	23*	29*	24*	28*	21*	22*
	Gr 9-11	14*		16*	9*	15*	
	Gr 12-13	14*		14*	13*	24*	
	Some University	14*		19*	15*		
	Dip < BA	20*					
	BA	38*					
	1st prof degree	26*		18*	40*		
	MA / PhD	11*			13*		
Cohort 2 2 1967-70	TOTAL	15*	10*	15*	18*	21*	24*
	< 5	27*					
	Gr 5-8	21*		22*	27*	23*	
	Gr 9-11	14*	13*	18*	17*		
	Gr 12-13	15*	15*	17*	22*	24*	
	Some University	13*		9*			
	Dip < BA	20*					
	BA	33*		24*			
	1st prof degree	35*					
	MA / PhD	19*					
Cohort 2 1961-70)	TOTAL	17*	11*	19*	18*	20*	21*
	< 5	21*		15*	25*		
	Gr 5-8	22*	27*	24*	28*	22*	21*
	Gr 9-11	13*	13*	17*	10*	16*	
	Gr 12-13	15*	14*	15*	15*	24*	19*
	Some University	13*		12*	11*		
	Dip < BA	19*		13*			
	BA	35*		25*	34*		
	1st prof degree	29*		29*	37*		
	MA / PhD	11*		19*	10*		

Note Blanks shown where weighted cell counts are below 250
 Population age 15-64 not in school full time
 Living in Montreal Toronto Hamilton Edmonton Calgary and Vancouver

Source 1971 census database

3. Summary: The Role of Cohort-2 Males - 1971

Immigrants who entered Canada during the 1960s were very different from those who had come to Canada immediately after the Second World War. Regulatory changes which stressed schooling and opened access to Canada from other countries, combined with continued family class intake, created an immigrant population which had a more bimodal educational distribution than was the case for Cohort-1 immigrants. Immigrants from Europe, and Southern Europe, in particular, were more likely to be sponsored by relatives already living in Canada. Those from Asia and the Caribbean were more likely to be independent if for no other reason, but that there were not many Canadian-residents from these regions to act as sponsors.⁴⁹

Because different countries have different schooling standards, different place of birth groups were drawn to different sectors of the labour force. Further, because some intake classes were assessed on the basis of schooling, while others were not, there were also likely to be differences by intake class. Construction, manufacturing, and consumer services were sectors within which immigrants could get a job despite having relatively low levels of schooling. Social services and business services were more likely to attract workers with higher levels of schooling.

The distribution of immigrants across the labour force can be viewed as a reinforcement of this pattern - immigrants with high levels of schooling were far more

⁴⁹ Unfortunately it is difficult to state this with any certainty because immigration statistical documents produced during the 1960s did not provide a breakdown of intake by class. There are tables by intended occupation, however, the primary applicant of both independent and sponsored classes were able to provide information on occupation. Regular accounting by class did not occur until the Immigration Act was passed in 1977.

likely to enter industries requiring high levels of schooling, and those with low levels were overwhelmingly drawn to those sectors which did not require the schooling. In a sense, then, immigrant males were streamed into different sectors of the wage labour market based on schooling characteristics, but were more concentrated in particular sub-sectors than was the case for native-born workers.

Overall, then, it appears that immigrants from different source countries were concentrated in different sectors of the economy, whether working for wages or as self-employed workers. However, what is also true is that the self-employed sector appeared to be more homogenous than was the case for the wage labour sector, being far more concentrated in consumer services. Immigrants working in the wage labour sector did not have as similar a profile because they were more evenly distributed across industry sectors.

F. The New Wave: Male Immigrants in Cohort-3 (1971-77)

1. Immigrants in Cohort-3: an Overview

The seven-year period between 1971 and 1977 brought more than one million immigrants to Canada. Over two hundred thousand immigrants arrived in 1974 alone. This pattern of intake was one which continued earlier trends, with increasing intake from countries outside Europe, but with dominance of European, and in particular British or American immigration (see Table 3.11). Immigration from Southern Europe was now clearly in decline. Where a decade earlier thirty thousand Italian immigrants may have arrived each year, the figure was now around five thousand. The same was true of

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Table 3.11

Immigration Intake by Selected Regions, Canada, 1971-77

	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977
Total	120,976	124,117	185,761	217,702	189,600	145,778	114,053
USA	17%	16%	12%	10%	9%	9%	9%
UK / Ireland	13%	14%	13%	16%	16%	14%	15%
Germany / Austria	2%	2%	1%	2%	2%	2%	2%
Portugal	8%	7%	3%	8%	5%	4%	4%
Greece	4%	3%	3%	3%	2%	2%	2%
Italy	5%	4%	3%	3%	3%	3%	3%
Poland	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%
Yugoslavia	3%	2%	2%	2%	2%	1%	1%
Other Europe	7%	7%	6%	6%	6%	7%	7%
China	3%	3%	4%	3%	3%	4%	4%
Japan	1%	1%	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%
S. Asia	6%	7%	8%	9%	9%	7%	7%
Other Asia	10%	11%	13%	13%	16%	20%	18%
Caribbean	9%	8%	12%	12%	10%	10%	11%
Latin America	4%	4%	6%	6%	7%	7%	7%
Other	6%	10%	8%	8%	9%	8%	8%

Source: Landed Immigrant database: Citizenship and Immigration Canada

Table 3.12

% of intake that is Independent Class by Year and Region, Canada, 1971-77

	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977
Total	49%	47%	53%	50%	40%	33%	29%
USA	75%	71%	71%	69%	56%	50%	45%
UK / Ireland	69%	66%	70%	75%	69%	58%	49%
Germany / Austria	61%	62%	65%	69%	64%	59%	59%
Portugal	8%	5%	30%	23%	12%	11%	8%
Greece	17%	15%	28%	33%	12%	8%	6%
Italy	11%	11%	20%	20%	18%	28%	23%
Poland	31%	25%	41%	39%	29%	29%	27%
Yugoslavia	12%	13%	17%	22%	22%	19%	14%
Other Europe	65%	59%	64%	67%	65%	60%	55%
China	35%	32%	43%	36%	19%	13%	9%
Japan	71%	66%	74%	66%	55%	44%	42%
S. Asia	39%	37%	45%	35%	22%	12%	7%
Other Asia	39%	35%	43%	37%	35%	23%	20%
Caribbean	45%	36%	60%	52%	21%	16%	13%
Latin America	50%	40%	61%	54%	34%	30%	28%
Other	65%	75%	61%	53%	47%	38%	36%

Source: Landed Immigrant database: Citizenship and Immigration Canada

immigration from Greece and Portugal. Intake from Asia and the Caribbean, however, was growing due to the relaxation of restrictions against non-European immigration. While immigration from Asia had been almost negligible through the 1960s, in 1971 Asian-born immigrants comprised 20 percent of the total intake, and almost one in three immigrants by 1977. Immigration from Northern Europe was also falling or remained at low levels. Intake from Scandinavian countries, for example, totaled only 1 percent, as did intake from the Netherlands and Poland.

There were also changes by intake class, characterized by a decline in the proportion of independent immigrants beginning in 1974. Prior to this year, about half of the immigrants entering during the 1970s had been independent. By 1977, however, over 70 percent of the intake was either sponsored or nominated class (see Table 3.12). The shifts between place of birth groups reflected differences in both the newness of the group itself and the relative importance of extended families. While intake from the United States, Northern Europe and the United Kingdom and Ireland tended to have a higher proportion of independent intake than average, intake from Southern Europe tended to have a lower proportion of independent immigration. Even within Southern Europe, however, the pool of sponsorable relatives was drying up, as evidenced both by the overall decline in the numbers and by the slight increase in independent immigration.

Immigration from Asia followed a pattern reminiscent of Southern European intake a decade earlier. This was exemplified by the fact that while the proportion of immigrants arriving from China and South Asia remained relatively constant at 3 and 8 percent respectively, the proportion of independent immigrants decreased from about 40

percent to less than 10 percent by 1977. Immigration from the rest of Asia followed roughly the same pattern. However, the decline in independent class immigration was not as rapid.

The above pattern typifies the ebb and flow witnessed in immigration intake. The pattern of intake was directly attributable to immigration policy and the changes in regulations which took place during the 1960s. With Europe now well out of the post-war recession, there was little reason for skilled migrants to come to Canada. This meant that, as was the case just after World War II, sponsored rather than independent class was primary for immigration from Europe. However, the available pool of sponsorable relatives was being depleted because of a lack of new independent immigrants. The real growth in immigration intake was left to countries outside Europe.

2. Schooling Characteristics: Cohort-3

The immigrant population was formed by a combination of independent immigrants, assessed on the basis of skills required by Canada, and largely unassessed immigrants, who came as either nominated or sponsored immigrants. The arrival of skilled immigrants from Asia during the 1960s and early 1970s, for example, allowed sponsored immigration to take off during the late 1970s. This pattern of intake resulted in an immigrant population which was actually quite comparable to the Canadian population in terms of schooling distribution. However, there were also notable differences by country of origin.

In 1981, there were two hundred thirty thousand male immigrants who had arrived

between 1971 and 1977 living in the six CMAs (Table 3.13). The schooling profile for immigrant males as a whole was very similar to that of Canadian-born men, as evidenced by the fact that only fifteen degrees separated the two distributions. However, this figure masks substantial differences at the level of country of origin. For example, while about a quarter of Canadian-born males had at least some university schooling, this was the case for over 60 percent of American immigrants (28 percent of American immigrants had a masters degree or higher). Immigrants from Asia also tended to have higher levels of schooling than did native-born males. Immigrant males from the UK, Germany and Yugoslavia were heaped in the middle and far more likely to have completed only high school (grade 12-13). Southern European immigrants, as with previous cohorts, were concentrated at the lower end of the education spectrum. Over two thirds of Portuguese and almost half of Italian men in Cohort-3 had less than eight years of schooling. Greek men were slightly more likely to have higher levels of schooling, but these levels were still lower than the norm for Canada.

As was the case for the immigrants who preceded them, schooling characteristics served to distribute Cohort-3 workers across the labour force. However, the rapid changes which were occurring in the labour market meant that this cohort of immigrants would play a very different role from that played by those who had arrived before them.

Table 3.13

Schooling for Canadian-born and Cohort-3 (1971-77) Males Place of Birth
6 CMAs, 1981

	TOTAL	< 5	Gr 5-8	Gr 9-11	Gr 12-13	Some univ	Dip < BA	BA	Dip > BA	MA/PhD	Angle
Canadian-born	2,163,450	2%	10%	34%	30%	9%	2%	8%	1%	3%	comparison
Cohort 3 Immigrants	230,150	4%	9%	23%	31%	11%	3%	10%	2%	6%	15°
US	9,950	0%	1%	17%	21%	15%	1%	15%	2%	26%	48°
UK	26,000	0%	3%	25%	53%	4%	3%	7%	1%	5%	29°
Germany/Austria	2,650	0%	8%	28%	36%	8%	4%	8%	0%	9%	15°
Portugal	16,400	36%	31%	19%	11%	3%	0%	0%	0%	0%	62°
Greece	5,600	6%	31%	34%	21%	5%	0%	0%	1%	1%	32°
Italy	8,000	10%	36%	26%	20%	4%	1%	1%	2%	1%	41°
Yugoslavia	4,850	4%	18%	16%	36%	13%	1%	4%	0%	5%	29°
Other Europe	14,350	1%	5%	24%	33%	10%	3%	7%	3%	13%	20°
Asia	73,900	2%	6%	19%	25%	15%	4%	19%	2%	8%	29°
Latin Carib	45,900	3%	9%	33%	35%	11%	2%	5%	1%	2%	9°
Other	22,550	1%	5%	18%	37%	14%	4%	12%	2%	7%	27°

Source: 1981 Public Use Sample

Note: Population age 15-64

Living in CMAs of Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver

G. Change in the Labour Market 1971 to 1991

As discussed in the previous chapter, the 1970s saw substantial growth in the labour force within Canada's major urban centres, with over one million jobs added by 1981. The real change had occurred during the 1960s, with the decline of manufacturing and growth of service industries. The next two decades were more a continuation of this trend rather than a move in new directions. Between 1971 and 1981, the shape of the labour market itself did not change a great deal (see Table 2.14). Granted, there was some reduction in the importance of manufacturing, but the distribution of jobs across industries remained similar between 1981 and 1991. By 1991, over one quarter of all jobs were found in consumer services, and about 15 percent were in either social or business services. Seventy percent of all jobs in the six major CMAs was within the service sector. Only the construction sector remained relatively constant, with 6 percent of all jobs.

The size and shape of the immigrant population had also changed. In 1981 there were a quarter million Cohort-2 males of labour force age living in the six CMAs -- twenty thousand more than a decade previous (see Table 3.14). The growth was due to the large number cohort members who were now of labour force age.

The relative importance for immigrants of the self-employed sector had also increased. Where only 5 percent of Cohort-2 males were self-employed in 1971, 13 percent were self-employed by 1981. By 1991, 17 percent were self-employed, well above the proportion for native-born Canadians. The absolute number of immigrants in this sector, however, had decreased by thirteen thousand as retirements shrank the pool of

Table 3.14

Class or Worker for Males by Immigrant Status and Period
of Immigration (1961-77) by Cohort, 6 CMAs, 1971, 1981, 1991

	1971	1981	1991
Canadian-born			
Total	1,494,387	1,812,650	2,102,197
Not active	6%	6%	7%
Active	94%	94%	93%
Active	1,407,380	1,712,600	1,957,664
Wage Labour	92%	91%	88%
Self-Employed	8%	9%	12%
Cohort 2 (1961-70)			
Total	231,902	252,950	242,399
Not active	3%	3%	6%
Active	97%	97%	94%
Active	224,494	245,550	227,599
Wage Labour	95%	87%	83%
Self-Employed	5%	13%	17%
Cohort 3 (1971-77)			
Total		198,650	220,533
Not active		4%	5%
Active		96%	95%
Active		191,350	210,566
Wage Labour		90%	85%
Self-Employed		10%	15%

Note: Population age 15-64 not in school full time

Living in CMAs of Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver

Note: 1971 Census database, 1981, 1991 public use samples

available immigrant workers.

Immigrants in Cohort-3 (those arriving between 1971 and 1977) faced these changes, but as labour market entrants. These immigrants came to Canada during a time of steadily rising unemployment rates, and the disappearance of low skill jobs that paid relatively well, which had been available in earlier periods (see Kuttner, 1983; Myles, 1988). However, there was continued growth in the service sector, which was becoming increasingly dominant. Thus, one would expect newly arrived immigrants to enter into positions in this sector. One would also expect that high unemployment rates could increase self-employment within this cohort, as immigrants searched for new opportunities.

These conditions may have been responsible for the relatively high proportion of self-employed workers in this cohort. Ten percent of these recent entrants were self-employed in 1981, marginally higher than the proportion for Canadian-born males. The other 90 percent, totaling about 170 thousand immigrant men, worked in the wage labour market where the service sector dominated.

The shifts between employed and self-employed from one period to another were a product of both the sectors within which immigrants were concentrated, and the fact that the economy itself was changing. While the 1970s saw a contraction of self-employment, the 1980s witnessed substantial growth in self-employment. Immigrants rode this wave of growth and appear to have been more likely to switch to self-employment than were native-born workers.

1. Wage Labour Males 1981-1991, Cohort-2 and 3

In 1981 there were two hundred thirteen thousand Cohort-2 males working in the wage labour markets. This number of workers marked only a slight increase from the previous decade, despite the substantial overall growth of the cohort itself (see Table 3.14 and 3.15). Through the 1970s, there was also some convergence in the difference between the work done by immigrants and that done by Canadian-born males. By 1991, these differences were further reduced with the angle of difference dropping from 21° in 1971 to 13° in 1991. The increased similarity in distribution was for the most part due to a shift away from manufacturing on the part of immigrant males.

More recent immigrants had a markedly different industry distribution than previous cohorts. While more than a third of Cohort-3 males worked in manufacturing, they were not as highly concentrated in particular sectors as were previous cohorts. This was, moreover, the first period when recently arrived immigrants were not over-represented in construction. While this cohort's representation in distributive services and public administration was low, their participation in other sectors was quite good. Given this cohort's relatively high schooling levels, it is not surprising that immigrants were well represented in social services.

In 1991, there were just short of one hundred eighty thousand Cohort-3 males. By this time, although there was still some concentration in manufacturing, there were only thirteen degrees separating the industry distribution of immigrants from that of native-born males. The passage of ten years meant that their representation in all sectors, including public administration, was quite close to that of the Canadian-born population.

Table 3.15

**Industry for Canadian-born and Cohort-2 and 3 Wage Labour Males,
Living in the Six CMAs, 1971-1991**

Canadian-born	1971	1981	1991
TOTAL	1,291,498	1,557,800	1,730,798
Primary	2%	2%	2%
Manufacturing	27%	25%	19%
Construction	7%	8%	9%
Distributive Services	20%	10%	20%
Consumer Services	22%	19%	22%
Business Services	8%	21%	13%
Social Services	7%	7%	7%
Public Administration	8%	8%	8%
Cohort- 2 (1961-70)			
TOTAL	212,295	213,450	189,800
Primary	1%	1%	1%
Manufacturing	34%	30%	26%
Construction	13%	13%	10%
Distributive Services	11%	8%	15%
Consumer Services	22%	20%	20%
Business Services	7%	14%	12%
Social Services	9%	10%	10%
Public Administration	3%	4%	5%
Angle of difference	2°	14°	13°
Cohort-3 (1971-77)			
TOTAL		173,050	179,400
Primary		1%	1%
Manufacturing		35%	25%
Construction		8%	8%
Distributive Services		14%	15%
Consumer Services		21%	24%
Business Services		11%	14%
Social Services		6%	7%
Public Administration		2%	5%
Angle of difference		17°	12°

Source: 1971 Census database, 1981, 1991 Public Use Microdataset

Note: Population age 15-64 not in school full time

Living in CMAs of Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver

a. Industry Distribution, Age and Schooling: 1981

The relationship between age, schooling and industry distribution examined earlier for immigrants in 1971 held for 1981. Younger immigrant cohorts had industry distributions which were very similar to those of native-born males, whereas the older immigrant cohorts showed larger differences. There were also differences by level of schooling, with more educated immigrants generally having comparable industry distributions to Canadian-born males with similar levels of schooling. The relationship between age and industry distribution was more specific, having to do with the fact that by 1981, a large number of young, Canadian educated Cohort-2 members had joined the labour force. Because these labour market entrants had schooling characteristics similar to those of the Canadian-born population, they also have a similar industry distribution. Table 3.16 shows the arccos (r_p) angles in 1981 between Canadian-born males and immigrant males in Cohorts 2 and 3. The table shows that the overall angle of difference between Cohort-2 and Canadian-born wage labour males was 16 degrees. However, it was only 9 degrees for those less than twenty-five years old. Sub-cohorts with higher levels of schooling also tended to have more similar industry distributions. Thus, the angle of difference for those with MAs or higher was only 9 degrees.

There were also contrasts within sub-groups of Cohort-2. Those in Cohort-2.2 actually had a more similar industry distribution to native-born workers than those in Cohort-2.1. However, the differences were diminishing. Where in 1971 the angle between immigrant and Canadian-born wage labour males was 21 degrees for Cohort-2.1 and 19° for Cohort-2.2, in 1981, the gap was reduced to only 16° and 15° respectively.

Table 3.16

Angle of Difference in Industry Distribution by Age and Schooling
Between Canadian-Born and Immigrant Wage Labour Males by Cohort
Living in the Six CMAs, 1981

perimm	school/1	age					
		TOTAL	age 15-24	age 25-34	age 35-44	age 45-54	age 55-64
Cohort-2.1 1961-66	TOTAL	16.1°	9.2°	19.1°	20.2°	21.1°	26.2°
	< 5	39.8°				50.7°	
	5-8	23.1°		21.2°	28.7°	23.5°	
	9-11	18.0°	17.3°	12.9°	20.8°	27.6°	
	12-13	14.8°	8.8°	23.2°	20.9°	26.0°	26.4°
	Some univ	8.4°			15.9°		
	Dip < BA	25.7°					
	BA	16.2°			22.9°		
	Dip > BA MA/PhD	9.2°					
Cohort-2.2 1967-1970	TOTAL	14.8°	11.1°	15.1°	16.3°	25.6°	29.0°
	< 5	41.4°					
	5-8	23.6°			24.3°	34.3°	
	9-11	19.4°	11.4°	24.6°	21.8°	25.5°	
	12-13	15.4°	20.6°	12.4°	20.8°	31.5°	
	Some univ	11.8°		11.5°	17.3°		
	Dip < BA	22.8°					
	BA	11.6°		29.4°	16.3°		
	Dip > BA MA/PhD	7.3°			3.3°		
Cohort 2 1961-1970	TOTAL	16.1°	9.2°	19.1°	20.2°	21.1°	26.2°
	< 5	39.8°			46.8°	50.7°	41.2°
	5-8	23.1°		21.2°	28.7°	23.5°	26.9°
	9-11	18.0°	17.3°	12.9°	20.8°	27.6°	
	12-13	14.8°	8.8°	23.2°	20.9°	26.0°	26.4°
	Some univ	8.4°		31.6°	15.9°		
	Dip < BA	25.7°			32.1°		
	BA	16.2°		15.4°	22.9°	19.1°	
	Dip > BA MA/PhD	25.1°		27.1°	22.9°	9.7°	
Cohort 3 1971-77	TOTAL	18.9°	15.1°	22.1°	24.4°	25.2°	31.9°
	< 5	29.0°		41.5°	44.8°		
	Gr 5-8	23.3°		18.4°	28.7°	30.4°	
	Gr 9-11	20.8°	14.3°	21.6°	25.4°	31.5°	
	Gr 12-13	22.9°	16.8°	27.5°	30.4°	29.9°	
	Some univ	23.8°		22.8°	33.7°		
	Dip < BA	31.6°		42.2°			
	BA	26.3°		24.1°	40.2°		
	Dip > BA MA/PhD	47.0°		19.0°	19.1°		

Note Population age 15-64 not in school full time,
living in the CMAs of Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Edmonton
Calgary and Vancouver
Blanks shown where weighted cell counts were less than 2500

Source 1981 Public Use Sample

Older immigrants had progressively more divergent industry distributions over time.

The data for immigrants in Cohort-3 showed similar patterns by age. While the angle of difference in industry distribution for immigrants in Cohort-3 between the ages of fifteen and twenty-four was low (15°) it was thirty-two degrees for immigrants fifty-five years of age and older. Somewhat surprising, however, particularly given the increasingly diverse intake patterns of immigrants, is the fact that recently arrived immigrants actually had more similar industry distributions than immigrants who had arrived prior to 1971. Differences by age were also apparent when examining immigrants by specific places of birth. In most cases, the younger the immigrants, the more likely they were to have similar industry distributions to those of Canadian-born males of the same age.

The real differences were concentrated among either older or less educated immigrants. In particular, immigrant males with less than nine years of schooling tended to be more concentrated in particular industry sectors than was the case for poorly schooled Canadian-born workers. Thus, over half of these immigrants remained concentrated in manufacturing and construction, while relatively few worked in other sectors, such as social services or public administration. The concentration in these two sectors, despite the decline of manufacturing and the relative stability of construction made sense. Both these sectors had the potential to offer good jobs to people with relatively little formal schooling.

b. Industry Distribution and Place of Birth: 1981 - 1991

As expected, given the experience of previous cohorts, place of birth was a factor in the type of work immigrants did. In 1981, Cohort-2 immigrants from Poland, Hungary and Yugoslavia were heavily concentrated in manufacturing (see Table 3.17). Where one quarter of Canadian-born wage labour males worked in manufacturing, almost half of Polish and Yugoslav immigrants, and over 60 percent of Hungarian immigrants worked in that sector. Almost a third of Italians worked in construction, and close to half of all wage labour Greek men worked in consumer services. Male American immigrants were far more likely to work in social services. Immigrants in Cohort-3 displayed a somewhat similar pattern. In 1981, one quarter of immigrant males from the United States worked in the social services, while immigrants from Italy remained far more likely to work in the manufacturing or construction. Half of Greek men worked in consumer services, and the majority of these worked in the restaurant trades.

At the level of place of birth there was not a great deal of difference between immigrants who entered prior to 1976 and those who entered in 1976 and 1977. This suggests that the increased level of similarity between the more recently arrived immigrants and native-born males versus those arriving between 1971 and 1975 was related to the change in intake mix. In this case it was a change which brought in relatively fewer Europeans, and increased numbers from Asia.

The patterns of industry distribution and place of birth continued through to 1991. Immigrants remained concentrated in manufacturing, but different place of birth groups were drawn to other sectors as well. About half of Italian and Portuguese male

Table 3.17

Industry Distribution For Canadian-born and Cohort-2 and 3 Wage Labour Males
Living in the Six CMAs, 1981

		Primary	Manuf- turing	Construc- tion	Distributive Services	Consumer Services	Business Services	Social Services	Public Admini- stration	Grand Total	angle
Canadian-born		2%	25%	8%	21%	19%	10%	7%	8%	1,557,900	
Cohort-2 (1961-70)											
	Total	1%	30%	13%	14%	20%	8%	10%	4%	213,450	14°
	UK Ireland	2%	32%	8%	16%	14%	12%	11%	5%	38,050	18°
	USA	3%	16%	3%	15%	16%	14%	27%	5%	7,950	33°
	Netherlands	7%	24%	16%	22%	7%	13%	9%	2%	2,250	23°
	Austria Germany	3%	30%	11%	17%	20%	9%	4%	5%	5,900	12°
	Czechoslovakia	4%	27%	7%	10%	15%	21%	15%	1%	3,650	26°
	Poland	0%	47%	4%	7%	18%	7%	14%	4%	3,650	31°
	Portugal	0%	27%	26%	9%	24%	5%	6%	3%	15,100	32°
	Greece	0%	31%	7%	7%	45%	2%	6%	2%	12,250	34°
	Italy	0%	29%	30%	10%	21%	4%	4%	3%	41,400	34°
	Yugoslavia	1%	46%	14%	13%	17%	2%	4%	2%	8,100	19°
	Other Europe	2%	33%	9%	17%	23%	8%	8%	1%	13,500	16°
	Asia	2%	27%	3%	18%	17%	13%	13%	7%	28,650	13°
	S & Central America	1%	36%	5%	19%	17%	6%	11%	6%	20,800	16°
	Other	1%	22%	6%	22%	16%	14%	15%	5%	12,200	14°
Cohort-3 1971-77											
	TOTAL	1%	35%	8%	14%	21%	11%	6%	2%	173,050	17°
	USA	1%	16%	5%	13%	23%	16%	26%	1%	7,700	33°
	UK Ireland	3%	30%	8%	19%	14%	17%	5%	4%	20,600	15°
	Portugal	1%	37%	27%	7%	23%	2%	2%	1%	14,300	34°
	Greece	0%	35%	6%	2%	51%	3%	2%	0%	4,400	40°
	Italy	0%	38%	23%	5%	26%	6%	2%	0%	6,550	33°
	Yugoslavia	3%	47%	20%	11%	7%	8%	3%	3%	3,750	36°
	Other Europe	2%	32%	12%	13%	20%	12%	7%	3%	12,150	17°
	Asia	1%	33%	4%	15%	24%	13%	7%	3%	53,500	16°
	S & Central America	1%	46%	5%	14%	19%	8%	5%	2%	33,800	25°
	Other	1%	28%	3%	19%	21%	17%	8%	4%	16,300	13°

Note: Population age 15-64 not in school full time

Living in the CMAs of Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver
Source: 1981 Public Use Sample

immigrants, for example, were concentrated in manufacturing or construction, while American and Asian-born immigrants outside either China or South Asia were over-represented in social services (see Table 3.18). Men from the UK had industry distributions which were similar to Canadian-born males.

The relationship of industry distribution to age and schooling also continued. The work done by immigrants less than thirty-five years old was almost identical to that done by Canadian-born males of the same age. This is probably attributable to the increase of working immigrants who had received their schooling in Canada. This trend is most apparent for Portuguese immigrants who had immigrated during the 1970s. In 1981, this group displayed one of the highest levels of industry concentration -- over half of all Portuguese men worked in either construction or manufacturing. Ten years later, the youngest age cohort (age 15-24), had an almost identical industry distribution to their Canadian-born counterparts. This pattern of younger immigrants doing work similar to the Canadian-born than older groups is echoed for most the other immigrant groups.

2. Self-Employed Males: 1981-1991, Cohort-2 and 3 Males

As shown earlier in Table 3.14, the proportion of self-employed cohort-2 immigrants although low in 1971, increased rapidly to the point where 17 percent of economically active male immigrants in Cohort-2 were self-employed by 1991. This rate of increase was much higher than it was for native-born males for which the figure was only 12 percent. Although self-employed immigrants were concentrated in different sectors than were self-employed native-born males, there was a convergence over time in

Table 3.18

Industry Distribution by Immigrant Status, Cohort and Place of Birth for
Wage Labour Males Living in the Six CMAs, 1991

	Primary	Manu- facturing	Construc- tion	Distributive Services	Consumer Services	Business Services	Social Services	Public Admni- stration	TOTAL	Angle
Canadian-born	2%	19%	9%	20%	22%	13%	7%	8%	1,730,798	
Cohort-2 (1961-70) Total										
USA	1%	26%	10%	15%	20%	12%	10%	5%	189,798	13°
UK	3%	8%	6%	18%	17%	16%	25%	6%	6,766	31°
Germany	2%	26%	6%	18%	15%	15%	11%	8%	36,933	18°
Poland	0%	31%	6%	19%	19%	14%	5%	5%	6,600	18°
Portugal	2%	33%	10%	16%	17%	13%	10%	2%	2,100	22°
Italy	2%	28%	18%	15%	24%	6%	6%	1%	12,600	22°
Other Europe	1%	28%	23%	12%	21%	6%	6%	4%	37,000	27°
Middle East & W Asia	1%	28%	10%	13%	26%	10%	8%	3%	38,133	18°
China HK	2%	19%	6%	17%	21%	17%	9%	9%	2,967	9°
Southern Asia	1%	16%	2%	20%	30%	15%	9%	6%	7,033	15°
Other Asia	2%	31%	4%	17%	12%	16%	12%	6%	8,266	24°
Latin Amer & Caribbean	1%	25%	2%	22%	13%	14%	13%	10%	4,500	20°
Other	2%	19%	3%	14%	20%	16%	18%	8%	17,600	11°
Cohort-3 1971-77										
USA	1%	25%	8%	15%	24%	14%	7%	5%	179,400	19°
UK	4%	10%	3%	14%	24%	15%	25%	4%	6,366	12°
Germany	1%	22%	9%	17%	20%	19%	7%	5%	20,800	30°
Poland	0%	27%	7%	18%	33%	3%	3%	6%	2,000	11°
Portugal	2%	37%	8%	22%	10%	7%	8%	5%	1,967	21°
Italy	2%	24%	30%	10%	24%	6%	4%	1%	15,700	34°
Other Europe	1%	28%	22%	11%	25%	8%	5%	2%	6,600	26°
Middle East & W Asia	1%	27%	10%	14%	25%	13%	6%	3%	20,134	15°
China HK	1%	17%	3%	19%	28%	8%	9%	6%	3,966	17°
Southern Asia	2%	15%	2%	17%	30%	22%	6%	6%	15,166	19°
Other Asia	2%	36%	4%	16%	17%	15%	4%	4%	17,100	24°
Latin Amer & Caribbean	1%	25%	3%	16%	21%	16%	13%	5%	15,897	17°
Other	0%	29%	5%	15%	27%	11%	7%	5%	37,933	17°
		21%	4%	16%	28%	18%	5%	7%	15,801	14°

Note: Population age 15-64 not in school full time

Living in Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver

Source: 1991 Public Use Sample, Individual file

the type of work done by the two groups.

In 1971, almost 40 percent of native-born self-employed males worked in consumer services, 15 percent in business services and 14 percent in construction (see Table 3.19). By 1991, half worked either in consumer or business services, and about a fifth worked in construction. In contrast, immigrants, regardless of entry period, were more concentrated in consumer services. By 1991, any difference in the work done by self-employed immigrants to that of self-employed native-born workers was a product of immigrants remaining overconcentrated in consumer services and under-represented in business services.⁵⁰

The changing role of self-employed immigrants is interesting for two reasons. First, the concentration in consumer services suggests that the work done by self-employed immigrants versus that done by wage labour immigrants was very different. These differences remained, even when schooling was taken into account. Second, the proportion of self-employed workers for Cohort-3 immigrants was high in comparison to other immigrant cohorts on entry. A number of factors could have spurred this relatively high rate of self-employment. The schooling levels for self-employed males, for example, tended to be higher than was the case for immigrants in the wage labour force. Thus, while about a third of wage labour immigrants who arrived after 1971 had at least

⁵⁰ Standardizing the data by schooling did not change the distribution, but standardizing by age actually increased the proportion of self employed immigrants working in consumer services (see standardization Tables in appendix). This was true regardless of which cohort of immigrants I examined. For immigrants entering between 1971 to 1975, standardizing by schooling had the effect of reducing the number of immigrants working in the social services. For immigrants entering in 1976 and 1977, standardization increased the proportion of immigrants working in the social services.

Table 3.19

**Industry for Canadian-born and Cohort-2 and 3 Self-Employed Males,
Living in the Six CMAs, 1971-1991**

Canadian-born	1971	1981	1991
TOTAL	115,882	154,700	228,867
Primary	4%	5%	4%
Manufacturing	8%	7%	7%
Construction	14%	18%	19%
Distributive Services	13%	21%	11%
Consumer Services	28%	28%	26%
Business Services	15%	13%	26%
Social Services	7%	7%	6%
Cohort 2 (1961-70)			
TOTAL	12,199	32,100	37,801
Primary	1%	1%	2%
Manufacturing	11%	11%	9%
Construction	17%	18%	20%
Distributive Services	8%	13%	10%
Consumer Services	41%	41%	35%
Business Services	9%	10%	20%
Social Services	8%	6%	5%
Angle of difference	17.3°	20.3°	13.2°
Cohort 3 (1971-77)			
TOTAL		18,300	31,167
Primary		1%	1%
Manufacturing		9%	8%
Construction		13%	15%
Distributive Services		15%	13%
Consumer Services		43%	36%
Business Services		13%	18%
Social Services		6%	8%
Angle of difference		20.2°	10.8°

Source: 1971 Census database, 1981, 1991 Public Use Microdataset

Note: Population age 15-64 not in school full time

Living in CMAs of Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver

some university schooling, this was true of over 40 percent of self-employed immigrants (see Table 3.20).

Another possible reason for high self-employment was the relatively high unemployment rate of the time. Lack of wage labour jobs may have forced immigrants into self-employment. High unemployment may have acted to push out immigrants with higher levels of schooling who, in theory at least, had the necessary skills to start their own enterprise.

Also striking is the fact that the rate of self-employment for immigrant men was actually higher than for native-born males and that the pattern continued over time. It appears that, despite facing fairly high rates of unemployment, the Canadian-born population simply did not have the same propensity to enter the self-employed sector.

Immigrants in Cohort-2.1 were more likely to be self-employed than those in Cohort-2.2. This is both a product of the changing nature of immigration policy which emphasized skills, rather than sponsorship, as well as a time factor, in that the earlier cohort of immigrants had more time to make the shift toward self-employment.

The higher the level of schooling, the more likely self-employed immigrants were to do work similar to that done by similarly educated Canadian-born males. Thus, for example, in 1981, the overall arccos (r_p) was 20 degrees for all immigrants who arrived during the 1960s, 24 degrees for those with less than five years of schooling and only 8 degrees for those with a masters degree or higher (see Table 3.21). The strong relationship with schooling over age is borne out by the fact that while standardizing by age did not really change the distribution across industries, standardizing by schooling

Table 3.20

**Schooling by Class of Worker, Immigrant Status and Cohort
for Males, Living in the Six CMAs, 1981-1991**

		1971		1981		1991	
		Wage Labour	Self- employed	Wage Labour	Self- employed	Wage Labour	Self- employed
Canadian-born	TOTAL	1,291,498	115,882	1,557,900	154,700	1,730,799	226,866
	< 5	3%	3%	1%	1%	1%	1%
	Grades 5-8	22%	24%	11%	12%	5%	6%
	Grades 9-11	38%	32%	32%	28%	25%	20%
	Grades 12-13	21%	17%	32%	25%	44%	36%
	Some univ	6%	5%	8%	8%	5%	6%
	Dip < BA	2%	2%	2%	2%	2%	2%
	BA	4%	4%	9%	12%	12%	16%
	Dip > BA	2%	9%	1%	3%	2%	3%
	MA/PhD	2%	4%	3%	6%	4%	8%
Cohort-2 1961-70	TOTAL	212,295	12,199	213,450	32,100	189,799	37,800
	< 5	6%	5%	6%	4%	4%	2%
	Grades 5-8	24%	25%	17%	17%	13%	16%
	Grades 9-11	20%	19%	21%	22%	17%	16%
	Grades 12-13	26%	24%	31%	30%	38%	34%
	Some univ	6%	7%	7%	7%	5%	6%
	Dip < BA	4%	3%	3%	2%	3%	2%
	BA	6%	6%	8%	8%	11%	12%
	Dip > BA	3%	6%	1%	2%	2%	3%
	MA/PhD	5%	5%	7%	8%	7%	8%
Cohort-3 1971-77	TOTAL			173,050	18,300	179,401	31,168
	< 5			4%	2%	4%	2%
	Grades 5-8			8%	4%	7%	6%
	Grades 9-11			16%	10%	16%	13%
	Grades 12-13			26%	17%	42%	39%
	Some univ			8%	7%	7%	8%
	Dip < BA			3%	2%	3%	2%
	BA			9%	7%	13%	15%
	Dip > BA			1%	1%	2%	2%
	MA/PhD			5%	6%	6%	12%

Source: 1971 Census database, 1981, 1991 public use samples, individual files

Note: Population 15-64 not in school full time

Living in Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver

Table 3.21

**Angle of Difference in Industry Distribution by Age and Schooling
Between Canadian-born and Cohort-2 and Cohort-3 Self-Employed Males
Living in the Six CMAs, 1981**

penmm	education	age					
		TOTAL	age 15-24	age 25-34	age 35-44	age 45-54	age 55-64
Cohort-2 1961-70	TOTAL	20.3°		25.0°	21.1°	31.4°	19.8°
	< 5						
	5-8	23.7°		31.9°	20.4°		
	9-11	19.4°		36.4°	12.8°		
	12-13	12.2°		19.8°	14.5°	20.9°	
	Some univ	15.3°					
	Dip < BA						
	BA	18.7°			24.1°		
	Dip > BA						
Cohort-3 1971-77	MA/PhD	7.9°			8.4°		
	TOTAL	20.2°		16.6°	24.7°		
	< 5						
	Gr 5-8						
	Gr 9-11	20.4°					
	Gr 12-13	9.6°		11.3°			
	Some univ						
	Dip < BA						
	BA						
	Dip > BA						
	MA/PhD						

Source

1981 Public Use Sample

Note

Population age 15-64 not in school full time

Living in CMAs of Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver

blanks shown where weighted cell count is less than 2500.

caused a substantial shift out of social services toward construction, particularly in the case for immigrants arriving prior to 1967 (see Appendix IV: Standardization Tables). This means that standardizing by schooling actually caused immigrants to be shifted out of high education industries toward low education industries.

By 1991, 15 percent of Cohort-3 men were self-employed, a figure higher than for Canadian-born males, 12 percent of whom were self-employed. As before, this growth was due to the entrance of immigrants who completed their schooling in Canada. These immigrants generally had Canadian credentials and would be expected to have industry profiles similar to that of their Canadian-born counterparts. There should be an overall convergence in the type of work done by immigrants, both because of these new immigrants and because one would expect the work of immigrants to become increasingly similar as they integrated into Canada's economy and society.

With the passage of ten years, there were also changes within Cohort-2 (1961-70). Self-employed Asian immigrants, for example, were distinguished by the fact that they were not concentrated in consumer services, but rather in business services. As opposed to European groups, they were under-represented in construction (Italian, Portuguese and German males remained concentrated in this sector, see Table 3.22).

The relationship between schooling and the similarity in labour force role was not even across schooling levels. Immigrants with high school diplomas and those with university degrees had industry distributions which were very close to those of Canadian-born males with similar schooling. Immigrants with less schooling, or with graduate degrees did not. These latter differences could possibly point to issues of accreditation

Table 3.22

Industry Distribution by Place of Birth For Canadian-born and Cohort-2 and Cohort-3 Self-Employed
Males, Living in the Six CMAs, 1991

	Primary	Manu- facturing	Construc- tion	Distributive Services	Consumer Services	Business Services	Social Services	TOTAL	Angle
Canadian-born	4%	7%	19%	11%	26%	28%	6%	228,868	
Cohort 2 1961-70	2%	9%	20%	10%	35%	20%	5%	37,800	13°
USA	0%	6%	8%	17%	27%	39%	8%	1,733	20°
UK	3%	8%	20%	9%	21%	34%	6%	4,767	13°
Germany	4%	13%	33%	7%	17%	24%	2%	1,533	23°
Portugal	0%	7%	24%	21%	36%	12%	0%	1,400	25°
Italy	0%	12%	32%	8%	43%	4%	0%	7,600	33°
Other Europe	2%	9%	24%	6%	39%	16%	4%	9,834	21°
China HK	3%	7%	6%	9%	41%	25%	9%	2,267	30°
Middle East & W Asia	0%	11%	6%	22%	36%	14%	11%	1,200	23°
Southern Asia	2%	2%	2%	21%	21%	42%	9%	1,434	31°
Other Asia	7%	9%	5%	12%	35%	21%	12%	1,434	24°
Latin Amer & Caribbean	4%	7%	15%	15%	33%	18%	9%	1,833	15°
Other	0%	4%	9%	6%	40%	32%	9%	2,867	21°
Cohort 3 1971-77	1%	8%	15%	13%	36%	16%	8%	31,167	17°
USA	0%	10%	7%	0%	43%	26%	14%	1,400	26°
UK	0%	7%	25%	5%	22%	30%	13%	2,934	17°
Germany	0%	7%	21%	14%	43%	7%	7%	468	
Portugal	0%	13%	46%	13%	21%	8%	0%	600	
Italy	0%	15%	35%	15%	23%	13%	0%	1,333	
Other Europe	4%	6%	26%	13%	34%	12%	6%	4,733	21°
China HK	2%	6%	5%	12%	36%	30%	9%	3,467	21°
Middle East & W Asia	0%	13%	4%	16%	49%	9%	9%	2,533	37°
Southern Asia	1%	11%	5%	32%	30%	17%	3%	2,900	34°
Other Asia	2%	6%	2%	7%	57%	19%	8%	4,000	36°
Latin Amer & Caribbean	0%	8%	27%	18%	30%	12%	5%	3,100	23°
Other	1%	9%	12%	12%	34%	19%	14%	3,433	19°

Note: Population age 15-64 not in school full time

Living in CMAs: Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver

Source: 1991 Public Use Sample, Individual file.

since it is possible that the foreign held professional degrees were not recognized in Canada.

What is readily apparent is how self-employed immigrants of different origins gravitated toward different sectors. For example, while the arccos (r_p) for immigrants in Cohort-3 was 17 degrees, it was 34 degrees for self-employed immigrants from South Asia and 37 degrees for those from the Middle East and West Asia. The higher angles of difference for Cohort-3 Asian immigrants were a result of their concentration in distributive and consumer services. Sixty-two percent of South Asian males worked in those two sectors. Self-employed Latin American and Caribbean immigrants displayed a relatively more similar pattern of distribution to Canadian-born males, with a comparatively low 23 degrees separating the two distributions. Any differences were caused by a concentration in consumer services and construction. However, differences between Canadian-born self-employed males and immigrants from the United Kingdom were to a large degree caused, not by a concentration in consumer services, but rather by the concentration of these immigrants in social and business services.

The ten-year period between 1981 and 1991 thus saw both a relatively rapid increase in the proportion of self-employed immigrants and a concentration in the sectors within which self-employed immigrants worked. However, the pattern of self-employment for immigrants across different cohorts was quite similar regardless of entry period. Immigrants entered the labour market generally as wage labourers and then shifted to self-employment at a higher rate than was the case for Canadian-born males. The shift was generally made toward the same sector within which immigrants had been

concentrated in the wage labour force.⁵¹ The drop in construction as a key sector for self-employed immigrants is attributable to the fact that Canada had not received as many Southern European immigrants during the early and mid-1970s. The new immigrants arriving from outside Europe were simply not as likely to work in construction, often had relatively high levels of schooling, and were concentrated in other sectors, including consumer and social services. These sectors often required a higher level of either schooling (as in the case of social services), or capital (as with consumer services) than did construction.

II. Summary: Males in Cohorts 2 and 3

During the twenty-year period between 1971 and 1991, the work done by male immigrants changed, both within and across cohorts. This change took the form of a shift in the industries within which immigrants worked toward those within which Canadian-born men were concentrated. Thus there was a move out of manufacturing and construction toward the service sectors. However, the convergence within any given cohort was more often a product of younger Canadian, educated immigrants entering the labour market in a fashion similar to their Canadian-born counterparts, rather than the results of an actual shift in the type of work done by individual immigrants from one period to another. Different immigrant cohorts were concentrated in different sectors of the labour force. Immigrants in the Cohort-2 were far more likely to work in manufacturing or construction than immigrants who followed later. There were also

⁵¹ I conducted a loglinear analysis which pooled data for all census years by sex, industry, education, age and class of worker. Analyzing the residuals from one census period to another confirmed the conclusion that the majority of the shifts between employment and self-employment were within the same industry sector.

important differences between the distributions of wage labour and self-employed males. Self-employed males, regardless of immigrant status or census period, were far more likely to be in consumer services than in manufacturing.

The contrasts in the work done by immigrant males were not completely explained by either differences in age or schooling. Standardizing the distributions by either one or both characteristics did not change the distribution across industries substantially, regardless of which cohort was examined. Granted there was some reduction in the difference between immigrants and non-immigrants by age, but it occurred only for the younger age groups. In other words, those immigrants who were schooled in Canada and then entered the Canadian labour force had a very similar industry distribution to the Canadian-born. Those who had been schooled outside Canada, and were older, tended to be more concentrated in particular industry sectors than were native-born males.

The differences in distributions between immigrants and non-immigrants, and the similarities in concentration between employed and self-employed immigrants, also help explain the high rates of self-employment among immigrants. Because immigrants were concentrated in sectors conducive to self-employment, such as construction and consumer services, it was relatively easy for them to make the leap from being employed to self-employed. Thus what appears to happen is that the immigrants came to Canada, got a job working for someone, and then a portion of the cohort made the leap to self-employment within the same general sector.

I. The Role of Women in the Labour Force

J. Women in Cohort-2

The thirty-year period between 1961 and 1991 was one which saw a dramatic increase in the labour participation rate of women. While only 40 percent of Canadian-born women were active in the labour force in 1961, this percentage more than doubled by 1991 to 81 percent. Similarly, the participation rate of immigrant women increased from 67% to almost 80%. Working women were concentrated in different sectors of the labour force than was the case for males. They were less likely to work in manufacturing and construction, but more likely to work in social services than men. There were also distinct differences between the labour force roles played by Canadian-born and immigrant women. In this section I will detail these differences in order to define the changing labour force role of immigrant women who arrived between 1961 and 1977.

In 1971 there were two hundred forty thousand immigrant women of labour force age (15-64) who had come to Canada in the previous decade (see Table 3.23). These women came to Canada during a period of tremendous change, both in terms of the work available and in terms of the labour force role of women. In 1971, two thirds of all women who immigrated during the decade prior were active in the labour force. Twenty years later, almost four out of five native-born women were working in the labour force.

Table 3.23

Class of Worker by Immigrant Status, for Females
(Immigrants arriving between 1961-70), Living in the Six CMAs, 1971

	Canadian-born	Cohort-2 Immigrants (1961-70)
Total	1,606,320	240,547
Not Active	41%	33%
Active	59%	67%
active	939,740	161,814
Wage Labour	98%	98%
Self-Employed	2%	2%

Note Population age 15-64 not in school full time

Living in CMAs of Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver

Source 1971 Census database

The 1960s also saw the solidification of women's roles within consumer services and the clerical industries. Concomitantly, the 1960s and early 1970s witnessed a reinforcement of the binodal nature of immigrant schooling distributions which in turn acted to influence the general industry within which immigrant women worked. While the education levels of immigrant women were, on average, similar to Canadian-born women, they were weighted toward either end of the spectrum. Thus, immigrant women as a group had higher proportions of both well and poorly schooled members than did the Canadian-born (see Table 3.1). As in the case of male immigrants, reflected differences in the source countries from which immigrants came.

While some immigrant groups from countries such as Germany or the region of Latin America had similar schooling distributions to that of native-born women, women from Southern European countries (Italy, Greece and Portugal) tended to have very low levels of schooling. Over 70 percent of Southern European women had less than nine years of formal schooling (as opposed to 22 percent of Canadian-born women). Female immigrants from the USA, Asia and Czechoslovakia tended to be very well schooled.

Over half of all immigrant women from the United States, and one third of those from Asia, had at least some university schooling. These schooling characteristics acted as streaming agents in the labour force. However, as was the case for men, the work women did was conditioned by changes to the labour market which increasingly emphasised service sector jobs over those in manufacturing.

1. Women in the Labour Force

In 1971, of the almost quarter million immigrant women of labour force age who had immigrated to Canada during the 1960s, just over one hundred sixty-thousand were active in the labour force. Only 2 percent were self-employed. Although the proportion of self-employed women did rise to 8 percent by 1991, the absolute number of self-employed women remained low.

Both native-born and immigrant women were more concentrated in particular industry sectors than was the case for men. In 1971, about a third of all working women were in consumer services, about one fifth were in social services and another fifth worked in manufacturing (see Table 3.24).

By 1991, the proportion of women working in manufacturing had dropped by half, whereas their representation in social services and consumer services remained roughly the same. The real growth was in social and business services, which had increased from a total of 29 percent in 1971 to 38 percent in 1991.

Table 3.24

**Industry Sector for Women Living in the Six CMAs,
1961-1991**

	1961	1971	1981	1991
TOTAL	662,526	1,342,802	2,001,800	2,559,498
Primary	0%	1%	1%	1%
Manufacturing	24%	18%	16%	12%
Construction	1%	1%	2%	2%
Distributive Services	10%	8%	10%	10%
Consumer Services	30%	23%	28%	29%
Business Services	12%	12%	16%	18%
Social Services	17%	22%	21%	23%
Public Administration	4%	4%	5%	6%

Source: 1961, 1971 Census database, 1981, 1991 Public Use Samples

Note: Population age 15-64 not in school full time

Living in Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver

Thus it appears that women were feeding into the growth sectors -- consumer services, business and social services. The question is, were immigrant women, and particularly those with relatively low levels of schooling, also moving into those sectors, or were they were shunted into manufacturing or sub-sectors of consumer services.?

a. Wage Labour Women in 1971: Cohort-2

Given that the proportion of women who were self employed in 1971 was relatively small, the industry distribution for all women was very similar to that of women who worked in the wage labour force. However, there were definite differences between immigrant and Canadian-born women. While both native-born and immigrant women were concentrated in consumer and social services, recently arrived immigrant women were also concentrated in manufacturing (see Table 3.25).

Table 3.25
Industrial Sector for Wage Labour Females, by Immigrant Status
(1961-70) Living in the Six CMAs, 1971

Industry Sector	Canadian-born	Cohort-2 Immigrants (1961-70)
TOTAL	918,491	158,814
Primary	1%	1%
Manufacturing	16%	29%
Construction	1%	1%
Distributive Services	9%	6%
Consumer Services	22%	21%
Business Services	13%	11%
Social Services	23%	22%
Public Administration	5%	3%
na	10%	7%
Angle of difference		18°

Source: 1971 Census database

Note: Population age 15-64 not in school full time

Living in CMAs of Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Edmonton, Calgary, and Vancouver

Because Cohort-2.2 women were more likely to have higher levels of schooling than those in Cohort-2.1, this latter cohort also had a more similar industry distribution to native-born women. As a result, while the overall distance between industry distributions of Canadian-born women and women immigrating during the 1960s was 18 degrees, it was 23 degrees for those in Cohort-2.1 and only 14 degrees for those in Cohort-2.2 (see Table 3.26). In both cases there were differences by age, but schooling was clearly dominant in determining how closely the work of immigrant women matched that of native-born women. As a group, poorly schooled immigrants had very different industry distributions as compared to poorly schooled Canadian-born women, while immigrant women with university degrees had industry distributions which were almost identical to those of Canadian-born women of similar schooling levels. Female immigrants with less than five years of schooling showed signs of heavy concentration in particular industry sectors. The bulk of these poorly schooled immigrant women worked in manufacturing. In this instance, standardizing the distributions by schooling did act to

Table 3.26

**Angle of Difference in Industry Distribution by Age and Schooling
Between Canadian-born and Cohort-2 Wage Labour Females
Living in the Six CMAs, 1971**

Cohort	Schooling	Age					
		TOTAL	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64
Cohort 2 1 1961-66	TOTAL	23°	35°	22°	22°	24°	17°
	< 5	27°	27°	21°	22°	30°	19°
	gr 5-8	29°	20°	23°	25°	27°	13°
	gr 9-11	12°	14°	14°	16°	14°	13°
	gr 12-13	9°	15°	13°	12°	11°	18°
	Some univ	15°	35°	19°	10°	23°	47°
	Dip < BA	5°	39°	6°	4°	11°	10°
	BA	3°	12°	3°	4°	9°	30°
	1st prof degree	5°	22°	3°	6°	20°	29°
	MA / PhD	2°	16°	3°	2°	2°	9°
Cohort 2 2 1967-70	TOTAL	14°	20°	9°	16°	16°	12°
	< 5	20°	19°	13°	15°	18°	22°
	gr 5-8	24°	17°	13°	16°	13°	7°
	gr 9-11	15°	15°	16°	18°	14°	13°
	gr 12-13	9°	14°	9°	14°	13°	16°
	Some univ	14°	17°	16°	8°	19°	27°
	Dip < BA	11°	29°	8°	10°	17°	18°
	BA	12°	12°	14°	14°	7°	18°
	1st prof degree	9°	16°	7°	12°	12°	8°
	MA / PhD	4°	11°	5°	2°	10°	12°
Cohort 2 1961-70	TOTAL	18°	25°	15°	19°	21°	15°
	< 5	24°	22°	18°	20°	25°	16°
	gr 5-8	27°	18°	19°	22°	22°	9°
	gr 9-11	14°	14°	15°	17°	14°	12°
	gr 12-13	9°	14°	10°	13°	12°	17°
	Some univ	15°	20°	17°	9°	20°	30°
	Dip < BA	8°	30°	7°	6°	10°	10°
	BA	9°	11°	10°	7°	6°	19°
	1st prof degree	7°	16°	5°	8°	13°	17°
	MA / PhD	3°	10°	4°	2°	6°	9°

Source 1971 Census database

Note Population age 15-64 not in school full time

Living in CMAs of Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver

shift a substantial proportion of women into other sectors (see Appendix IV: Standardization Tables).

Differences by schooling were reflected in the way different immigrant groups were dispersed across the labour force. Immigrant women from Northern Europe and the Caribbean had very similar industry distributions, indicating that their role was almost identical to that of the Canadian-born. Southern European women had quite different distributions, generally characterized by a heavy concentration in manufacturing (see Table 3.27). Asian-born women were far more likely to work in social services. One third of South Asian women, and almost 60 percent of women from Asian countries other than China, worked in the social services.

The industry within which people work in the labour force is, at least in part, related to schooling attributes. However, within any given industry sector the angle of difference in schooling was quite high, suggesting that immigrant women were entering specific niches within the general industry divisions examined here. For example, while almost 30 percent of immigrant women worked in manufacturing, they were heavily concentrated within a particular sub-sector. Forty percent of Italian and Greek women working in the labour force worked in the needle trades (see Table 3.28). Over one fifth of Portuguese and Chinese women were also active in the needle trades. In contrast, only 4 percent of Canadian-born women -- and only 14 percent of all immigrant women who came to Canada between 1961 and 1970 -- worked in the needle trades.

Within the social services, almost one third of immigrant women from the United States worked in the education sector, whereas women from Asia and the Caribbean

Table 3.27

Industry by Place of Birth for Canadian-born and Cohort-2 (1961-70)

Wage Labour Females, 1971

	Primary	Manufacturing	Construction	Distributive Services	Consumer Services	Business Services	Social Services	Public Administration	Unemployed	TOTAL	Angle
Canadian-born Cohort-2	1%	16%	1%	9%	22%	13%	23%	5%	10%	918,491	comparison
USA	1%	28%	1%	6%	21%	11%	22%	3%	7%	158,814	18°
Austria Germany	1%	8%	1%	7%	17%	14%	43%	4%	7%	6,937	28°
UK Ireland	1%	19%	1%	12%	29%	12%	17%	2%	7%	5,784	14°
Netherlands	1%	16%	1%	9%	21%	16%	26%	4%	4%	33,830	7°
Czechoslovakia	2%	12%	0%	9%	29%	10%	29%	1%	8%	1,583	12°
Poland	1%	22%	1%	6%	24%	16%	24%	1%	5%	2,364	10°
Scandinavia	1%	35%	0%	5%	25%	6%	17%	1%	8%	3,207	28°
Hungary	1%	14%	1%	10%	28%	16%	22%	2%	8%	1,580	8°
Portugal	2%	42%	1%	5%	27%	12%	18%	2%	12%	1,468	18°
Greece	0%	52%	0%	3%	27%	6%	9%	0%	11%	8,462	39°
Italy	1%	64%	1%	3%	25%	3%	4%	0%	12%	9,475	47°
USSR	0%	20%	1%	4%	16%	2%	3%	0%	10%	24,923	55°
Yugoslavia	1%	44%	0%	3%	30%	8%	27%	1%	10%	842	14°
Other Europe	0%	18%	0%	3%	23%	6%	12%	1%	10%	5,533	38°
West Asia	0%	26%	1%	8%	28%	8%	27%	3%	8%	6,266	10°
China	2%	32%	0%	5%	23%	10%	21%	3%	11%	1,655	17°
Other Asia	1%	13%	0%	8%	27%	7%	13%	2%	10%	4,525	27°
Caribbean	0%	16%	0%	7%	12%	11%	46%	4%	7%	10,233	30°
Latin America	0%	25%	1%	6%	20%	14%	32%	6%	6%	16,013	12°
Other	0%	17%	1%	9%	18%	12%	21%	1%	8%	1,334	19°
										11,080	12°

Note: Population age 15-64 not in school full time

Living in CMAs of Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver

1971 Census database

Source

Table 2.28

Detailed Industry Distribution For Canadian-born and Cohort-2 (1961-70) Wage Labour Women
Living in the Bix CMAs, 1971

		TOTAL															Public Administration	na	
		Manufacturing		Construction	Distributive Services		Consumer Services				Business Services				Social Services				
		Needle-traded	Other Manufacturing		Wholesale Trade	Other Distributive Services	Retail Trade	Personal Services	Food & Lodging	Other Services	FIRE	Other Business Serv.	Health Welfare	Education					
		Canadian-born	818,491	4%	12%	1%	5%	4%	13%	3%	5%	2%	9%	4%	12%	10%	5%	10%	
Immigrant Total		14%	15%	1%	4%	3%	8%	5%	5%	3%	8%	3%	14%	8%	3%	7%	10%		
USA		1%	7%	1%	4%	3%	8%	2%	3%	4%	7%	7%	14%	20%	4%	7%	7%		
UK Ireland		1%	14%	1%	5%	4%	12%	3%	3%	3%	12%	6%	15%	11%	4%	4%	4%		
Scandinavia		2%	12%	1%	5%	5%	11%	6%	5%	4%	12%	4%	16%	6%	2%	6%	6%		
Netherlands		1%	11%	0%	4%	5%	11%	9%	5%	3%	8%	2%	10%	10%	1%	8%	8%		
Austria Germany		5%	15%	1%	7%	5%	12%	7%	6%	4%	9%	3%	11%	6%	2%	7%	7%		
Czechoslovakia		6%	17%	1%	4%	2%	8%	3%	6%	6%	10%	6%	13%	11%	1%	5%	5%		
Poland		17%	18%	0%	2%	3%	8%	5%	9%	4%	5%	1%	15%	5%	1%	5%	5%		
Hungary		9%	16%	1%	3%	2%	11%	6%	8%	2%	8%	1%	11%	5%	2%	12%	12%		
Portugal		27%	16%	1%	2%	1%	4%	6%	8%	9%	8%	0%	7%	2%	0%	11%	11%		
Greece		39%	13%	0%	2%	1%	6%	7%	9%	5%	2%	0%	3%	1%	0%	12%	12%		
Italy		41%	23%	1%	2%	1%	5%	5%	3%	2%	2%	1%	2%	1%	0%	10%	10%		
Yugoslavia		19%	25%	0%	2%	1%	5%	5%	6%	5%	5%	1%	9%	3%	1%	10%	10%		
Other Europe		8%	10%	1%	4%	4%	11%	6%	7%	3%	5%	3%	11%	16%	3%	6%	6%		
West Asia		16%	10%	1%	2%	3%	12%	6%	4%	1%	8%	1%	11%	10%	3%	11%	11%		
S. Asia		4%	13%	1%	4%	5%	7%	2%	2%	1%	10%	4%	19%	13%	5%	7%	7%		
Other Asia		2%	7%	0%	2%	3%	5%	2%	2%	2%	6%	3%	8%	7%	3%	5%	5%		
China		22%	8%	0%	4%	4%	7%	6%	13%	1%	5%	2%	9%	4%	2%	10%	10%		
Japan		4%	11%	0%	2%	4%	5%	11%	4%	1%	7%	3%	32%	4%	5%	6%	6%		
Other Caribbean		6%	10%	0%	3%	4%	7%	7%	2%	2%	13%	3%	24%	6%	5%	5%	5%		
Latin America		13%	13%	1%	4%	1%	7%	7%	9%	4%	8%	4%	11%	11%	1%	8%	8%		
Other		6%	11%	1%	4%	4%	9%	5%	3%	3%	10%	6%	16%	15%	3%	6%	6%		

Source: 1971 Census database

Note: Population age 15 - 64 not in school full time

Living in the CMAs of Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver

tended to work in the health and welfare sectors. Thus, immigrant women were much more likely to be concentrated in certain industries and, within those, in certain sub-sectors, than was the case for men.

b. Official Language Knowledge

With increasing immigration from countries where English and French were not the main language, the ability to speak an official language was becoming more of an issue than it had been in past years. It appears that the majority of women unable to speak English or French were also either unwilling or unable to work in the labour market. In 1971, of the twenty-three thousand immigrant women in Cohort-2.1 (1961-66) who were unable to speak an official language, only about half were active in the labour force. By 1981, the number of Cohort-2.1 (1967-70) women unable to speak English or French had diminished by more than half to eleven thousand (again, only half of whom worked). Results were similar for the other cohorts. Thus, it also appears that the vast majority of immigrants learn an official language quite quickly after arrival.

Immigrant women who did work, but were unable to speak an official language were concentrated in two sectors -- manufacturing and consumer services. Almost 60% percent of these Cohort-2 women worked in manufacturing, and another third worked in consumer services. The majority of those working in manufacturing worked within the needle trades.⁵²

⁵² For a detailed discussion of the work done by immigrant women unable to speak an official language see Pendakur 1992.

2. Women in Cohort-3 - 1981

The twenty years following 1971 saw a tremendous increase in the labour force participation rate of women, as well as a convergence in the industry distributions of immigrant and Canadian-born women. In 1981, the proportion of Canadian-born women who were active in the labour force had risen to 73 percent. By 1991, it was over 80 percent (see Table 3.29). Immigrant women in Cohort-3 (those who had arrived between 1971 and 1977) had a very high rate of participation which was sustained through to 1991. In 1981, 80 percent of women in Cohort-3 were active in the labour force. By 1991, this figure had risen to 83 percent, 8 percent of whom were self-employed.

The women in Cohort-3 were characterized by quite a different schooling profile than were previous cohorts. On average, they had a schooling profile similar to that of Canadian-born females. Only 14 degrees separated the two distributions. Yet this cohort at the same time, they were over-represented both at the low and high end of the schooling spectrum (see Table 3.30). As with their Cohort-3 male counterparts, however, this distribution was an artifact of the fact that different place of birth groups displayed different schooling patterns.

Women immigrants from Germany and Latin America had schooling distributions similar to that of the Canadian-born, but most immigrant groups did not. For example, in 1981, 11 percent of Canadian-born women had less than nine years of schooling. This was true for about half of Southern European women, and over 60 percent of Portuguese women. Almost one quarter of American women, had university schooling: 12 percent had higher level degrees (Master's degrees or higher). These schooling attributes, in

Table 3.29

Class of Worker for Females by Immigrant Status and Period
of Immigration (1961-77) by Cohort, 6 CMAs, 1971, 1981, 1991

	1971	1981	1991
Canadian-born			
Total	1,806,320	1,910,300	2,175,931
Not active	41%	27%	19%
Active	59%	73%	81%
Active	939,740	1,368,100	1,757,098
Wage Labour	98%	97%	94%
Self-Employed	2%	3%	6%
Cohort 2 (1961-70)			
Total	240,547	251,450	243,200
Not active	33%	23%	21%
Active	67%	77%	79%
Active	161,814	194,000	192,500
Wage Labour	98%	95%	92%
Self-Employed	2%	5%	8%
Cohort 3 (1971-77)			
Total		201,850	225,332
Not active		20%	17%
Active		80%	83%
Active		160,750	187,032
Wage Labour		96%	92%
Self-Employed		4%	8%

Note Population age 15-64 not in school full time

Living in CMAs of Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver

Note 1971 Census database, 1981, 1991 public use samples

Table 3.30

Schooling for Canadian-born and Cohort-3 (1971-77) Women by Place of Birth
8 CMAs, 1981

	TOTAL	< 5	Gr 5-8	Gr 9-11	Gr 12-13	Some univ	Dp < BA	BA	Dp > BA	MA/PhD	Angle
Canadian-born	2,234,800	1%	10%	35%	35%	7%	2%	6%	1%	1%	1°
Immigrants (Cohort 3)	231,300	7%	12%	23%	35%	8%	2%	9%	1%	3%	14°
US	9,650	0%	2%	10%	28%	19%	3%	23%	2%	12%	42°
UK	25,450	1%	3%	24%	59%	5%	2%	5%	0%	1%	25°
Germany/Austria	2,850	2%	14%	35%	37%	4%	2%	5%	0%	2%	6°
Portugal	15,650	41%	21%	25%	11%	1%	0%	1%	0%	0%	56°
Greece	5,550	13%	42%	16%	24%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	47°
Italy	6,350	13%	43%	15%	21%	6%	0%	1%	1%	1%	49°
Yugoslavia	4,750	12%	33%	20%	25%	6%	1%	1%	1%	1%	36°
Other Europe	14,200	2%	9%	23%	35%	10%	5%	7%	1%	7%	15°
Asia	75,450	6%	10%	18%	30%	10%	4%	18%	1%	3%	24°
Latin Carib	50,600	3%	11%	35%	40%	7%	2%	2%	1%	1%	6°
Other	20,800	4%	10%	22%	44%	9%	3%	7%	1%	2%	15°

Source: 1981 Public Use Sample

Note: Population age 15-64

Living in CMAs of Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver

theory at least, acted as streaming factors in distributing women across industries in the labour force.

3. Wage Labour Women 1981 -1991, Cohort-2 and 3

Between 1971 and 1991 there was a substantial reduction in the proportion of wage labour women working in manufacturing and a real increase in those working in social services and public administration (see Table 3.31). The proportion working in consumer services, although dropping a bit, remained relatively constant. Immigrant women followed the same trend, save for a lack of representation in public administration. As was the case for men, Cohort-2.1 women actually had a more similar industry role than was the case for women in Cohort-2.2. 1991 the industry distributions of native-born women and those in Cohort-2.2 were almost identical. In part this was because the schooling attributes of this latter cohort tended to be higher than they were in the former period. And, as argued throughout the discussion of immigrant men, the higher levels of schooling held by immigrants was a product of changes in immigration policy and regulations which stressed independent, skilled intake.

Women in Cohort-3 followed a somewhat different pattern. One quarter worked in manufacturing, and 17 percent worked in social services. Thus, the bimodal distribution in schooling which was at least partly a product of increased levels of sponsored intake was reflected in a bimodal distribution across industries.

Amongst cohort-2 immigrants with lower schooling levels, there were differences between the work done by immigrants and that done by native-born women remained

Table 3.31

**Industry for Canadian-born and Cohort-2 and Cohort-3 Wage Labour Females,
Living in the Six CMAs, 1971-1991**

	1971	1981	1991
Canadian-born			
TOTAL	918,491	1,345,350	1,659,065
Primary	1%	1%	1%
Manufacturing	16%	13%	10%
Construction	1%	2%	2%
Distributive Services	9%	18%	11%
Consumer Services	33%	27%	27%
Business Services	13%	12%	10%
Social Services	23%	22%	25%
Public Administration	5%	6%	7%
Cohort 2 (1961-70)			
TOTAL	158,814	184,800	178,034
Primary	1%	1%	1%
Manufacturing	29%	24%	16%
Construction	1%	1%	1%
Distributive Services	6%	13%	9%
Consumer Services	28%	27%	25%
Business Services	11%	8%	17%
Social Services	22%	21%	25%
Public Administration	3%	4%	5%
Angle of difference	22°	19°	11°
Cohort 3 (1971-77)			
TOTAL		154,100	172,967
Primary		1%	1%
Manufacturing		26%	17%
Construction		1%	1%
Distributive Services		8%	8%
Consumer Services		28%	27%
Business Services		16%	17%
Social Services		17%	23%
Public Administration		4%	5%
Angle of difference		19°	12°

Source: 1971 Census database, 1981, 1991 Public Use Microdataset

Note: Population age 15-64 not in school full time

Living in CMAs of Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver

Immigrant women with less than nine years of schooling were far more concentrated in manufacturing than native-born women with the same schooling characteristics. Those with bachelor's degrees or greater had very similar, if not virtually identical industry roles to those of Canadian-born women (see Table 3.32). Younger immigrants, most likely schooled in Canada, also had very similar industry distributions. The angle of difference in industry distribution for women age 15-24, for example was only 5°.

Surprisingly, there was no direct relationship between either age or schooling for Cohort-3 women. The angle of difference in industry distribution across ages, for example, ranged between 21 and 26 degrees, not substantially different from the overall difference of 19 degree. In the same way, while women with university graduate degrees had industry distributions similar to Canadian-born women, the pattern was fuzzier for women with lower schooling levels. Immigrant women with twelve or thirteen years of schooling did similar work to native-born women, but cohort-2 women with Bachelor degrees had quite different distributions across industries.⁵³

This distribution was indicative of the fact that the overall distribution of women across industries was narrower than was the case for men. Schooling, particularly at the higher levels, acted to stream women to a far greater extent than it did for men. About half of all Canadian-born women with university diplomas or higher, and almost three quarters of those with graduate degrees, worked in the social services. Women with lower

⁵³. Standardization by age and schooling did not alter the industry distribution of immigrant women very much to match that of Canadian-born women. Standardizing by age served to shift some immigrant women out of social services and into consumer services, while doing the same thing by schooling serviced to shift some immigrants out of manufacturing (see standardization Tables in the appendix).

Table 3.32

Angle of Difference in Industry Distribution by Age and Schooling Between Canadian-born and Immigrant Wage Labour Females by Cohort (1961-77), Living in the Six CMAs, 1981

perimm	school71	age					
		TOTAL	age 15-24	age 25-34	age 35-44	age 45-54	age 55-64
Cohort-2.1 1961-66	TOTAL	19.1°	5.0°	24.2°	24.8°	16.3°	26.6°
	< 5	14.5°					
	5-8	30.9°		36.8°	29.0°	23.6°	
	9-11	12.1°	10.9°	15.6°	26.0°	19.2°	
	12-13	9.7°	8.9°	13.9°	17.9°	10.6°	
	Some univ						
	Dip < BA	15.0°					
	BA						
	Dip > BA						
Cohort-2.2 1967-70	TOTAL	15.4°	8.7°	25.8°	13.0°	18.7°	11.5°
	< 5	21.5°					
	5-8	28.8°		26.8°	22.9°		
	9-11	16.5°	8.1°	25.2°	24.0°	16.9°	
	12-13	8.6°	15.4°	14.6°	7.4°	9.3°	
	Some univ	12.7°					
	Dip < BA	20.4°			12.0°		
	BA						
	Dip > BA	9.6°					
Cohort-2 Total 1961-70	TOTAL	19.1°	5.0°	24.2°	24.8°	16.3°	26.6°
	< 5	14.5°			44.8°	10.5°	
	5-8	30.9°		36.8°	29.0°	23.6°	
	9-11	12.1°	10.9°	15.6°	26.0°	19.2°	
	12-13	9.7°	8.9°	13.9°	17.9°	10.6°	26.1°
	Some univ	10.7°			9.6°		
	Dip < BA	15.0°		62.4°	8.4°		
	BA	4.6°					
	Dip > BA	10.4°			24.4°		
Cohort-3 1971-77	TOTAL	19°	21°	20°	21°	26°	24°
	< 5	19°		41°	43°	11°	
	Gr 5-8	30°	33°	32°	24°	24°	
	Gr 9-11	32°	19°	22°	30°		
	Gr 12-13	11°	13°	13°	14°	21°	
	Some univ	15°		16°	13°		
	Dip < BA	32°		38°			
	BA	26°		23°	45°		
	Dip > BA						
	MA/PhD	12°		10°			

Source

1981 Public Use Sample

Note

Population age 15-64 not in school full time

Living in CMAs of Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver

levels of schooling were more broadly distributed across industries, but they were still concentrated in consumer services and manufacturing. Although only about a quarter of all Canadian-born women worked in consumer services, this was true for over 40 percent of those with less than nine years of schooling.

For immigrant women, this pattern was mirrored to a degree, but there was not the same concentration of women with graduate degrees in the social services. Immigrant women in Cohort-3 with low levels of schooling were more likely to work in the manufacturing than their native-born counterparts. Of those with less than nine years of schooling, over half worked in manufacturing. The next largest sector for women with low levels of schooling was consumer services, with over one third of all immigrants having less than twelve years of schooling

By 1991, the overall angle of difference between immigrant and Canadian women was smaller than it had been in 1981. The relationship between age, schooling, and industry distribution was also stronger. Women who had immigrated during the 1960s with university schooling had an industry distribution which was almost identical to that of Canadian-born women. Those who were less than thirty-five years old (and were therefore at least partly schooled in Canada) also had labour force roles very similar to those of women with similar age and schooling characteristics (see Table 3.33).

However, once again, the dominant variable was schooling rather than age, in part because age simply indicated where schooling was acquired. Thus while standardizing the distributions of immigrant women by age caused almost no change, standardizing by schooling caused a substantial shift out of manufacturing and into the service sectors (see

Table 3.33

**Angle of Difference in Industry Distribution by Age and Schooling
Between Canadian-born and Cohort-2 and Cohort-3 Wage Labour Females
Living in the Six CMAs, 1991**

	Education	TOTAL	age 15-24	age 25-34	age 35-44	age 45-54	age 55-64
Cohort-2.1 1961-66	TOTAL	12.1°		6.4°	16.3°	19.0°	14.8°
	LT 5	32.0°				34.3°	
	gr 5-8	25.4°			16.9°	28.7°	25.9°
	gr 9-11	13.3°		6.7°	14.0°	14.3°	20.4°
	gr 12-13	4.5°		10.9°	10.1°	10.1°	10.8°
	some univ	10.8°					
	Dip < BA	9.1°					
	BA	5.2°		6.2°		23.7°	
	Dip BA+ MA PhD	7.3°					
Cohort-2.2 1967-70	TOTAL	9.0°	21.6°	8.2°	17.2°	9.2°	16.9°
	LT 5	23.9°					
	gr 5-8	22.3°			19.0°	24.2°	16.8°
	gr 9-11	11.7°		21.0°	15.2°	13.4°	
	gr 12-13	7.7°	25.2°	7.4°	8.2°	7.3°	11.6°
	some univ	13.5°		12.7°		19.0°	
	Dip < BA	10.5°				15.6°	
	BA	5.2°		11.0°	19.4°	10.2°	
	Dip BA+ MA PhD	7.4°				5.5°	
Cohort-2 1961-70	TOTAL	9.9°	21.5°	7.1°	16.8°	12.5°	
	LT 5	28.3°				31.0°	
	gr 5-8	23.9°			17.9°	26.9°	
	gr 9-11	11.8°		13.8°	11.6°	13.5°	
	gr 12-13	6.1°	26.0°	7.2°	8.7°	7.7°	
	some univ	8.7°		11.1°	16.7°	10.6°	
	Dip < BA	4.7°				9.9°	
	BA	4.6°		7.4°	18.4°	12.8°	
	Dip BA+ MA PhD	6.1°				6.0°	
Cohort-3 1971-77	TOTAL	11.2°	4.2°	7.1°	14.3°	19.2°	
	LT 5	29.2°			36.8°	34.4°	
	gr 5-8	25.2°			23.2°	23.2°	
	gr 9-11	22.2°	12.5°	11.4°	27.1°	26.2°	
	gr 12-13	7.7°	3.7°	6.5°	11.4°	17.2°	
	some univ	3.4°		16.2°	5.8°	26.7°	
	Dip < BA	15.7°			13.4°		
	BA	15.5°		18.6°	16.5°	34.4°	
	Dip BA+ MA PhD	10.8°			12.5°		

Source: 1991 Public Use Sample, Individual file

Note: Population age 15-64 not in school full time

Living in CMAs: Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver

Blanks where weighted cell count is less than 1600

Appendix IV: Standardization Tables).

As was seen in the case of Cohort-2 women, the work done by Cohort-3 women also converged toward that of native-born women. There were now almost 173 thousand immigrant women who had immigrated between 1971 and 1977 working in the wage labour force. While ten years previous, 21 degrees separated the two distributions, now there were only 13 degrees of separation. Any difference between the two groups is attributable to immigrants being somewhat over-represented in manufacturing and under-represented in public administration.

Similar to findings in other immigrant cohorts, this convergence was a product of young new entrants who had more than likely had at least some schooling in Canada. Thus, immigrant women who were less than thirty-five in 1991 had almost identical industry distributions to similarly schooled native-born women. Now, higher angles of difference generally indicated a concentration in manufacturing, particularly for women with low levels of schooling. Forty percent of immigrant women with less than nine years of schooling worked in manufacturing, and another 40 percent worked in consumer services. Over half of immigrant women with graduate degrees worked in the social services. However, unlike the case of women with low levels of schooling, the industry distribution was very similar to that of equally schooled native-born women.

Once again, as was seen in 1971, differences in industry distribution remained at the level of place of birth. Southern European women remained concentrated in manufacturing regardless of the cohort, while American women were over-represented in social services and public administration. South Asian immigrant women were more

likely to work in the social services (see Table 3.34). Women from newer source areas, such as Latin America and the Caribbean, had a more even distribution across industries, as compared to Southern European women, but they were still somewhat over-represented in manufacturing.

K. Summary: The Role of Cohort-2 and 3 Women in the Labour Force

As has been discussed, the role of immigrant women in the labour force was much closer to that of native-born women than was the case for males, at least at a broad level. In part this is because Canadian women, both immigrant and native-born, were more likely than their male counterparts to work in the service sectors. However, differing patterns were found between specific sectors. Immigrant women, particularly those with less than nine years of schooling, were over-represented in manufacturing. Within that sector they were highly concentrated in the needle trades.

The labour force role of immigrant women as compared to that of native-born women was in part a result of differences in schooling which were to a degree a reflection of differences by place of birth. Thus, high angles of difference revealed different attributes depending on the origin of the group. Immigrants from Southern Europe, where schooling levels were not as high, were far more likely to be concentrated in manufacturing, while those from the UK and USA, who had either similar schooling or were better schooled than native-born women were more likely to have a similar industry distribution. Wage labour immigrant women from Asia also had similar industry distributions to native-born women.

Table 3.34

Industry Distribution for Canadian-born and Cohort-2 and Cohort-3 Wage Labour Females
Living in the Six CMAs, 1991

	Primary	Manufacturing	Construction	Distributive Services	Consumer Services	Business Services	Social Services	Public Admin- istration	TOTAL	Angle of Difference
Canadian-born Cohort-2	1%	10%	2%	11%	27%	18%	25%	7%	1,659,065	Comparison
	1%	16%	1%	9%	25%	17%	26%	5%	178,034	10°
USA	2%	5%	1%	5%	19%	21%	40%	7%	7,666	22°
UK	1%	9%	2%	11%	21%	20%	26%	7%	35,600	9°
Germany	1%	10%	0%	13%	33%	17%	21%	5%	6,200	10°
Poland	2%	15%	4%	9%	21%	19%	27%	2%	3,266	13°
Portugal	1%	20%	2%	8%	35%	20%	12%	2%	10,966	24°
Italy	0%	32%	2%	8%	31%	11%	14%	2%	28,367	33°
Other Europe	1%	20%	2%	8%	31%	14%	22%	4%	32,733	17°
Middle East & W Asia	0%	10%	1%	7%	29%	18%	32%	3%	3,000	10°
China HK	0%	21%	1%	6%	26%	23%	17%	4%	7,667	20°
Southern Asia	4%	12%	1%	13%	20%	14%	30%	6%	5,766	14°
Other Asia	1%	6%	0%	8%	15%	13%	46%	9%	7,500	31°
Latin Amer & Caribbean	0%	11%	1%	10%	18%	17%	33%	10%	20,934	17°
Other	1%	11%	1%	8%	22%	18%	34%	5%	7,967	14°
Cohort-3	1%	17%	1%	8%	27%	17%	23%	5%	172,867	11°
USA	1%	8%	1%	6%	20%	17%	40%	6%	7,000	21°
UK	2%	8%	3%	11%	26%	21%	23%	7%	19,767	5°
Germany	4%	18%	3%	6%	24%	21%	16%	6%	2,233	17°
Poland	2%	21%	0%	7%	30%	11%	19%	11%	1,900	21°
Portugal	1%	30%	1%	3%	42%	10%	11%	2%	11,800	36°
Italy	0%	32%	2%	5%	30%	12%	15%	2%	5,467	33°
Other Europe	1%	22%	1%	9%	30%	14%	21%	3%	16,467	25°
Middle East & W Asia	0%	16%	1%	7%	43%	6%	19%	4%	3,533	26°
China HK	1%	16%	0%	11%	25%	25%	15%	6%	14,200	18°
Southern Asia	4%	23%	1%	9%	27%	18%	13%	4%	15,900	24°
Other Asia	2%	12%	1%	9%	26%	16%	29%	6%	19,267	8°
Latin Amer & Caribbean	0%	19%	1%	8%	24%	16%	26%	5%	40,667	14°
Other	1%	11%	0%	10%	24%	24%	23%	6%	14,434	9°

Source: 1991 Public Use Sample, individual file

Note: Population age 15-64 not in school full time

Living in CMAs: Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver

The variation in work done by immigrants from different countries was also a product of changes to immigration regulations. Immigrants from relatively new source countries such as those in Asia, and immigrants from Northern Europe who were more likely to enter Canada as independent immigrants than those from Southern Europe and were also more likely to have higher levels of schooling. However, unlike men, poorly educated women did not have many real opportunities for good jobs. Where men could find low skill jobs with relatively good pay in construction and manufacturing, women with minimal schooling were 'cloistered' in the needle trades. To a degree this was a product of the time. The needle trades offered immediate employment (albeit low pay) to women with low levels of formal skills, and often a poor command of English or French. The reality was, however, that the needle trades represented a dying industry which was being sustained by immigrant women. Immigrant women with higher levels of schooling were entering the growth industries -- social and business services.

L. Summary: The Role of Immigrants in the Labour Force, Cohorts-2 and 3

The immigration policy and regulatory changes made by the Canadian government during the 1960s and early 1970s resulted in a shift from the almost purely sponsored intake seen during the 1950s, toward a mix of independent and sponsored immigrants. The changes also allowed increased immigration from outside Europe and the United States. The government, by broadening both the range of source countries, and the mix of skilled and sponsored immigrants, changed the face of immigration in Canada's metropolitan areas. As a result, immigrants who arrive after 1960 played

different labour force roles than those played by earlier cohorts of immigrants.

Concomitantly, the thirty years since 1960 saw the Canadian urban labour force shift from one focused on manufacturing toward services. In 1961, when immigration regulations were changed to allow non-European intake and encourage skilled labour, the work immigrants did on entry shifted toward the service sectors as compared to earlier cohorts which gravitated towards manufacturing and construction. This represented a response to changing labour force demand and the skill mix of new immigrants. The overall impact of the regulation changes in 1961 was to shift immigration intake toward countries where there was a pool of well educated potential migrants and where extended families were more common. This was recognized by immigration officials (Citizenship and Immigration, 1962). Intake took thus two forms, a first wave bringing skilled independent immigrants and a second wave of sponsored immigration. The impact of the first wave of intake can be seen in the increase of immigrants in social services which are likely to require high levels of formal schooling.

Given that immigrants on arrival are most often labour market entrants, they were subject to the same labour entry conditions as those which were present for native-born entrants. However, immigrants were more likely to be streamed into particular sectors based on their schooling credentials than was the case for native-born entrants. Immigrant men, particularly those who came to Canada during the 1960s, remained over-represented in construction and manufacturing, while women continued to work in the manufacturing and service sector. Standardizing the data by either education or age or a combination of the two did not alter the distributions radically. This suggests that

although both education and age are important in determining one's place in the labour force, differences in the role immigrants play had less to do with their age or schooling characteristics than with the period within which they came to Canada and with their status as immigrants. This is not to say that there was not some move toward similarity between the work done by immigrants and their Canadian-born counterparts from one census period to another. There was -- but it appears that the bulk of convergence was due to young immigrants within the cohort, who were schooled in Canada, entering the labour market in the same manner as their Canadian-born counterparts.

The longer immigrants lived in Canada, the more likely they were to shift into self-employment. If there was a move into self-employment, it was often within the same industrial sector. Moreover, immigrants showed high rates of self-employment regardless of the sector within which they worked. This suggests that the reasons for moving to self-employment go deeper than simply a natural move in a particular direction. Rather, the propensity to shift toward self-employment could be a product of being locked out of other opportunities for advancement within the wage labour market.

Women did not have the same range of opportunities open to them as did their male counterparts. Well-educated immigrant women gravitated toward the social services (as did native-born women with high schooling levels). Poorly schooled immigrant women were more likely to end up in industry niches characterized by poor pay and low

security, such as the needle trades, or increasingly, sub-sectors of consumer services.

Immigrant women, as immigrant men, who received their schooling in Canada were likely to play the same labour force role as native-born women.

Chapter 4

IV. Conclusions:

Since the end of World War II, the labour force role of immigrants has shifted from the factory floor to the retail store and from the construction site to the hospital and class room. I have sought to explain these transformations by examining the degree to which structural factors, namely government policy and changes to the labour market, along with personal characteristics, including schooling, age, language capacity and origin, have influenced the work immigrants do in Canada.⁵⁴

The period examined encompassed two very different immigration paths, one emphasizing family reunification and the other stressing a two pronged approach, including both labour force requirements and family reunification. Concomitantly, the last half century also witnessed Canada's urban labour force shift from a manufacturing base to a largely service-based economy.

The question I sought to answer is: how has the work of immigrants changed over time as a result of these two processes -- that of the immigration process and that of labour force change. With respect to the first, I examined the relationship between

⁵⁴ The role immigrants play in the labour force is conditioned by a wide range of factors both within and outside the grasp of this thesis. Factors such as personal ambition, discrimination and family influences, to name a few, are clearly outside the realm of what I have tried to examine.

migration and policy in order to determine how changes to the regulations changed the type of immigrants Canada received. Examination with respect to the second was related to the settlement process and integration into life in Canada -- how did the work of immigrants change after their arrival with the passage of time.

In order to answer this question I looked at shifts across industry and employment sectors in four census periods (1961-1991). I was then able to examine how the nature of work has changed in Canada, and how those changes affected immigrants both at the time of their arrival and, subsequently, over the course of their working life in Canada.

A. Immigration as a Process:

The changes in intake patterns witnessed in Canada -- with immigrant origins being predominantly British immediately after World War II, then shifting to Southern Europe, and then toward Asia -- were a product of two major factors. The first was a control mechanism -- that of immigration policy for regulating intake. The second was imbedded in the nature of international migration itself. Changes to Canadian immigration acts and regulations which modify entrance criteria affect the types of immigrants admitted to the country, and therefore, the socioeconomic characteristics and labour force role of immigrants.

Population movements are also related to more global phenomena. This is because changes in the mix of intake source countries are based on the interaction between the historical relationships potential immigrants have to Canada, which establish a pool of immigrants and the intake criteria which define who is actually admitted.

Generally, studies of immigration are based on premises embedded within the assumptions of a given discipline but revolving around notions of push-pull factors. Thus, economists view immigration as primarily an economic choice in that immigrants choose to migrate because migrants feel that they will be more successful in the new host nation. Demographers may consider major events such as World War II as a push factor which forced people out of Europe. Both viewpoints simplify the migration process and in some sense assume that moves occur because immigrants feel that they will have a better life in the host society.

However, two elements in the migration process are typically ignored within studies of immigrants and their role in the labour force. The first is the political dimension. To a large degree, a host nation has the ability to set entrance criteria. In examining these criteria, we should understand that changes to immigration policy at any given point in time are rooted in the political climate of the time. Understanding the political climate surrounding immigration initiatives results in a better appreciation of both the rationales for changing regulations, and of the resulting changes in the flows themselves.

Immigration regulations structure who gets into Canada. Migration was almost exclusively European for a decade and a half after 1945, because political sentiment enunciated in McKenzie King's 1947 proclamation stressed ethnicity and colour in the search for acceptable immigrants. Even within these parameters, an ethnic hierarchy existed, in which British immigrants in particular, and Northern European immigrants in general, were preferred to Southern European immigrants. The preferences were

expressed formally in the regulations which allowed Northern Europeans to bring in a wider range of relatives than those from the Mediterranean. Even after restrictions were removed and all Europeans were treated equally, the preferences were expressed politically, with some MPs suggesting that the government should try to attract more British immigrants. Despite substantial ad campaigns, however, British citizens simply did not leave the UK in large numbers after the Suez Canal crisis.

A combination of political pressures expressed by constituents through their MPs, shifting patterns of global migration and a change in government resulted in Canada's ethnically based restrictions being removed in the mid 1960s. The changes to the regulations resulted in substantial changes to immigration flows, shifting the intake toward Asia from Europe.⁵⁵

The second element often omitted in studies of immigrant labour is the historical dimension, which has both macro and micro impacts. At a macro level, the vast majority of immigrants come to Canada because they have a historical relationship with the country through colonial ties and the Commonwealth. Thus, colonial ties with the British empire encouraged migration from the UK and later from South Asia and Hong Kong. However, mere colonial ties are not enough. There must still be a reason for potential migrants to pick up roots and move. This is illustrated by the fact that similar types of

⁵⁵. One aspect of immigration which has not been dealt with in detail is that of the placement of immigration field offices. The location of these offices have had a substantial impact on immigration intake, if for no other reason than that immigrants tend to go to countries which have an immigration office in their home country. Thus, intake was high from South Asia in part because there was a Canadian immigration office in India. Intake was low from Latin America because there were no immigration offices in the region.

historical relationships exist between Canada and France, but there has been little willingness by French citizens to migrate since the seventeenth century.

At a micro level, many migrants to Canada since World War II have had some historical relationship to the country because they already had family living here. Since Canada's immigration policy, particularly during the period immediately following the war, was driven by sponsorship, the historical relationship as established through those family ties has been extremely important to the immigration flows. The majority of postwar immigrants came to Canada because they already had family living here -- family members who were willing to guarantee some form of assistance. Moreover, the changes to immigration regulations in the early and mid-1960s served to bring in a new population base which could settle and then sponsor a new set of relatives.

B. The Policy Process:

Immigration policy immediately following World War II through to 1960 can be described as an exercise in incremental policy and program design. Officials tinkered with regulations and acts which had been in force since the turn of the century, mostly by broadening the range of sponsorable relatives and the source countries from which immigrants could come. Given latent demand by Canadians to bring in European relatives, these changes led to almost instantaneous increases in intake. The regulatory changes also caused a shift in the major source countries away from the UK and Northern Europe toward Southern Europe.

After each liberalization in the regulations there was a concomitant increase in

intake. Thus, in 1947 when regulations broadened the definition for sponsorable immigrants, intake almost doubled, going from 64 thousand to 125 thousand. When the regulations were modified again in 1950, allowing almost any permanent resident to sponsor a wide range of European relatives, intake shot up to almost two hundred thousand in 1951. This figure was more than double the number of people admitted in 1950.

Changes to immigration regulations had these immediate impacts because immigration intake was driven by the combined authority of the regulations to determine eligibility and the bureaucratic process to admit people. There were no preset upper limits. Rather, the limits were set by the ability of the bureaucracy to push the paper through. In this sense, immigration intake was unplanned and somewhat unmanaged. The fact that the Minister in charge of immigration had almost *carte blanche* to determine new regulations and admit people at will served to make the process even more haphazard.

The changes made by the Canadian government to immigration regulations during the 1950s led to an inevitable shift away from Northern Europe and British immigration toward Southern and Eastern European intake under a policy framework emphasizing sponsorship rather than economic considerations. The vast bulk of immigrants who came to Canada did so because they already had a relative living here willing to guarantee some form of settlement assistance.

Immigration policy and programs through the 1960s and early seventies took a different tack. Under John Diefenbaker's leadership, Canada's immigration policy was

redesigned. The focus shifted from strictly family reunification to include skill requirements and from regionally based (and hence discriminatory) intake to an arguably 'colour free' intake. The source of immigrants began to slowly shift from Europe toward Asia. The next fifteen years saw the immigration program undergo a series of changes which tinkered with the original format, shifted ministries and tightened or changed regulations. However, the underlying basis of the program remained the same as was originally conceived.

The new regulations brought into force between 1960 and 1962 allowed immigration intake to rise rapidly in two directions -- skilled and sponsored -- which were linked over time.

European intake followed a rise and fall, primarily based on sponsored immigration. As the supply of sponsorable immigrants from any given country was depleted, intake from that country slowed. Intake from Asia and other areas outside Europe rose, however, because the new regulations allowed a new supply of skilled entrants to establish roots in Canada and then call for their relatives. The pattern for Asians was thus similar to that of Italian immigration a decade earlier when changes to regulations allowed a broader range of relatives, thereby encouraging immigration from Southern Europe.

Initially, intake levels during the 1960s were low as compared to the previous decade. While intake was only 71,000 in 1961, it increased to almost 200,000 by 1966. The mix of immigrants also changed, because the government's new regulations permitted increased (and skilled) immigration from outside Europe, although sponsored

immigration continued to be supported. Thus, immigration from Asia gradually increased through the 1960s from about 2,000 in 1961 to 23,000 by 1970 and then up to 50,000 by 1974.

While intake policy defined who could get in, it was the interaction among all three components -- the basic push - pull economic / demographic factors, the political dimensions, and the historical ties -- which served to shape Canada's immigrant population. No single dimension was primary. Although immigration regulations set the basic framework for who could get in, they did not exclusively determine who wanted to get in because regulations simply established defined eligibility, not willingness to immigrate. Thus, despite a general wish on the part of parliamentarians in the 1950s to bring in more British immigrants, the lack of push factors belayed any chance of increased and continued immigration from the United Kingdom. Widening the range of eligible relatives did not shift this flow substantially because extended families were not the norm in Britain. This regulatory change did, however, increase immigration flows from Southern Europe where extended families were still the social norm and where push factors -- such as lack of employment or opportunities did exist.

The changes to regulations brought forth in the early 1960s had two major effects. By allowing independent skilled immigrants into Canada, regardless of country of origin, as well as continuing the sponsorship program, the changes served to open immigration up to countries outside Europe. The regulatory changes thus had the effect of encouraging intake from countries where potential immigrants would have high levels of schooling, and where extended family structures were common. This meant that the first

wave of immigrants would be well skilled, and that a second wave of sponsored relatives, who were not selected on the basis of skill requirements, was almost guaranteed to follow.

At least part of this flow was a product of old colonial / Commonwealth relationships. Immigration from South Asia and Hong Kong grew because a relationship had already been struck in the eyes of potential migrants to Canada through the British Empire. With the removal of barriers toward their immigration, such moves were now possible and chain migration followed.

In order to examine the impact of changing immigration policy on the immigrant population, I divided immigrant intake into three major cohorts based on both immigration regulations and census periods. Cohort-1 immigrants included all those who came to Canada between 1946 and 1961 when sponsorship was the primary ticket for admission. Cohort-2 included all immigrants entering between 1961 and 1970. These immigrants came to Canada after the point system was introduced and intake was divided into sponsored and independent class. Cohort-3 immigrants includes all those who entered between 1971 and 1977. These immigrants came to Canada after the changes to the regulations were well established, and during a period when intake from outside Europe was rising. Using tabular analysis techniques such as standardization and correlation on census data from four periods, I then examined the labour force roles of these three immigrant cohorts in each census period possible. In this way, I was able to assess their initial labour force roles and determine the way in which those roles changed over time.

C. Immigrants and the Labour Force

The changes to regulations and immigration flows caused the immigrant population to be characterised by a high proportion of members at both the high and low end of the schooling spectrum as compared to native-born workers. The schooling distribution itself was partially a result of differences in the mix of places of birth. Northern European and British immigrants tended to have schooling profiles that were similar to those of Canadian-born workers, while immigrants from Italy and Greece were more likely to have lower levels of schooling.

In 1961, for example, as a group, immigrants in Cohort 1 had both more well and poorly schooled individuals as compared to the native-born population. However, the schooling distribution of this cohort was weighted toward the low end. Cohort 3 immigrants had a more bimodal schooling distribution than the other two cohorts because of changes in both the place of birth mix and the mix of independent versus sponsored immigrants.

The change in skill and education mix generated by changes in intake meant that immigrants would likely perform different roles in the labour force, as compared to previous generations of immigrants, as well as compared to the native-born population. However, along with skills and schooling, the work of immigrants is also structured by the positions open in the labour market at the time of entry and their acceptance into the labour force. In general, the range of positions open at any given time is not evenly distributed across industrial and occupational categories. Thus, the work of immigrants, and indeed of all labour market entrants, is also structured by the opportunities available

at the time of entry.

The complicating factor in this picture is that the labour force itself changes. Between 1961 and 1991, there was tremendous growth in Canada's urban economies. However, the growth was not even across industrial sectors. The importance of manufacturing as the economic base for the CMAs dropped steadily, going from 29 to 16 percent of all workers, while the service sectors took off. The number of jobs in consumer services increased three fold, those in business services and social services increased almost five times.

These changes had a tremendous impact on the skill and educational levels required by the labour force. On the one hand, emerging occupations in social and business services tended to require far higher levels of schooling than was the case for other sectors. New jobs in consumer services, on the other hand, did not have the same demand for highly skilled labour. Jobs in manufacturing, which in the past had offered relatively high wages without commensurately high schooling requirements, were no longer readily available; they had been replaced by jobs at both the high and low end of the wage-schooling spectrum.

Through the midst of these changes, immigrants entered the labour force. Shifts in policy and the concomitant shifts in the nature of the immigrant population meant that the role immigrants played differed greatly from one immigration period to another. This came about not only because the kind of immigrants entering Canada had changed, but also because the Canadian labour force was itself changing.

The work done by immigrants differed by intake cohort, in part because the labour

force requirements at the time of entry were different for every cohort. However, these differences were also related to whether immigrants were employed for wages or self-employed, as well as by whether the workers were male or female. It was thus necessary to explore each of these dimensions separately in the analysis.

1. The Changing Role of Immigrant Men in the Labour Force

In 1961, while 6 percent of native-born males were not active in the labour force, this was true of only 3 percent of immigrants who had arrived during the previous fifteen years (see Table 4.1). Cohort-1 immigrants sustained this rate of labour force participation though to 1981, after which the rate dropped, most likely because of retirements. Similarly, the other two cohorts of males also had high and sustained labour force participation rates across the census periods.

The proportion of self-employed immigrants, although generally similar to that of Canadian-born males in the first census period after their arrival, tended to rise quickly particularly in the case of male immigrants. Overall, regardless of census period, about one in ten labour force active native-born males were self-employed. For immigrants, however, the rate increased over time. While nine percent of active immigrants in Cohort-1 were self-employed in 1961, almost one in five were so employed by 1991. The other two cohorts showed a similar pattern of growth of self-employment from one census period to another. Surprisingly, the 1961-70 cohort of immigrants showed the lowest proportion of self-employed immigrants on entry -- only 5 percent of these immigrants were self-employed in 1971. Yet by 1981, the figure had more than doubled to 13 percent. The last cohort of immigrant males had a pattern of self-employment

Table 4.1

**Class of Worker by Immigrant Status for Males
1961-1991**

	1961	1971	1981	1991
Canadian Born				
Total	1,054,632	1,494,387	1,812,650	2,155,484
Not Active	6%	6%	6%	7%
Active	94%	94%	94%	93%
Active	989,966	1,407,380	1,712,600	2,001,364
Wage Labour	90%	92%	91%	89%
Self Employed	10%	8%	9%	11%
Immigrant cohort 1 (1946-60)				
Total	330,618	346,820	312,300	196,467
Not Active	3%	3%	3%	12%
Active	97%	97%	97%	88%
Active	319,816	337,130	301,550	173,166
Wage Labour	91%	88%	84%	81%
Self Employed	9%	12%	16%	19%
Immigrant cohort 2 (1961-70)				
Total		231,902	252,950	242,389
Not active		3%	3%	6%
Active		97%	97%	94%
Active		224,494	245,550	227,589
Wage Labour		95%	87%	83%
Self-Employed		5%	13%	17%
Immigrant cohort 3 (1971-77)				
Total			198,650	220,533
Not active			4%	5%
Active			96%	95%
Active			191,350	210,566
Wage Labour			90%	85%
Self-Employed			10%	15%

Source: 1961, 1971 census database, 1981, 1991 public use samples

Note: Population age 15-64 not in school full time

Living in Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver

which was actually more similar to Cohort-1. Ten percent of Cohort-3 males were self-employed in 1981, and 15 percent were self-employed in 1991.

Part of the reason for the high rates of self-employment associated with male immigrants and the rise in these rates over time stems from the fact that self-employment is more prevalent among older workers. The average age of any given immigrant cohort rises over time. However, even after controlling for age, immigrants still had a much higher rate of self-employment than was the case for native-born males.

When the first cohort of immigrants entered Canada between 1946 and 1960, these immigrants overwhelmingly entered the manufacturing and construction sectors. Over half of all Cohort-1 immigrant males worked in these sectors, with more than a third in manufacturing alone (see Table 4.2). To some degree, however, this was a reflection of the primacy of the manufacturing sector at the time. The other reason was because both manufacturing and construction offered relatively good entry level jobs for people without necessarily requiring high levels of schooling. Thus, both native-born and immigrant males were concentrated in these sectors, though immigrants were somewhat more highly concentrated. This resulted in the two distributions showing an angle of difference of 17°. Over time, the two distributions converged to only 10° of difference, but Cohort-1 immigrants remained concentrated in manufacturing and construction while Canadian-born males moved more into the service sectors. Part of the convergence was due to the fact that, from one census period to another, younger immigrants from the same entry cohort were moving into the labour force while older workers were retiring from the labour force. Younger immigrants tended to have a more similar industry

Table 4.2

**Industry Distribution: For Canadian-born and Immigrant Cohort Males
Living in the Six CMAs, 1961-1991**

		1961	1971	1981	1991
Canadian-born	Total	989,966	1,407,380	1,712,600	1,957,665
	Primary	1%	2%	2%	2%
	Manufacturing	29%	25%	23%	18%
	Construction	9%	8%	9%	10%
	Distributive Services	23%	20%	20%	19%
	Consumer Services	16%	15%	20%	22%
	Business Services	8%	8%	11%	15%
	Social Services	4%	7%	7%	7%
	Public Administration	7%	7%	7%	7%
	missing	2%	8%		
Cohort-1 (1946-60)	Total	319,814	337,130	301,550	173,166
	Primary	1%	1%	1%	2%
	Manufacturing	35%	31%	28%	22%
	Construction	17%	15%	13%	13%
	Distributive Services	13%	14%	16%	15%
	Consumer Services	18%	17%	19%	21%
	Business Services	6%	7%	9%	12%
	Social Services	4%	7%	8%	9%
	Public Administration	4%	4%	5%	6%
	missing	2%	3%		
	Angle of Difference	17°	15°	12°	10°
Cohort-2 (1961-70)	Total		224,494	245,550	227,602
	Primary		1%	1%	1%
	Manufacturing		33%	28%	23%
	Construction		13%	13%	12%
	Distributive Services		11%	14%	14%
	Consumer Services		19%	22%	23%
	Business Services		7%	9%	13%
	Social Services		9%	9%	9%
	Public Administration		3%	4%	4%
	missing		4%		
	Angle of Difference		18°	14°	11°
Cohort-3 (1971-77)	Total			191,350	210,570
	Primary			1%	1%
	Manufacturing			32%	23%
	Construction			9%	9%
	Distributive Services			14%	15%
	Consumer Services			24%	26%
	Business Services			12%	15%
	Social Services			6%	7%
	Public Administration			2%	4%
	Angle of Difference			16°	11°

Source 1961, 1971 census base, 1981, 1991 Public Use Samples, individual files.

Note Population age 15-64 not in school full time

Living in CMAs of Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver

distribution to native-born males of the same age, because both groups went through the same schooling process.

The two remaining cohorts of male immigrants were also over-represented in manufacturing, but to a lesser degree than the first cohort was on entry. Cohorts-2 and 3 were also less likely to work in construction than was the case for the first cohort of immigrants. What is also notable about the group of immigrants who arrived after 1960 is that the industry distributions converged toward the Canadian-norm faster than for those immigrants who arrived prior to this period. For example, in 1971, the arccos (r_p) between the Cohort 2 and Canadian-born males was 18°. This was explainable by their over-representation not only in manufacturing, but also in the social services sectors. Twenty years later, there was only 11° of distance between the two distributions, explainable mostly by a drop in the proportion of immigrants working in manufacturing. Similarly, in 1981, the arccos (r_p) between Cohort 3 and native-born males was 16°, once again explainable by over-representation in manufacturing, but notably not in construction. Ten years later in 1991, there was a convergence to only 11° of distance.

In all cases, the convergence was not so much due to immigrants changing the sector within which they worked as it was due to the entrance of young immigrants who had at least part of their schooling in Canada. These individuals tended to enter the labour market at the same rate and distribution as native-born males.

There were also important differences between the distributions of wage labour and self-employed males (see Table 4.3). Self-employed males, regardless of immigrant status or census period, were far more likely to be in consumer services than

Table 4.3

Industry Distribution by Class of Worker For Canadian-born and Immigrant Cohort Males
Living in the Six CMAs, 1961-1991

	1961		1971		1981		1991	
	Employed	Self-employed	Employed	Self-employed	Employed	Self-employed	Employed	Self-employed
Canadian-born	386,611	103,355	1,291,498	115,882	1,557,900	154,700	1,730,798	226,867
Total								
Primary	1%	2%	2%	4%	2%	5%	2%	4%
Manufacturing	32%	10%	27%	8%	25%	7%	19%	7%
Construction	8%	15%	7%	14%	8%	18%	9%	19%
Distributive Services	23%	15%	20%	13%	21%	20%	22%	11%
Consumer Services	14%	36%	14%	28%	19%	28%	22%	26%
Business Services	7%	14%	8%	15%	10%	21%	13%	26%
Social Services	4%	7%	7%	7%	7%	7%	7%	6%
Public Administration	8%		8%		8%		8%	
missing	2%	1%	8%	11%				
Cohort 1 (1946-60)	290,819	58,895	296,493	40,637	254,500	47,050	141,033	32,133
Total								
Primary	1%	3%	1%	2%	1%	3%	2%	4%
Manufacturing	37%	13%	34%	11%	31%	12%	25%	11%
Construction	16%	25%	13%	24%	12%	22%	11%	18%
Distributive Services	13%	10%	14%	9%	17%	9%	10%	10%
Consumer Services	16%	37%	15%	38%	17%	36%	18%	32%
Business Services	6%	8%	7%	9%	9%	14%	10%	19%
Social Services	4%	3%	7%	4%	8%	4%	10%	4%
Public Administration	4%		5%		6%		7%	
missing	2%	1%	3%	3%				
Angle of Difference	18°	16°	15°	19°	13°	17°	12°	12°
Cohort 2 (1961-70)			212,285	12,199	213,450	32,100	189,800	37,802
Total								
Primary			1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	2%
Manufacturing			32%	29%	30%	11%	26%	9%
Construction			13%	17%	1%	18%	10%	20%
Distributive Services			11%	8%	14%	10%	15%	10%
Consumer Services			17%	41%	20%	41%	20%	35%
Business Services			7%	9%	8%	13%	12%	20%
Social Services			9%	8%	10%	6%	10%	5%
Public Administration			3%	0%	4%		5%	
missing			4%	5%				
Angle of Difference			20°	21°	18°	20°	13°	13°
Cohort 3 (1971-77)					173,050	18,300	179,402	31,168
Total								
Primary					1%	2%	1%	1%
Manufacturing					26%	14%	25%	8%
Construction					8%	26%	8%	15%
Distributive Services					16%	23%	15%	13%
Consumer Services					25%	61%	24%	36%
Business Services					14%	31%	14%	18%
Social Services					8%	13%	7%	9%
Public Administration					5%	0%	5%	
missing					17°	20°	12°	17°
Angle of Difference								

Source: 1961, 1971 census base, 1981, 1991 Public Use Samples, individual files

Note: Population age 15-64 not in school full time

Living in CMAs of Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver

manufacturing. Immigrants in cohort-1 were generally more likely to be self-employed in the construction sector. Where 15% of native-born self-employed males worked in construction in 1961, this was true of one quarter of Cohort-1 immigrants.

Differences between the distributions of immigrants and non-immigrant workers were not explainable by either differences in age or schooling. Standardizing the data by either one or both characteristics did not change the distribution of immigrants across industries significantly. Rather, I was left to conclude that the differences were a product of their status as immigrants. Granted, there was some reduction in the difference between immigrants and non-immigrants by age, but it occurred only for the younger age groups. In other words, those immigrants who were schooled in Canada and then entered the Canadian labour force had a very similar industry distribution to the Canadian-born population. Immigrants who were schooled outside Canada and had low levels of schooling, or who were older tended to be more highly concentrated in particular industry sector. Immigrants with higher levels of schooling (university degrees, for example) were more likely to have industry roles that matched those of native-born workers.

The differences in industry distributions between immigrants and non-immigrants, and the similarities in concentration between employed and self-employed immigrants also help explain the high rates of self-employment among immigrants. Because immigrants were concentrated in sectors conducive to self-employment such as construction and consumer services, it was relatively easy to make the leap from being employed to self-employed. Thus it appears that immigrants came to Canada, got a job working for someone and then a portion of the cohort made the leap to self-employment,

but in the same general sector within which they had been employed. However, even taking industry sector into account does not fully explain the high incidence of self-employment among immigrants.

2. **The Changing Role of Immigrant Women in the Labour Force:**

The three decades between 1961 and 1991 witnessed the labour force participation rate of native-born women double to 80 percent (see Table 4.4). This meant that by 1991, the participation rate of Canadian-born women matched or exceeded the participation rate of all but one cohort of immigrant women. Overall, women were less likely to be self-employed than men. In 1961, 4 percent of native-born women were self-employed. This dropped to 2 percent in 1971 and then rose to 6 percent by 1991. Immigrant women had a consistently higher rate of self-employment regardless of cohort or period of immigration, however, there were never more than 9 percent of immigrant women who were self-employed in any cohort period.

Women were distributed across the labour force in a fashion very different from males. One quarter of native-born wage labour women in 1961 worked in manufacturing and another quarter worked in consumer services (see Table 4.5). Almost one in five was in the social services sector. By 1991, only one in ten worked in manufacturing, whereas one quarter worked in social services and almost one in five in business services. These latter sectors were growth sectors in the Canadian economy. This suggests that much of the growth in jobs over the thirty-year period under study was actually a result of women entering the labour force.

Immigrant women had a somewhat different industry distribution, mostly because

Table 4.4

**Class of Worker by Immigrant Status for Females
1961-1991**

Females				
Canadian Born	1961	1971	1981	1991
Total	1,105,788	1,606,320	1,910,300	2,231,932
Not Active	60%	41%	27%	20%
Active	40%	59%	73%	80%
Active	439,261	939,740	1,388,100	1,796,632
Wage Labour	96%	98%	97%	94%
Self Employed	4%	2%	3%	6%
Immigrant cohort 1 (1946-60)				
Total	290,871	313,071	287,400	187,668
Not Active	52%	39%	32%	33%
Active	48%	61%	68%	67%
Active	140,011	190,155	196,150	126,534
Wage Labour	94%	96%	94%	91%
Self Employed	6%	4%	6%	9%
Immigrant cohort 2 (1961-70)				
Total		240,547	251,450	243,200
Not active		33%	23%	21%
Active		67%	77%	79%
Active		161,814	194,000	192,500
Wage Labour		98%	95%	92%
Self-Employed		2%	5%	8%
Immigrant cohort 3 (1971-77)				
Total			201,850	225,332
Not active			20%	17%
Active			80%	83%
Active			160,750	192,500
Wage Labour			96%	92%
Self-Employed			4%	8%

Source: 1961, 1971 census database, 1981, 1991 public use samples

Note: Population age 15-64 not in school full time

Living in Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver

Table 4.5
Industry Distribution For Canadian-born and Immigrant Cohort Wage Labor Females
Living in the Six CMAs, 1961-1991

		1961	1971	1981	1991
Canadian-born	Total	422,596	918,491	1,345,350	1,659,066
	Primary	0%	1%	1%	1%
	Manufacturing	24%	16%	13%	10%
	Construction	1%	1%	2%	2%
	Distributive Services	11%	9%	12%	11%
	Consumer Services	26%	22%	27%	27%
	Business Services	13%	13%	18%	18%
	Social Services	18%	23%	22%	25%
	Public Administration missing	5%	5%	6%	7%
	missing	2%	10%		
Cohort-1 (1946-60)	Total	130,929	182,960	185,350	115,333
	Primary	0%	1%	1%	1%
	Manufacturing	35%	25%	22%	15%
	Construction	1%	1%	2%	2%
	Distributive Services	8%	8%	8%	8%
	Consumer Services	27%	25%	28%	29%
	Business Services	11%	12%	14%	15%
	Social Services	14%	19%	20%	24%
	Public Administration	2%	3%	4%	5%
	missing	1%	7%		
	Angle of Difference	18°	15°	14°	10°
Cohort-2 (1961-70)	Total		158,814	184,800	178,035
	Primary		1%	1%	1%
	Manufacturing		29%	24%	16%
	Construction		1%	1%	1%
	Distributive Services		6%	8%	9%
	Consumer Services		21%	27%	25%
	Business Services		11%	13%	17%
	Social Services		22%	21%	25%
	Public Administration		3%	4%	5%
	missing		7%		
	Angle of Difference		23°	19°	12°
Cohort-3 (1971-77)	Total			154,100	172,867
	Primary			1%	1%
	Manufacturing			26%	17%
	Construction			1%	1%
	Distributive Services			8%	8%
	Consumer Services			28%	27%
	Business Services			16%	17%
	Social Services			17%	23%
	Public Administration			4%	5%
	Angle of Difference			19°	12°

Source 1961, 1971 census base, 1981, 1991 Public Use Samples, individual files.

Note Population age 15-64 not in school full time

Living in CMAs of Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver

they remained over-represented in manufacturing as compared to Canadian-born women. In 1961, 20° separated the industry distributions of cohort-1 and native-born women, a difference mostly attributable to the fact that 38% of immigrant women worked in manufacturing. Over the course of thirty years, the two distributions converged to 10°, due mainly to the decreasing participation of immigrant women in manufacturing, and the increase of immigrant women working in the social services sector.

The second cohort of immigrant women was characterized by a somewhat more divergent industry distribution, once again because of the strength of their participation in the manufacturing sector, but also because of their over-representation in consumer services. What is also notable about this cohort, in comparison to other cohorts, is that on entry these women were well represented in the social services sector. By 1991, the overall angle of difference had dropped from 23° to only 12°, a rate of convergence which was actually much greater than that of the first cohort. The last cohort of immigrants, as the other two, was also concentrated in manufacturing, but not nearly to the same degree. This lack of concentration is most likely because the manufacturing jobs simply were not readily available. Rather, they were concentrated in the growth sectors of the economy such as consumer and business services. Ten years later, as with the previous cohort, only fourteen degrees separated the two industry distributions.

Over time, there was a convergence in the type of work done by immigrant and native-born women. However, the convergence was similar in process to that which occurred for men: younger female immigrants, schooled in Canada, were entering the labour force in a pattern similar to that of Canadian-born women, while older immigrant

women were retiring from the labour force over time. Standardizing by either age of level of schooling did not alter the distributions to any great extent. At most it decreased the proportion of women working in manufacturing by a percentage point or two.

3. Summary and Implications:

My findings suggest that despite dramatic changes to the Canadian economy between 1961 and 1991, which saw the relative decline of manufacturing and growth of services, the role of immigrants remained largely concentrated within those sectors they entered on arrival. Immigrant men remained over-represented in construction and manufacturing, while immigrant women continued to work in the manufacturing and services sector. Controlling for education, age or a combination of the two did not change the industry distributions to any great degree. I must conclude, therefore, that the role immigrants play in the labour force has less to do with their age or schooling characteristics than their immigrant status and period of arrival.

The longer immigrants were in Canada, the more likely they were to shift into self-employment. If there was a move into self-employment, it was often within the same industrial sector. For example, wage labourers in construction would be far more likely to switch toward self-employment in the same sector, as opposed to self-employment in manufacturing or one of the service sectors. In general, immigrants showed high rates of self-employment than native-born workers regardless of the sector within which they worked. This suggests that the reasons for moving to self-employment go beyond a natural shift out of the wage labour force. Rather, the shift to self-employment could be a product of being locked out of other opportunities for advancement.

The findings also point to the importance of examining the immigrant population by such factors as period of immigration and place of birth, rather than lumping all immigrants into one group for comparison with the Canadian-born population. Treating immigrants as an homogenous whole masks important differences between and within cohorts of immigrants which provide valuable information regarding the work immigrants do in Canada.

These conclusions bring into question human capital arguments which link labour force outcomes specifically to individual attributes without looking at broader structural issues related to immigration. This is particularly the case since, immigrants are often viewed as having 'lost' human capital in the migration process as credentials go unrecognized and new contacts must be established. Such findings also point to the explanatory power associated with the politics of immigration as a means of understanding migration flows.

There are a number of broad implications which can be drawn from conclusions of this thesis. First, changes in immigration policy and regulations which act to change entrance criteria have marked impacts on both the type of immigrant flows and the industry sectors within which immigrants work. Immigration flows, however, are not restricted solely to political processes, because the immigrant population is also structured by the historical context which brought them to Canada. This context is in turn related to the relationship immigrants had to Canada prior to arrival, the political context which allowed them entry and the economic context which structured the type of jobs which were available to them upon entry. Thus, not surprisingly, policy initiatives do not

act alone in determining the type of work immigrants will take part in after arrival. This is particularly the case in Canada where a substantial part of the intake flow is not selected on the basis of qualifications, but rather, based on sponsorship, or more recently, on other humanitarian considerations such as admittance of refugees.

Second, place of schooling is critical in determining the type of work immigrants do in Canada. Immigrants schooled in the United States and the United Kingdom integrated into the labour market either in the same way as native-born workers, or are concentrated in relatively well paid niches. Those who had at least part of their schooling in Canada were also distributed across industry sectors in a manner similar to their native-born counterparts. The industry distribution of the remaining immigrant population was not as predictable. Even immigrants with relatively high levels of schooling appeared to operate in different sectors of the labour market than was the case for those born in Canada. This suggests that issues related to lack of accreditation are at play, which in turn suggests a serious loss of human capital, and a loss to the Canadian economy as a whole. Establishing a system for determining equivalency in schooling credentials would serve to reduce both the personal and societal loss of ability.

Third, it appears that the Canadian labour market is far more rigid than those who espouse a flexible workforce would like to admit. The bulk of change in industry distribution between 1961 and 1991 was a product of new entrants, both immigrant and Canadian-born. It was not caused by shifting on the part of those already active in the labour force. This suggests that that current policy initiatives which stress a flexible and mobile workforce may be inadequate for dealing with the reality of the Canadian labour

market. The findings further suggest that one's initial place in the work force has a long-term impact on one's future labour force contribution.

D. Where do We Go From Here: Research Still To Come:

In many ways, I have looked at the forest, in spite of the trees. I say this because much of the work on immigration does the opposite, concentrating on the end result despite the route. Thus while regression analysis associated with immigrant quality or income discrimination can include a large number of variables and conditions, the actual reporting of findings concentrates on the regression coefficients associated with income. The advantage of such analyses is that they can handle a large number of variables and jump quickly to an answer. The disadvantage is that in the search for a quick response, such techniques can potentially ignore the larger picture. In part this is because so much of the analysis is hidden in the regression equation and in part it is because of the limits associated with economic analysis itself.

The work in this thesis has the opposite characteristics, being limited in the number of variables examined, but almost exhaustive in dissecting the relationships between them. I have examined the interaction between policy, immigration intake and the work of immigrants and have shown how these relationships change over time. The question answered, or at least broached, is the degree to which the labour force contribution of immigrants varies from that of native-born workers given differences in age and schooling.

However, many questions remain. Given that I have only examined immigrants

who came to Canada between 1946 and 1977, a logical extension of the research would involve exploring the labour force roles of immigrants who have more recently entered Canada. These immigrants entered Canada under an immigration act which formalized many regulations already in existence. By the mid-1980s, the shift in flows had solidified, and Canada was receiving far more non-European immigrants than before. It would be valuable therefore, to see if the experiences of these immigrants were similar to those of the cohorts examined here.

Broadening the nature of the question would also be worthwhile. For, while I did look at industry and employment status, occupation and income were ignored as outcomes. Thus, other equally relevant labour force issues such as those related to mobility or even immigrant attainment and advancement were not explored. Likewise, although I was able to point to possible issues related to accreditation, the tabular analysis employed did not allow me to clearly point to accreditation as a possible venue for institutional discrimination.

In most studies of immigrants and work, issues related to self-employment and immigration remain relatively untouched. In this thesis, I show that immigrants were far more likely to move toward self-employment than was the case for native-born workers, and that the proportion of self-employed immigrants continues to increase over time. Part of the reason for the prevalence of self-employment is because immigrants are concentrated in industries that are conducive to self-employment, including construction and consumer services. However, these issues could be further explored by examining the other underlying motivations for self-employment -- was it an unbiased choice, or was

it a response to being locked out of other opportunities. And, given changes in the Canadian economy, such as downsizing and the growth of the self-employment sector, it would be valuable to assess the implications of these changes on immigrants.

Through the analytical framework and methods used in this thesis, I was able to raise issues of relevance to the mobility literature, such as the links between schooling, age and place in the labour force. With these issues addressed across several immigrant cohorts, it would be valuable to examine other issues at the core of mobility studies -- those related to occupation, income and family status, which also have remained largely untouched.

Another avenue of research would involve an in-depth analysis of data within the Immigration Database. This data base, which was not available when I began work on this thesis, provides a record match between immigration intake records and taxation records between 1980 and 1993.

Finally, the disaggregated and longitudinal research conducted for this thesis should serve as a solid basis for comparative research at the international level. It would be valuable to examine how the economic roles of immigrants in other settler societies compare with the Canadian experience. Both the United States and Australia, for example, have also experienced changes in their immigration acts, moving from predominantly European intake toward more egalitarian notions of immigration. It should prove insightful to examine whether, how and to what degree immigrants in other societies have integrated into differing labour forces over time.

This thesis therefore opens a far broader array of questions than it answers,

covering a wide range of sociologically important areas. Given the availability of new data sources, a return to relatively high levels of intake, and the passing of a new immigration act in 1993, the current research provides a solid foundation upon which to approach and deepen future analyses of past and more recent immigrant cohorts and their contributions to the Canadian labour force.

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Datasets:

- 1961 Census of Canada. Main Base.
- 1971 Census of Canada. Main Base.
- 1981 Public Use Sample. Individual file.
- 1991 Public Use Microdataset File. Individual file.

Interviews:

- David Orlikow. May 5, 1994. MP for Winnipeg.

Appendices

Appendix I
Industry Concordance Table

Concordance Table 1960 - 1970 Standard Industrial Classification

CATEGORY	1970 CODE	1960 CODE	NOTES on shift from 1960-70
1 PRIMARY	1-99	1-87,96-99	92-94 (prospecting move to engineering services)
2 MANUFACTURING			
Food	101-109	101-147	
Needle trades	172-249	172-218, 220-239, 243-249	242 tailor transferred to retail
Wood & Paper	251-271, 273-274	251-271, 273-274	219 knoleum transferred to 399
Printing	286-289	286-289	272 roofing transferred to other man
Metal	291-306	291-306	
Machining, large appliances	307-318	307-318	
Transport equip	321-329	321-329	
Small appliances	331-339	331-339	
Non-metal	351-359	341-359	356 wndows transferred to other manufacturing
Rubber, Chemical, Plastics, Petroleum	162-165, 365-379	161-169, 365-379, 385	tobacco, lino, roofing, other manu
Other Manufacturing	152-152, 272, 391- 399	151-153, 219, 272, 381-399	
3 CONSTRUCTION	404-421	404-421	
4 DISTRIBUTIVE SERVICES			
Transportation & Storage	501-527	501-527	
Communication & Utilities	543-579	543-579	
Wholesale Trade	602-629	602-629, 693	
5 CONSUMER SERVICES			
Food Stores	631	631	631 split into restaurant and takeout
Retail Trade	642-699	242, 642-692, 694- 699	
Amusement / Recreation	841-849	851-859	
Personal & Consumer serv	871-879, 893-899	871-874, 877-879, 893-899	
Food & Lodging	881-886	875-876	
6 BUSINESS SERVICES			
Finance Insurance, Real Estate	701-737	702-737	
Business Services	851-869	92, 94, 861-869	
7 HEALTH / EDUCATION / WELFARE			
Education	801-809	801-809	
Health	821-831	821-831	
Religion & Welfare	851-869	861-869, 891, 92-94	
8 PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION	902-991	902-991	891 labor/trade org, 92-94 prospecting
9 MISSING UNSPECIFIED	999	999	

Source: Statistics Canada. 1971 SIC codes. Differences between the 1970 edition of the SIC and the 1960 Edition, pp: 297-302.

Appendix II
Comparing Immigrant Cohorts Across Census
Periods Using Education as a Cross Check

Comparing Immigrant Cohorts Across Census Periods Using Education as a Cross Check

Tracking a given immigrant cohort across successive censuses involves making a basic assumption that the same individuals are present, albeit older, from one census to another. Thus, it is assumed that a change in the distribution of an immigrant cohort across industry segments is due to moves on the part of immigrants within that cohort from one industry to another. However this is not always the case since the size and composition of a given cohort is subject to change from one time period to another due to either deaths or migration. Thus the reality is that a cohort will likely shrink in size from one period to another, significantly weakens the first assumption.¹

Given this, it becomes apparent that a change in the distribution across industry segments can be due to either a shift in the work immigrants within a cohort do, or a differential pattern of deaths or migration resulting in a change in the industry distribution. Deaths are likely to be random across industries, and skill levels, so they will not generally affect the change in distribution from one period to another. In the same way, random losses across all industry-skill levels, should not effect the conclusions about changes in distribution. However, if the losses are systematic in some way (ie: if construction workers move out of the CMAs at a far greater rate than the rest of the cohort), this will effect the conclusions which can be made about the changing role of immigrants. What becomes important then, is differentiating between changes in the industry distribution due to systematic losses from the total cohort (ie those due to differential mobility), and those due to shifts from one industry segment to another.

In a Canada wide study, period of immigration can provide a fixed marker for when an immigrant came to Canada because by definition an immigrant can only have one 'first entry to Canada.' Thus, the population of immigrants who entered Canada between 1946-1950 cannot increase from one census to another. If an immigrant who entered Canada in 1955 was present in 1961, but not present in 1971, he or she either moved or died, and is not likely to reappear in subsequent census periods. However, because this study deals only with the CMAs, which constitute an 'open cohort,' it is not possible to make the

¹ It is possible to estimate the losses to the United States, because the US Department of Immigration and Naturalization Services produces tables detailing last country of permanent residence and country of birth. By comparing the two tables one can derive the number of immigrants whose last country of residence was Canada, but whose country of birth, was not Canada. Figure A2.1 shows this information, and gives an indication of the magnitude of losses to the US each year. It does not, however, give any indication of when the immigrants arrived in Canada, or what their qualifications were at the time of departure. It is thus difficult to intuit from this information, the socio-economic effect of losses to a cohort will have.

Figure A2.1

**Immigration to the United States (1945-1991)
Where Canada Equals either Country of Birth or Country of Last residence**

Source: Annual Immigration Statistics (INS, US Government)

same conclusion -- it is impossible to isolate the effect of a post-war immigrant to Canada who subsequently moved to Toronto, after 1961.

However, as has been stated, the losses to any given cohort are not as important as is the degree to which these losses are systematic -- ie: the degree to which they are likely to effect the distribution. Within this context, two relatively simple comparisons can be carried out. First, the gross size of a given cohort in two successive census periods can be compared in order to see if the overall size has changed significantly. Second, the formal schooling profile of a cohort can be compared across census periods in order to see if there has been a significant change within a given cohort. Because schooling does not change substantially over time for older individuals (ie: those over twenty-five) it is a relatively stable attribute. Using these two measures, it is possible to develop an understanding of the degree to which losses to a cohort are systematic and thus the degree to which an immigrant cohort can be compared across two successive census periods.

Table A2.1 shows the size of age, sex period of immigration immigrant cohorts across four census periods. For each period of immigration, males, a base age is chosen in 1961, and then compared to the same period of immigration cohort in 1971, but aged ten years (ie: males age 5-14 in 1961 are compared to males 15-24 in 1971). Those over the age of sixty-five are dropped off the table. The lower half of the table shows the same data but in terms of percent change from the previous census period. What one sees is the gross percent change from one census period to another within a given age-sex-period of immigration cohort.

The table shows that overall, but particularly for the older age groups (age twenty-five and over) there is, as expected, a steady decline in the number of people in any given cohort. However, in the case of younger age groups (ie: those age less than twenty-four in 1961), there is an actual increase between 1961 and 1971 in the total size of the population. For example, the number of immigrants who were five to fourteen in 1961, and immigrated prior to 1955, is almost twenty-five percent higher in 1971. It is almost twenty percent higher for those who were less than five in 1961 and immigrated between 1956-1961. In most cases, the same is true of women, where there was an increase in the number of children between 1961 to 1971. After 1971, the pattern of decreasing counts returns to normal.

The reality is that an increase in the number of children does not really effect the viability of the study, because they are not yet in the labour force. Thus the impact of this sudden increase in population is not going to be felt in the analysis. However, it is an interesting puzzle and one possible explanation is discerned when one realizes that after ten years, those age ten to fourteen are twenty to twenty-four and are highly mobile. It is quite possible therefore, that the change is strictly due to youth leaving home and moving into

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PM-1 3½"x4" PHOTOGRAPHIC MICROCOPY TARGET
NBS 1010a ANSI/ISO #2 EQUIVALENT

PRECISIONSM RESOLUTION TARGETS

Table A2.1

**Gross Size of Age, Period of Immigration Cohort 1
in Successive Census Periods, Aggregate of Toronto, Montreal
Hamilton, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver.**

Males						Females					
Period of Immigration	age in 1961	1961	1971	1981	1991	Period of Immigration	age in 1961	1961	1971	1981	1991
1946-55	5-14	25,698	31,384	25,600	19,366	1946-55	5-14	24,848	29,525	23,150	20,067
	15-24	29,335	32,673	28,050	24,333		15-24	27,072	28,567	28,200	24,567
	25-34	68,218	65,506	62,800	51,466		25-34	52,421	50,521	49,800	42,700
	35-44	70,192	66,114	59,000			35-44	55,846	57,131	53,100	
	45-54	39,131	34,217				45-54	26,436	25,958		
1956-60	55-64	12,499				1956-60	55-64	11,951			
	< 5	6,923	8,169	6,900	4,467		< 5	7,737	7,957	6,500	4,333
	5-14	31,257	31,856	29,750	24,467		5-14	28,940	30,378	27,100	25,767
	15-24	30,731	32,104	29,350	28,000		15-24	35,915	33,672	34,350	28,833
	25-34	60,748	53,634	50,100	45,367		25-34	55,313	49,409	48,400	43,133
	35-44	28,978	25,382	25,400			35-44	24,555	22,578	21,150	
	45-54	12,090	9,904				45-54	11,562	10,373		
	55-64	4,799					55-64	6,470			
% of pop ten years prior						% of pop ten years prior					
Period of Immigration	age in 1961	1961	1971	1981	1991	Period of Immigration	age in 1961	1961	1971	1981	1991
1946-55	5-14	100%	122%	82%	76%	1946-55	5-14	100%	120%	78%	87%
	15-24	100%	111%	86%	87%		15-24	100%	108%	99%	87%
	25-34	100%	96%	98%	82%		25-34	100%	98%	98%	86%
	35-44	100%	94%	89%			35-44	100%	102%	93%	
	45-54	100%	87%				45-54	100%	98%		
1956-60	55-64	100%				1956-60	55-64	100%			
	< 5	100%	118%	84%	65%		< 5	100%	113%	82%	67%
	5-14	100%	102%	93%	82%		5-14	100%	105%	89%	95%
	15-24	100%	104%	91%	95%		15-24	100%	94%	102%	84%
	25-34	100%	88%	93%	91%		25-34	100%	89%	98%	89%
	35-44	100%	88%	100%			35-44	100%	92%	94%	
	45-54	100%	82%				45-54	100%	90%		
	55-64	100%					55-64	100%			

Source 1961 Census Base, 1971 Census base, 1981 and 1991 Public Use Samples

the CMAs from other areas.²

The table also reveals that the losses from one census to another are generally far beyond those accountable from just mortality. The major source of loss is thus due to out-migration. Once again, however, the losses only effect conclusions if the overall makeup of a given immigrant cohort changes significantly in terms of their educational makeup. If the educational profile remains the same, then for the purposes of this research, the cohort can continue to be treated as if we are dealing with the same type people over time. Table 2A.2 thus compares the educational distribution of comparable age, sex, period of immigration cohorts across two census periods by providing the angle of difference indicator used earlier in this paper.³ It shows that in almost all cases, the angle of difference in schooling profile between census years, for any given period of immigration cohort is fifteen degrees or less, and generally, it is less than ten. Overall, the angle of difference for males is lower than that of that for females. However, there are important differences based on the years compared.

In comparing the change between 1961 to 1971, the angle of difference is consistently less than 9 degrees and is as low as 3.6 degrees. The change between 1971 and 1981 is greater, partly as a result of the fact that the size of the sample decreased dramatically from the main census base (of roughly 2.7 million to the size of the 1981 public use sample (of about one half million). Even in this instance however, the angle of difference is consistently less than fifteen, and as low as 5.2 degrees. The shift from 1981 to 1991 was consistent with the previous set, probably because of the variance created by the 1981 public use sample. However, overall, the angle of difference between years was

² Another possibility is that there could have been an undercount in the 1961 census. Given that it was the first machine read census, and that there is generally a three percent undercount for recent immigrant, this could provide a possible explanation.

³ The index can be thought of as measuring the number of degrees of difference between two distributions and is based on a geometric interpretation of the correlation coefficient (see Wonnacott and Wonnacott: 1970, pp: 280-317). It is computed by first dividing each distribution by the square root of its sum of squares thereby standardizing the distributions. Next the products of the two new distributions are computed and summed. Finally the arc-cosine of the sum is computed, thereby deriving a correlation expressed in radians, which is then converted to degrees by multiplying by $90/\sqrt{2}$. The index provides a measure of the degree to which the distribution for immigrants differs from that of a norm (the Canadian-born). The closer the answer is to 0°, the more similar the two distributions, and the closer to 90°, the more divergent.

Dividing the distribution by the square root of the sum of squares, from a geometric interpretation serves to standardize the length of the vectors. However from a statistical perspective, it can be thought of as dividing the distribution by the standard deviation of the array. Cross-multiplying the two arrays and dividing by the arc-cosine serves to compute an angle of difference between two vectors of the same length, but from an algebraic perspective this is equivalent to computing a correlation coefficient. Interpretation of the index has two caveats. First, the degree difference is finer at lower angles of difference than higher angles of difference.

less than ten and as low as 3.6 percent.

Table A2.2

**Angle of Difference in Educational Profile
Between Immigrant Age-Sex-Period Of Immigration Cohorts
In Successive Census Years**

Sex	Period of Immigration	age in first census year	1961-71	1971-81	1981-91
Males	1946-55	25-34	5.7°	12.8°	10.3°
		35-44	8.1°	8.8°	6.2°
		45-54	7.5°	5.2°	3.6°
	1956-60	25-34	5.6°	14.7°	7.8°
		35-44	8.3°	6.3°	4.7°
		45-54	7.4°	6.9°	7.8°
Females	1946-55	25-34	3.6°	9.7°	5.0°
		35-44	5.7°	12.1°	15.2°
		45-54	7.3°	9.4°	4.2°
	1956-60	25-34	5.6°	10.8°	4.5°
		35-44	4.7°	10.5°	12.8°
		45-54	8.1°	7.5°	9.6°

Where there are differences, they are more or less consistent. For example, overall, regardless of period of immigration or age, between 1961 to 1971, there tended to be an increase in the proportion of people with grade 5-8, and a decrease in the proportion of people with grade 12-13 (see chart). In about half the cases, the proportion of people with degrees increased, and in those instances, the proportion with less than grade five decreased. Across the board, the change from one period to another was never more than six percent, usually less than three percent.

Table A2.3 shows the angle of difference in educational profile for selected age sex, period of immigration and place of birth immigrant cohorts comparing 1961 and 1971 for every group in which the total N is greater than five hundred. Generally, the table shows that the angle of difference is around ten degrees, however there are exceptions. On the one hand, immigrants from the UK tend to show a greater degree of change between census periods, ranging from twelve to twenty-seven degrees of difference for males and ten to twenty-seven degrees for females. However, immigrants from Italy tend to show very little change between census periods, ranging from only two degrees to nine degrees. Immigrants from Germany, Greece and Czechoslovakia and Hungary generally show low levels of difference whereas those from the US, and Asia show high levels of change. However, in these last two cases, the analysis is hampered by relatively low counts, which effects the index.

Table A2.4 shows the same type of index for the period 1971 to 1981. In most cases, the range for the angle of difference is higher than is the case for the previous period, however, it is still usually less than twenty regardless of place of birth. Once again, the

Table A2.3

Angle of Difference for Cohort 1 Immigrants in Educational Profile Between Immigrant Age, Sex,
Period of Immigration, Place of Birth Cohorts in 1961 versus 1971
Aggregate of Six CMAs.

MALES

pob	perimm	age in 1961		
		25-34	35-44	45-54
USA	1946-50			
	1951-55		15.1°	
	1956-60	10.1°		
UK	1946-50	14.0°	12.1°	21.6°
	1951-55	15.3°	18.5°	19.4°
	1956-60	19.0°	19.9°	27.4°
Germany Austria	1946-50			
	1951-55	6.6°	9.5°	9.4°
	1956-60	13.3°	9.5°	17.0°
Czechoslovakia Hungary	1946-50	6.5°	6.3°	6.9°
	1951-55	13.9°	10.3°	8.1°
	1956-60	6.3°	4.4°	9.1°
Greece	1946-50			
	1951-55	9.3°	9.8°	
	1956-60	5.8°	2.3°	15.6°
Italy	1946-50	5.7°	3.8°	7.8°
	1951-55	5.0°	2.1°	2.4°
	1956-60	6.3°	3.9°	2.3°
Netherlands	1946-50	12.0°	6.5°	12.9°
	1951-55	15.2°	14.6°	14.0°
	1956-60			
Poland	1946-50	8.6°	8.3°	5.3°
	1951-55	11.1°	3.3°	4.8°
	1956-60	17.3°	10.7°	17.2°
Romania Yugoslavia	1946-50	5.3°	12.0°	13.2°
	1951-55	6.1°	9.1°	17.8°
	1956-60	6.9°	9.6°	15.0°
Scandinavia	1946-50			
	1951-55	15.9°	13.7°	
	1956-60	8.5°	12.4°	
USSR	1946-50	15.7°	5.9°	11.1°
	1951-55	13.4°	16.8°	9.7°
	1956-60		11.9°	
Asia	1946-50	9.4°		
	1951-55	17.5°	21.5°	
	1956-60	13.7°	24.7°	

FEMALES

age in 1961			
	25-34	35-44	45-54
		17.4°	
	12.5°	12.2°	
	8.4°		
	12.1°	10.3°	10.2°
	13.1°	15.4°	18.4°
	12.1°	16.8°	27.7°
		6.2°	
	4.4°	8.1°	2.6°
	6.9°	10.9°	8.0°
		9.6°	12.1°
	7.8°	5.7°	13.8°
	4.8°	14.2°	9.7°
	8.7°	7.2°	
	7.4°	3.9°	
	5.5°	9.4°	2.3°
	2.0°	1.9°	6.6°
	1.7°	2.8°	5.3°
	9.5°	6.6°	16.8°
	3.0°	8.7°	9.4°
	6.9°	8.6°	12.4°
	10.8°	4.4°	11.7°
	12.0°	7.4°	11.1°
	8.0°	10.5°	22.7°
	14.3°	7.6°	13.3°
	4.4°	16.4°	
	10.0°	10.0°	
	8.0°	11.2°	
	2.8°	4.7°	8.1°
	5.6°	9.5°	18.8°
		4.7°	
	8.0°	25.7°	12.6°

Table A2.4

**Angle of Difference for Cohort 1 Immigrants Between Educational Profile of Immigrants
in 1971 and 1981 by Comparable Age, Sex, Place of Birth, Period of Immigration Cohorts**

Males

pob	perimm	age (in 1981)		
		35 - 44	45 - 54	55 - 64
USA	1946-55	19 2°	26 1°	30 6°
	1956-60		29 3°	24 4°
UK	1946-55	11 3°	9 7°	6 6°
	1956-60	17 7°	6 7°	7 0°
Germany Austria	1946-55	20 3°	17 0°	20 5°
	1956-60	21 6°	14 7°	12 7°
Czechoslovakia Hungary	1946-55	26 8°	12 9°	23 5°
	1956-60	27 4°	13 0°	12 4°
Greece	1946-55	20 4°	10 1°	21 3°
	1956-60	15 7°	8 4°	20 9°
Italy	1946-55	14 9°	5 4°	11 2°
	1956-60	8 2°	6 3°	5 2°
Netherlands	1946-55	8 5°	12 6°	12 1°
	1956-60		19 5°	
Poland	1946-55		12 3°	7 3°
	1956-60			
USSR	1946-55	15 4°	14 9°	20 0°
	1956-60			

Females

	age (in 1981)		
	35 - 44	45 - 54	55 - 64
	5 9°	10 9°	5 7°
	5 8°	15 3°	8 8°
	23 5°	21 2°	21 6°
	14 2°	18 1°	
		26 1°	28 8°
	34 1°	22 2°	11 0°
		35 4°	
	7 5°	22 7°	
	13 0°	8 3°	11 0°
	12 4°	10 1°	6 9°
	14 7°	27 2°	12 8°
		32 2°	
		19 9°	14 4°
			22 3°
	13 0°	15 5°	10 8°

**Angle of Difference Between Educational Profile of
Immigrants in 1971 and 1981
by Comparable Age, Sex, Period of Immigration Cohorts**

males	Age		
	35-44	45-54	55-64
1946-55	12 6°	8 8°	5 2°
1956-60	14 7°	6 3°	6 9°

females	Age		
	35-44	45-54	55-64
1946-55	9 7°	12 1°	9 4°
1956-60	10 8°	10 5°	7 5°

angle of difference in comparing schooling between census periods is relatively higher for immigrants from the USA, but, now it is also higher for those from Czechoslovakia and Germany. However, it is relatively low for immigrants from Italy, the USSR and the UK, indicating a higher degree of comparability for these groups. The other factor of note is that the groups that can be compared is far smaller than in the previous census period, mostly because of either low counts or a limited number of countries identified on the 1981 public use sample.

Table A2.5a shows the angle of difference in schooling credentials for immigrants based on a comparison of 1981 and 1991 public use sample data. As can be seen only five places of birth-sex-age period of immigration cohorts can be compared because of relatively low counts. However, overall, the angle of difference is favourable -- generally around ten, except in the case of immigrants from Asia, where the angle of difference tends to be higher. Once again, immigrants from Italy tend to be highly comparable.

What the preceding shows is that overall, the educational profile of any given age-period of immigration cohort did not change dramatically over any given ten year period. However, there were significant changes at the level of individual places of birth. The conclusions that can be drawn are therefore much greater at the broad level of immigrants as a whole than is the case for particular places of birth. However, even at the place of birth level, there are certain groups that did not appear to change too dramatically over time. Italians in particular fit into this profile, however, those from the UK and generally those from Germany and Austria are also highly comparable.

Comparisons of immigrants in cohorts 2 and 3 yield similar results. Generally, angles are lower for age groups older than 25-34. The youngest age cohort (15-24 in the base comparison year) is not comparable because the bulk of the cohort was still in school in the previous census period). Once again, certain place of birth cohorts have more stable schooling patterns. Immigrants from Italy, and other southern European countries tend to yield high levels of comparability while immigrants from the United States are less comparable over time (see tables A2.6 and A2.7).

Table A2.5a

**Angle of Difference Between Educational Profile of
Cohort 1 Immigrants in 1981 and 1991
by Comparable Age, Sex, Place of Birth, Period of Immigration Cohorts**

MALES

pob	perimm	age (in 1981)		
		35 - 44	45 - 54	55 - 64
UK	1946-55	13.7°	11.6°	6.7°
	1956-60	6.0°	5.7°	17.5°
Italy	1946-55	10.5°	19.6°	11.1°
	1956-60	9.8°	6.8°	3.2°
Poland	1946-55			8.5°
	1956-60			
USSR	1946-55		11.1°	23.8°
	1956-60			
Asia	1946-55	36.9°	27.1°	13.4°
	1956-60	48.0°	20.2°	31.1°

Females

	age (in 1981)		
	35 - 44	45 - 54	55 - 64
	7.2°	20.3°	12.1°
	10.5°	9.3°	7.6°
	10.4°	12.1°	7.1°
	4.0°	5.2°	6.3°
		29.9°	4.5°
			9.5°
		10.2°	21.3°
			24.6°
		20.3°	21.8°

Table A2.5b

**Angle of Difference Between Educational
Profile of Cohort 1 Immigrants in 1981 and 1991
omparable Age, Sex, Period of Immigration Cohorts**

males	Age		
	35-44	45-54	55-64
1946-55	10.2°	6.1°	3.6°
1956-60	7.8°	4.7°	7.8°

females	Age		
	35-44	45-54	55-64
1946-55	5.0°	15.2°	4.1°
1956-60	4.5°	12.8°	9.6°

Table A2.6

Angle of difference in Schooling profiles between 1971 and 1981
of Immigrant Males in Cohort 2

pernm	pob	Males Age in 1971				Females Age in 1971			
		15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54
Cohort 2 1 1961-66	US	58.4°				40.3°		43.7°	
	Germany/Austria							24.4°	
	Netherlands								
	Czechoslovakia								
	Poland								
	Hungary								
	Portugal			21.6°		29.2°	13.0°	13.2°	17.5°
	Greece			18.5°	50.1°		21.4°	18.5°	28.5°
	Italy	25.3°	5.6°	10.6°	13.6°	18.1°	8.9°	6.4°	10.1°
	USSR								
	Yugoslavia							16.1°	
	Other Europe			13.7°		5.8°		15.0°	29.1°
	Asia			14.2°	38.2°	47.4°	23.9°	30.2°	28.8°
	Other			19.6°			20.6°	27.0°	26.8°
Cohort 2 2 1967-70	US					28.5°	57.2°	39.8°	
	Germany/Austria							46.5°	
	Netherlands								
	Czechoslovakia							37.8°	
	Poland								
	Hungary								
	Portugal			11.5°		26.0°	17.4°	11.9°	24.1°
	Greece			14.7°			8.1°	34.5°	
	Italy	40.6°	17.2°	6.1°	31.9°	12.6°	6.3°	9.4°	3.3°
	USSR								
	Yugoslavia						22.6°	36.3°	
	Other Europe			22.1°		21.5°	18.2°	26.9°	
	Asia	39.2°	12.8°	11.3°	29.4°	20.2°	21.7°	19.4°	33.3°
	Other			26.0°		28.9°	13.9°	25.4°	
Cohort 2 1961-70	US	35.0°		12.1°		29.2°	48.6°	40.6°	
	Germany/Austria	32.3°		17.1°		27.2°	17.4°	29.0°	
	Netherlands								
	Czechoslovakia							37.7°	
	Poland						32.9°		32.5°
	Hungary								
	Portugal	32.1°	6.7°	15.9°	17.7°	27.9°	8.8°	11.6°	20.4°
	Greece		3.6°	16.7°	30.3°	8.3°	14.3°	23.0°	23.6°
	Italy	31.2°	7.7°	6.9°	15.0°	15.9°	5.2°	7.0°	9.5°
	USSR								
	Yugoslavia			17.5°		19.0°	24.1°	25.6°	27.2°
	Other Europe	22.5°	18.1°	16.6°		13.4°	17.4°	16.3°	22.0°
	Asia	41.2°	14.3°	10.6°	29.2°	27.8°	20.9°	22.3°	28.7°
	Other	51.3°	18.2°	20.1°	21.5°	37.8°	13.2°	18.4°	5.5°

Source: 1971 Census and 1981 Public Use Sample
blanks shown where cell count is less than 2500

Table A2.7

**Angle of difference in Schooling profiles between 1981 and 1991
of Immigrant Males in Cohort 2 and Cohort 3
Living in Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver**

Period of Immigration	Place of Birth	Males age in 1981				Females age in 1981			
		15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54
Cohort 2a 1961-66	US								
	UK	37.3°	7.9°	9.7°	6.8°	34.9°	16.9°	9.2°	3.7°
	Poland								
	Portugal	35.5°	27.2°	6.8°					
	Italy	18.6°	15.1°	9.5°	5.8°	33.7°	8.8°	8.6°	7.5°
	USSR								
	Other Europe	23.7°	31.7°	39.0°	40.7°				
	Asia	36.4°	17.9°	26.8°	22.0°			21.1°	
	Latin Carib			17.1°	43.6°			28.3°	
	Other			27.4°					
Cohort 2b 1967-70	US	64.5°		13.7°					
	UK	62.3°	16.6°	8.5°	7.8°	34.9°	16.9°	9.2°	3.7°
	Poland								
	Portugal	25.8°		13.3°					
	Italy	25.8°	17.2°	9.7°	8.1°	33.7°	8.8°	8.6°	7.5°
	USSR								
	Other Europe	47.5°	20.2°	35.7°	28.9°				
	Asia	67.5°	19.5°	8.6°	17.6°	45.3°	11.8°	21.1°	31.8°
	Latin Carib	49.3°	17.3°	14.4°	34.2°	38.6°	31.2°	28.3°	13.0°
	Other		30.1°	14.3°				14.4°	
Cohort 3 1971-77	US						22.4°		
	UK	46.1°	13.9°	14.4°	16.0°	26.0°	7.9°	14.7°	
	Italy								
	Poland	36.1°	32.4°	81.9°		31.7°	18.6°	32.1°	
	Portugal	27.9°	25.5°	14.3°	10.2°		18.0°		
	USSR								
	Other Europe	43.3°	14.7°	35.9°	36.3°		27.0°		
	Asia	42.7°	25.1°	24.9°	26.8°	34.3°	5.3°	16.8°	16.0°
	Latin Carib			11.4°	30.0°	36.6°	10.1°	14.9°	24.7°
	Other			27.2°		38.1°	11.8°	10.1°	

Note: blanks where weighted cell count is less than 2500

Appendix III
Evaluation of 1961 Census Database

Evaluation of 1961 Census database

by

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Reference: SRA-94

Evaluation of 1961 Census database

Ravi Pendakur

This report will attempt to evaluate the utility of the 1961 census database, the bulk of which was recovered by the Analytic Studies Branch of Statistics Canada. This evaluation is being done in conjunction with an analysis of post-war immigration to Canada and is constrained by the data I requested and the computing equipment which I had available. For this reason, the basis of the evaluation will be an examination of the degree to which the counts from the database match the published counts for six CMAs -- Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver. These CMAs had the highest counts and largest proportions of immigrants at the time.¹

Overview of the 1961 Census

The 1961 census base reviewed in this report is actually a recreation of the original dataset. As far as I can tell, the dataset was damaged because the tapes used to store the original 1961 census dataset went bad.² In the mid 1980s Analytic Studies division of Statistics Canada went out of its way to restore the data on the tapes in order to recreate a census base. This was done by finding the 1961 tapes in the tape library and then matching tape block formats and sizes in order to recover what was still good. After the first pass, most of Central Canada and the Prairies had been reconstructed. A second pass found the tapes for Atlantic Canada and part of BC. About forty percent of the Vancouver region and most of the Victoria core area however was missing. The family file was then used to match and identify new cases for use on the individual file. The result was that Vancouver was recovered, but Victoria remained missing. The data was then weighted using a raking procedure which matched the dataset to published age, sex and broad occupational totals at the provincial level.

For the purposes of this evaluation and the associated research, six CMAs were chosen based both on the total population and the fact that these CMAs were receiving areas for

¹. The agreement I had with Statistics Canada was that I could draw tables off the 1961 census, but that I would have to supply my own computing equipment. The only mainframe time I was allotted was that necessary to pull the records and download them to my PC which I brought in to Statistics Canada. These constraints made it impossible to download the entire 1961 census -- I didn't have enough harddrive space. However, given that my central concern was immigrants living in urban areas, it did not cause a big problem -- it does however, limit the degree to which I can comment on the validity of the database at a national level.

². Tapes do not last indefinitely, and it is possible that poor backup systems meant that the tapes used to store the 1961 census dataset were not backed up and simply went bad. Another possibility is that the tapes used to backup the 1961 census were among those 10,000 bad Memorex tapes purchased in the mid 1970s.

the largest numbers of immigrants after World War II.³ The intent was to create a dataset containing respondents for those areas and then go on to pull crosstabulations based on the dataset. However, I ran into several problems before I was able to pull the data for those areas.

In part this was because the organization of the census database itself was not straightforward, but the other reason was due to a chronic lack of documentation. For example, I assumed that it would be relatively straightforward to create CMA boundaries using 1961 Census data which would match those used in 1971. The advantage to such a task is that there would be greater regional comparability over time. However, this turned into an impossible task for several reasons. After three weeks of searching -- looking in the library, talking to anyone who had been at Statistics Canada long enough to remember and making a half dozen information requests with the geography division, I came to the conclusion that there are simply no coding manuals for the geography variables used on the 1961 Census database.

In the course of my search I was told by a number of people that all that was required was to use the Standard Geography Codes which were well documented in several publications. However this did not work for several reasons. The first Standard Geography Codes coding manual came out in 1974. Although there were private copies distributed prior to this the library didn't have any. However, as was pointed out by one person in Geography Division, Standard Geography Codes do not change unless the region either disappears through lack of population or amalgamation or a new region emerges (ie: a new city). Since I was interested in areas that were basically already built up, there shouldn't be any reason why I could not use the 1974 Standard Geography Codes (SGC) to build up my regions. After pursuing this a bit I discovered that there was no direct link between the SGC for a given city or CMA (say Toronto) and the code used on the base. And in fact the same is true for 1971, for which the SGC books were supposed to have been used.⁴

After giving up on finding documentation I reverted to using the dataset itself to define which CMA was which.⁵ This was done simply by running frequencies on the variables

³. Winnipeg was home to about sixty thousand immigrants in 1961, but the vast bulk had immigrated before World War II. For this reason, Winnipeg was not included for analysis.

⁴. Luckily there was one copy of the documentation for the 1971 region codes in the Special Tabulations section of Census division (but only one). I was able to go there, get the codes that corresponded to the CMAs I required and have the dataset created. It is rather concerning however, that the library didn't have a copy of this documentation.

⁵. Apparently, much of the documentation for the 1961 Census was destroyed in the late

(continued .)

labeled as being the CMA in 1961 in order to get the population for the CMA on the base and then matching it to the population in the 1961 Census publications . Given the character of the CMAs I was looking at, this was not a particularly difficult task but it was not straightforward since the database I was using was not exactly the same as the database used to create the 1961 published tables, there was therefore some slippage between the counts I had and the published counts (usually around 1%). Nevertheless, I was able to determine which CMAs were which simply by comparing counts. However, creating 1971 CMA boundaries using 1961 regions was impossible because the slippage meant it was impossible to distinguish between Census Subdivisions with similar populations

As has been stated, the recreation of the database was an iterative process involving identifying unique records from a number of different databases. Most of what was recovered was from the final (post-edit and imputation) database. However, the records for Vancouver have a large number of missing values, which suggests that it is either pre-imputation or selective parts of the base were destroyed. The bulk of the missing values are for those who are less than fifteen or older than 65 years of age, however, there is also a lot of missing information for females. This means that overall, analysis of attributes for males is probably more reliable than that for females. However, the degree of accuracy varies from variable to variable.

Specifying the exact degree of accuracy is however impossible. The reality is that 'corrections' to the 1961 dataset tended to be both on the fly and somewhat haphazard. Any edits or imputing of values done were not documented too carefully, except in the case of fertility, which I am not dealing with (source: conversations with analytic studies personnel). In part this is because, although enumerators were used to collect information, 1961 was the first year that the Census division used a 'mark-sense' questionnaire that could be read by an optical scanner. This greatly simplified data input, but it also meant that this was basically a period of experimentation both with the device and with systems for correcting data problems. In today's terms it would therefore be considered a somewhat primitive census.⁶

In terms of the subset which I was using, because the weighting was only set up to match provincial totals; matching of CMA totals exactly was unlikely. Nevertheless, results

(...continued)

1980s for lack of interest. As it turned out, I had more processing manuals for the 1961 Census than did the Statistics Canada library because a co-worker who had worked at Statistics Canada held on to them after he left.

⁶. It may be telling that the 1981 and 1986 censuses reverted to a manual data input strategy. The advantage over optical scanning is that a wider range of answers is possible. However, where optical scanning is prone to consistent machine errors, (somewhere on the order of 2%), manual data input is prone to random errors.

from the weighted dataset generally fall within one to two percent of the published totals at the CMA level. Given such factors as differences between the production database and this database, as well as other factors such as under enumeration, these differences are quite acceptable.

The Weighting System:

The dataset which I first received in the fall of 1993 matched published tables by age, sex and broad occupational groups at a provincial level. A decision was also made to give everyone in a household the same weight, thus creating a master dataset from which a family, or individual or household file could be drawn, in which totals would always match between datasets. This is a good idea in principle, but it created a problem that I only caught after a month at Statistics Canada. Generally the weights fell between four to six, however, the odder the case, the higher the weights.⁷ This created one 'household' in Montreal in which all members had a weight of about 140 -- it was an institution with 1300 'inmates'. The household threw off the weighting for the entire dataset because when you weight that total up, you end up with about a quarter million people (on the plus side it was heartening to see only three immigrants in this institution). The dataset therefore had to be reweighted, taking household size into account. The new dataset matched provincial totals by age, sex and occupation, and specified a maximum weight of five for all households with ten or more people. As well, any household in which members were listed as 'inmates' were dropped from the sample (this conforms more closely to a census 2b sample). As an added benefit, the number of household with negative weights decreased dramatically using this weighting system.⁸

Detailed Review:

General Weighting Structure:

As stated earlier, the weighting system was designed to match age-sex-household size and occupational totals. Charts 1 and 2 show the distribution both as a total and by age.

⁷. The weighting algorithm used also created cases with negative weights. I avoided the problem of using them by dropping all household with a value of zero or less negative weights from the dataset.

⁸. One interesting aspect of the resulting weights is that they give an indication of what was actually found -- the 1961 2A census was administered to all households and included questions on income, industry and class of worker that would generally be thought of as '2B' questions in a present day census. The household survey, however, was administered to one in five household (households numbered 3 or 8 on the enumerators list). Given that the weights are generally around 5, this means that the dataset may be derived from the household survey rather than the 100% sample.

As can be seen, the bulk of the weighting factors are from between three to eight, with the vast majority being between four to six. The range of weights is from 0.0322 to 19.5667.

Chart 1

Only 239 cases have a weight of more than 15 (see Table 1). As can be expected, since the weighting procedure was designed to do so, weights by age follow the same pattern

Chart 2

(see Chart 2).

Tables:

The attached tables compare tables produced from the 1961 Census database with published tables from the 1961 census. In all cases detail is provided for each of the six CMAs. The first table of each set is drawn from the dataset, the second is from published sources and the third represents a comparison of the counts (1961 Census Database / 1961 Published Tables). In this way it is possible to very quickly get an idea of the degree to which database counts match those of the published tables. However detail and variety of variables in the tables is limited by the variables on the subset of the database I was provided and the published tables available at a CMA level. Differences between the published tables and those drawn from the database should give an idea of to what degree weighting at a provincial level has allowed matching at a CMA level. There are some

Table 1
**Distribution of Weights
1961 Census database**

Weight	Count
TOTAL	1,111,499
0-9	693
1-2.9	4,619
2-2.9	23,099
3-3.9	110,656
4-4.9	383,279
5-5.9	416,514
6-6.9	103,696
7-7.9	40,900
8-8.9	16,167
9-9.9	6,386
10-10.9	2,646
11-11.9	1,312
12-12.9	747
13-13.9	304
14-14.9	242
15-15.9	73
16-16.9	59
17-17.9	72
18-18.9	27
19-19.9	8

caveats in that it is highly unlikely, given the nature of edits and imputations that the totals will match exactly. On the other hand, the accuracy of the 1961 census data itself is somewhat variable since the optical scanners themselves were subject to reading error and had to be recalibrated constantly (usually at the end of each flat).

It should be noted that the database has collapsed Vancouver and Victoria into a single region in order to make up for the fact that the entire core of Victoria was missing. This means that the records for Vancouver tended to have a higher weight than would normally be the case, since the weighting structure had to make up for missing records in Victoria. For the purposes of my work however, since the primary interest was immigrants, and since I was trying to do a comparison over time, only records from Vancouver were pulled. I therefore had to decrease the weights for Vancouver records by a constant (of .935621) to match the totals for the CMA.

Table Set 1: Distribution by Sex

As was to be expected given the weighting procedure, the dataset closely matches the published data for sex breakdowns. The difference between the database and the published tables is always less than two percent. Given that the weighting was done at a provincial level, this is quite acceptable. As well, because both ages and sexes were imputed by Analytic Studies as part of the weighting procedure if missing, there are no missing values.

Table Set 2: Official Language Ability

The official language tables show that the degree of matching of the database to published information does vary by CMA. The closest match is for Montreal. Totals are within 1.5% of the published counts. In the CMAs of Toronto, Hamilton, Calgary and Edmonton, the matches are generally within two percent except in particular instances. For example, in Toronto, Hamilton and Calgary, the number of people unable to speak an official language is overestimated by five to 12 percent, whereas the number able to speak only French is generally underestimated. Matching counts for either English speakers or persons able to speak both official languages is however, quite good.

In Vancouver, the impact of missing values is shown. A total of 267,043 persons have missing data for this variable. And, in fact, the same number of people have missing data for the other variables as well. This indicates that although pulling unique records from the family file did increase the count, it did not do much more because it appears that all information aside from age sex is missing. Table 2b (Detailed look at Vancouver: Sex by Age and Official Language) however, shows that a full forty percent of these missing cases are less than fifteen years old. Most of the socio-economic data would therefore be missing anyway. Further it would be possible to impute a large proportion of the values for such variables as official language ability, place of birth, citizenship and mother

tongue by using the age characteristics and those of the parents.

Only about thirty percent of missing data is from males, and the proportion of missing cases drops dramatically as age increases. For example of the eighty-four thousand males with missing data, a full two thirds are less than fifteen years old. Another quarter are between 15 and 25 years of age.

However, almost seventy percent of the total number of cases with missing values are female respondents and the distribution of missing data by age is far more even. The degree to which values can be imputed is therefore limited.

Table Set 3: Place of Birth

Comparing published to database information on place of birth also reveals the same number of missing cases in Vancouver. However, for the rest of the CMAs the matches are generally on the order of within three percent. The degree of accuracy tends to decrease with the size of the cell count (ie: the larger the number, the better the match), however, there are also differences by CMA and country.

Records for Calgary, for example tend to overestimate the number of persons born in the USA, Poland, the USSR and European nations other than Italy at the expense of those born in Canada or from the 'other' category. In Edmonton, the number of persons born in the USSR and Poland is overestimated. In Toronto, on the other hand, the number of persons born in Italy is ten percent higher than is recorded on the published data. In Hamilton, it is fifteen percent higher, whereas the number of persons born in Germany is undercounted by thirty percent (on the other hand, the published data only recorded nine thousand persons born in Germany living in Hamilton. Montreal provides the best match of the data with all places of birth being within six percent of the published totals.

In Vancouver, there tends to be a twenty-five to forty-three percent undercount of all places of birth. Counts are particularly low for Italy, Asiatic (other than commonwealth) and 'other.' As has been stated, it may be possible to impute values for place of birth by utilizing information on the family file.

Table Set 4: Mother Tongue

Matching of data on mother tongue is similar to place of birth in that accuracy increases with cell count and varies from one CMA to another. As well, the over and undercount follows the same pattern as for place of birth. Given that place of birth and mother tongue are highly correlated this is to be expected.

Table Set 5: Industry

Table set 5 shows industry breakdowns for persons age fifteen plus living in the six CMAs. Surprisingly, the matches for all CMAs, including Vancouver is quite good except in the case of the primary sector. Further this is the case for both men and women. There are two possible reasons for this. First, it is possible that the cases with missing values represent people who were not active in the labor force, second, it is possible that weighting the cases by occupation caused cases to be implicitly weighted by industry as well.

The highest degree of discrepancy is in the primary sector. Generally, there is an undercount in all CMAs except in the case of Hamilton where there is an overcount of two and a half fold. However, given that the CMAs are primarily urban areas, the number of persons involved in primary activity is fairly small when compared to other sectors. Except in the case of Toronto and Vancouver, the number of males recorded on the published tables, in primary industries is less than five thousand. The numbers are significantly lower for females.

Outside the primary sector, counts from the database generally fall within seven percent of the published counts, with the majority of cases being within two to three percent. As before, there is variation by CMA and sector. For example, in Calgary, there is a shortfall of about 12% of males working in the public administration sector.

Matching of industry data for women is somewhat worse than that for men, for although most of the counts are within four percent of the published tables, there are major exceptions. In Montreal for example, there is a sixty-seven percent overcount of women working in the service sector and a seventeen percent overcount in the manufacturing sector. In Toronto, there is an almost forty percent undercount of women working in finance, insurance and real estate (FIRE), and an eleven percent undercount in the manufacturing sector. In Hamilton, there are significant overcounts in the wholesale trade and FIRE sectors, and in Edmonton, there is a fifty percent overcount of women working in FIRE. In Vancouver, on the other hand, there is a twenty-one percent undercount of women working in FIRE and an eleven percent undercount working in transportation, communication and utilities.

Overall, however, given the nature of the data and the number of missing values in Vancouver, this degree of matching is remarkably high.

Conclusions:

The 1961 Census database as it stands today is very rich but has a lot of caveats attached to its use, in that documentation is limited and matching published totals exactly is impossible. Overall, the matching of published data to that drawn from the dataset was within three to five percent, however, there were exceptions. Often these exceptions were limited, to areas with low cell counts anyway, which indicates that they should probably be collapsed into broader categories.

If further work is to be done with this dataset, I have several suggestions. First, there should be an attempt to impute some values for cases with missing values. Given that the bulk of missing values are for the youth, this is probably quite straightforward and can be drawn from information on parents in the family file.

Vancouver should be treated separately from Victoria. The differences in age and occupational structure as well as the type of population (ie: proportion of immigrants and ethnic diversity) are just too different to ignore. As well, if a public use sample is created which identifies CMAs, Vancouver must be separate from Victoria.

Overall, any detailed work analysis of the data will require some background knowledge of the published data and the history of the dataset itself. Part of background can be drawn from this report, but analysis that goes beyond the few variables examined here will require an evaluation of the degree to which data matches the published tables.

Table set 1
Population Distribution by Sex and Selected CMAs

1961 Database

	Total	Montreal	Toronto	Hamilton	Calgary	Edmonton	Vancouver
TOTAL	5,701,515	2,086,461	1,821,304	395,650	273,905	334,026	790,158
Male	2,832,416	1,025,321	908,234	197,605	138,597	159,335	395,323
Female	2,869,099	1,061,140	915,070	198,045	135,308	164,701	394,834

1961 Published Tables

	Total	Montreal	Toronto	Hamilton	Calgary	Edmonton	Vancouver
TOTAL	5,735,974	2,109,509	1,824,461	395,189	279,062	337,568	790,165
Male	2,841,936	1,037,646	903,255	198,883	140,435	170,265	393,452
Female	2,894,038	1,071,863	921,226	196,306	138,627	167,303	396,713

% Difference Between Database and Published Tables

	Total	Montreal	Toronto	Hamilton	Calgary	Edmonton	Vancouver
TOTAL	99.40%	98.91%	99.83%	100.12%	98.15%	98.95%	100.00%
Male	99.67%	98.81%	100.33%	100.37%	98.69%	99.45%	100.48%
Female	99.14%	99.00%	99.33%	99.67%	97.61%	98.44%	99.53%

Table Set 2
Population Distribution by Official Language Ability and Selected CMAs

1961 Census Database

	Total	Montreal	Toronto	Hamilton	Calgary	Edmonton	Vancouver
TOTAL	5,701,515	2,086,461	1,821,304	395,650	273,905	334,036	790,158
English	3,588,854	455,770	1,685,968	375,092	262,339	313,718	495,968
French	819,973	814,224	3,038	606	371	824	910
English & French	911,366	772,276	77,093	13,322	9,047	16,609	23,019
Neither Eng. nor Fr.	114,278	44,191	55,206	6,630	2,149	2,885	3,217
Missing	267,043	0	0	0	0	0	267,043

1961 Published Tables

	Total	Montreal	Toronto	Hamilton	Calgary	Edmonton	Vancouver
TOTAL	5,735,974	2,109,509	1,824,461	395,189	279,062	337,568	790,165
English	3,862,410	462,280	1,690,622	375,319	267,610	316,513	750,086
French	832,656	826,333	3,084	655	381	949	1,254
English & French	925,288	776,603	78,303	13,296	9,144	17,072	30,870
Neither Eng. nor Fr.	115,620	44,313	52,472	5,919	1,927	3,034	7,955

% Difference Between Database and Published Tables

	Total	Montreal	Toronto	Hamilton	Calgary	Edmonton	Vancouver
TOTAL	99.40%	98.91%	99.83%	100.12%	98.15%	98.95%	100.00%
English	92.92%	98.60%	99.72%	99.94%	98.03%	99.12%	86.12%
French	98.48%	98.53%	98.50%	92.45%	97.37%	86.81%	72.58%
English & French	98.50%	99.44%	98.45%	100.20%	98.94%	97.29%	74.57%
Neither Eng. nor Fr.	98.84%	99.72%	105.21%	112.02%	111.51%	95.05%	40.44%

Table 2b
Detailed look at Vancouver
Sex by Age by Official Language Ability
1961 Census Database

Sex	Age	Official Language					
		TOTAL	English	French	English & French	Neither English nor French	Missing
TOTAL	TOTAL	790,158	495,958	910	23,019	3,217	267,043
	< 15	225,108	113,590	193	1,235	268	109,822
	15 - 24	98,185	47,718	81	2,368	139	47,869
	25 - 34	107,310	72,085	130	4,928	354	29,814
	35 - 44	113,308	79,469	146	4,990	293	28,410
	45 - 54	94,327	65,992	126	3,834	332	24,043
	55 - 64	63,077	45,611	74	2,600	420	14,371
	65 +	88,843	71,503	149	3,064	1,411	12,714
Male	TOTAL	395,323	293,589	521	14,609	1,788	84,816
	< 15	115,585	58,960	109	668	81	55,768
	15 - 24	48,391	25,541	49	1,333	73	21,395
	25 - 34	54,948	45,840	87	3,058	249	5,715
	35 - 44	54,556	49,371	83	3,419	146	1,537
	45 - 54	46,870	43,815	67	2,574	114	300
	55 - 64	31,899	29,869	54	1,701	179	95
	65 +	43,074	40,193	72	1,857	946	7
Female	TOTAL	394,834	202,379	390	8,409	1,429	182,227
	< 15	109,523	54,630	84	567	187	54,054
	15 - 24	49,794	22,177	42	1,035	67	26,474
	25 - 34	52,363	26,245	44	1,869	105	24,100
	35 - 44	58,751	30,098	63	1,571	146	26,872
	45 - 54	47,457	22,178	59	1,260	218	23,743
	55 - 64	31,178	15,742	20	899	241	14,275
	65 +	45,769	31,310	78	1,208	465	12,708

**Table Set 3: Population Distribution by Place of Birth for Selected CMAs
1961 Census Database**

Place of Birth	Total						
		Montreal	Toronto	Hamilton	Calgary	Edmonton	Vancouver
TOTAL	5,701,515	2,086,481	1,821,304	365,860	273,605	334,038	780,156
Canada	4,084,679	1,775,008	1,210,251	283,481	203,530	254,828	357,574
Newfoundland	23,620	4,803	15,988	1,084	408	325	1,213
PEI	12,242	2,355	5,833	1,482	833	443	1,217
Nova Scotia	57,044	12,791	27,163	8,448	2,925	2,430	5,287
New Brunswick	54,908	25,135	19,112	4,382	1,553	1,401	3,328
Quebec	1,701,784	1,643,881	36,832	7,084	3,388	3,407	7,200
Ontario	1,421,388	65,524	1,043,875	250,402	18,057	14,251	31,280
Manitoba	90,475	7,783	22,719	4,258	12,722	11,098	31,813
Saskatchewan	124,708	4,811	18,248	4,979	28,880	24,812	44,778
Alberta	384,788	3,855	8,944	1,885	128,888	188,885	31,442
British Columbia	232,301	4,014	11,272	1,899	8,544	7,222	188,548
Yukon	785	79	115	38	109	114	312
Northwest Territories	885	195	52	10	22	340	78
United Kingdom	458,581	65,287	221,816	46,048	23,786	21,421	81,251
England	293,221	43,595	137,832	29,267	15,811	13,391	53,525
Wales	10,428	887	4,534	918	813	1,003	2,274
N. Ireland	34,604	4,385	21,122	2,353	1,320	1,488	3,927
Scotland	120,494	16,283	57,998	13,438	5,983	5,487	21,305
Other UK	843	118	330	75	58	43	218
Other Commonwealth	28,825	6,500	15,389	953	804	788	4,410
Australia	3,704	652	1,515	137	213	133	1,054
South Africa	1,908	342	894	40	152	150	331
West Indies	9,435	3,534	4,982	245	191	112	358
India/Pakistan	4,219	925	1,323	202	118	159	1,493
Other Common Wealth	9,558	1,047	6,844	330	131	236	1,173
United States	85,262	23,231	24,379	4,874	10,512	8,072	14,185
Austria	25,867	5,785	10,584	1,878	1,348	3,208	2,887
Belgium	9,897	6,150	2,208	443	328	318	455
Czechoslovakia	18,907	5,111	6,987	1,871	718	957	1,255
Scandinavian Countries	25,648	2,093	6,260	855	3,141	3,228	10,070
Denmark	12,807	987	3,722	579	2,188	1,945	3,408
Iceland	462	14	63	5	38	22	319
Norway	6,574	804	959	84	498	610	3,821
Sweden	5,804	487	1,517	186	441	650	2,523
Finland	9,265	1,156	5,342	380	85	217	2,074
France	19,851	15,585	2,178	322	422	545	800
Germany	86,784	16,733	39,270	6,480	6,522	9,371	8,409
Greece	31,110	12,605	18,198	1,104	155	458	588
Hungary	37,386	12,284	15,867	3,757	2,459	1,293	1,846
Italy	190,883	60,188	103,788	18,088	2,745	2,848	5,234
Netherlands	41,755	3,844	12,859	7,314	4,962	6,783	6,413
Poland	87,776	22,506	41,642	7,089	2,993	8,750	4,817
Republic of Ireland	16,885	2,754	9,735	950	733	703	2,010
Romania	14,105	7,045	3,753	823	1,119	574	791
Switzerland	5,492	2,080	1,715	150	388	281	888
USSR	83,679	20,846	40,388	5,834	3,843	6,483	6,878
Yugoslavia	24,220	3,586	13,262	3,531	950	912	1,970
Other Europe	12,678	4,889	6,065	382	585	253	513
Asiatic Countries	27,485	6,838	9,232	777	1,780	1,651	7,188
China	18,135	2,439	4,994	288	1,355	1,123	5,857
Japan	3,283	352	1,888	282	93	31	836
Other Asia	8,088	4,044	2,550	228	342	497	407
Other	8,842	4,813	2,541	257	231	304	886
Missing	267,043	-	-	-	-	-	267,043

1961 Published Tables

	Total	Montreal	Toronto	Hamilton	Calgary	Edmonton	Vancouver
Total	5738812	2108510	1824481	397828	279062	337588	780185
Canada	4322573	1788418	1217398	284578	210110	258532	583478
UK	492889	67550	227814	48311	24148	22131	104705
Other Commonwealth	30880	6819	15384	1047	888	823	5888
USA	90522	23808	24479	4855	10083	8277	19242
Germany	97156	17808	40851	9380	6588	9380	13588
Italy	184757	61882	94303	13873	2734	2799	9188
Poland	87360	2268	40270	6802	2773	8180	6305
Scandinavia	28054	2273	6423	882	3164	3132	13170
USSR	85385	21272	38816	6026	3438	5971	8881
Other Europe	274578	84910	105284	22885	13071	16425	32202
Asiatic	34058	7243	9915	915	1819	1707	12488
Other	9880	4919	2773	281	285	221	1101

Database as a proportion of the Published Tables

	Total	Montreal	Toronto	Hamilton	Calgary	Edmonton	Vancouver
Total							
Canada	94.50%	99.25%	99.42%	99.58%	96.87%	98.57%	63.48%
UK	93.29%	95.62%	97.37%	99.43%	98.50%	96.79%	77.80%
Other Commonwealth	93.40%	95.32%	99.84%	91.03%	90.55%	95.79%	74.88%
USA	94.09%	98.41%	98.58%	98.38%	104.48%	97.53%	73.77%
Germany	89.32%	95.02%	95.80%	89.23%	99.01%	100.11%	61.88%
Italy	103.21%	97.28%	110.08%	115.97%	100.41%	94.68%	57.10%
Poland	100.48%	97.81%	103.41%	103.92%	107.92%	105.84%	76.38%
Scandinavia	88.28%	92.07%	97.47%	95.84%	99.29%	103.07%	76.48%
USSR	98.00%	97.08%	101.43%	95.82%	105.92%	108.79%	75.38%
Other Europe	95.59%	97.33%	101.03%	101.05%	108.70%	100.33%	70.13%
Asiatic	80.70%	94.38%	93.11%	84.88%	98.39%	95.75%	57.78%
Other	92.48%	97.84%	91.62%	91.31%	87.38%	137.50%	63.24%

Table Set 4
Population Distribution by Mother Tongue for Selected CMAs
1981 Census Database

	Total	Montreal	Toronto	Hamilton	Calgary	Edmonton	Vancouver
Total	5,701,515	2,085,451	1,821,304	385,650	273,905	334,038	790,155
English	3,079,542	482,020	1,384,354	314,021	222,653	237,988	428,888
French	1,407,927	1,351,258	25,434	6,135	3,840	10,900	10,380
Danish	13,640	1,216	3,780	611	2,416	2,088	3,528
Finnish	10,639	1,709	6,051	243	167	359	2,109
German	157,673	25,207	59,677	10,553	16,704	24,488	21,083
Native Languages	2,691	1,382	335	88	80	438	380
Italian	245,142	84,079	126,750	21,140	3,438	3,588	6,151
Magyar	40,194	12,646	16,258	4,681	2,923	1,504	2,182
Dutch/Frisian	46,824	3,854	13,827	7,988	5,719	7,849	7,579
Norwegian	9,459	675	1,088	157	1,088	1,531	4,902
Polish	68,735	16,759	32,425	8,307	2,352	5,387	3,504
Russian	13,755	4,858	4,231	658	1,035	687	2,290
Slovak	17,561	3,873	8,191	2,488	778	859	1,385
Swedish	7,984	807	1,522	414	718	1,141	3,581
Ukrainian	97,123	12,108	38,534	7,115	4,308	29,737	7,323
Yiddish	64,330	32,752	28,507	849	812	671	740
Chinese	20,983	3,133	6,405	348	1,940	1,883	7,497
Estonian	8,930	1,081	6,808	526	85	69	580
Flemish	2,178	879	651	156	94	203	195
Gasconian	1,479	254	588	55	62	141	381
Greek	31,857	15,326	14,208	982	183	478	709
Icelandic	1,082	12	109	14	90	123	744
Japanese	9,318	682	4,875	672	291	194	2,604
Latvian	9,816	1,487	6,580	1,122	172	143	312
Lithuanian	10,549	2,849	5,552	1,575	121	250	202
Romanian	4,607	2,461	922	503	185	351	184
Serbo-Croatian	13,585	2,249	6,733	2,837	480	478	1,009
Syrian-Arabic	7,388	2,222	4,292	198	132	488	67
Welsh	1,388	177	482	135	144	133	345
Other	28,080	8,640	14,340	1,337	879	553	2,330
MISSING	257,043	0	0	0	0	0	257,043

1961 Published Tables

	Total						
		Montreal	Toronto	Hamilton	Calgary	Edmonton	Vancouver
Total	5,735,974	2,109,509	1,624,481	365,189	279,082	337,568	750,165
English	3,328,810	494,657	1,388,285	315,933	229,044	242,772	648,109
French	1,426,571	1,386,357	25,968	5,968	3,693	11,201	13,334
Chinese	29,681	3,485	6,934	541	1,941	1,594	15,176
Finnish	11,713	1,780	6,153	248	218	388	2,957
Gaelic	1,584	231	516	65	78	148	548
German	169,817	26,491	61,020	10,774	16,128	23,652	31,752
Native Languages	3,797	1,656	383	203	109	909	540
Italian	239,075	85,347	116,422	18,385	3,440	3,582	11,878
Japanese	10,788	825	4,835	585	229	135	4,165
Magyar	41,613	13,130	15,291	4,702	3,101	1,659	3,730
Dutch	50,976	4,289	15,213	8,175	5,231	7,814	10,243
Polish	70,136	17,182	32,077	8,514	2,280	5,250	4,833
Russian	14,815	4,803	4,198	638	1,005	801	3,389
Scandinavian	36,457	2,565	6,748	1,223	4,288	4,775	16,818
Slovak	17,876	4,180	7,637	2,482	748	886	1,983
Ukrainian	97,405	11,953	34,917	7,476	4,446	28,021	10,583
Yiddish	64,171	33,413	27,268	780	772	689	1,269
Other	120,730	37,165	60,595	8,493	2,305	3,301	8,870

% Difference Between Database and Published Tables

	Total						
		Montreal	Toronto	Hamilton	Calgary	Edmonton	Vancouver
Total	99.40%	98.91%	98.83%	100.12%	98.15%	98.95%	100.00%
English	92.51%	99.46%	99.00%	99.39%	97.21%	97.87%	88.18%
French	98.89%	98.89%	97.87%	102.28%	103.97%	97.31%	77.70%
Chinese	70.70%	89.63%	92.37%	63.89%	99.99%	104.35%	49.40%
Finnish	90.83%	97.08%	98.35%	97.74%	77.53%	97.60%	71.09%
Gaelic	93.38%	109.88%	113.52%	84.00%	79.62%	95.54%	89.89%
German	92.85%	95.15%	97.80%	97.95%	103.57%	103.45%	85.33%
Native Languages	70.87%	84.04%	87.48%	32.59%	75.54%	48.21%	70.33%
Italian	102.58%	98.51%	108.87%	115.11%	99.87%	100.12%	51.78%
Japanese	85.39%	82.72%	100.83%	112.72%	126.98%	142.34%	62.53%
Magyar	95.58%	95.32%	106.32%	99.54%	94.25%	90.63%	58.51%
Dutch	91.85%	90.27%	90.88%	97.80%	109.33%	100.05%	73.98%
Polish	98.00%	97.54%	101.09%	97.57%	103.14%	102.61%	72.50%
Russian	92.84%	101.09%	100.79%	102.85%	102.90%	85.72%	67.98%
Scandinavian	88.28%	95.74%	96.57%	97.74%	100.55%	102.28%	75.85%
Slovak	98.24%	93.09%	107.25%	99.37%	104.00%	99.15%	70.33%
Ukrainian	99.71%	101.19%	104.63%	95.18%	95.85%	106.12%	89.20%
Yiddish	100.25%	98.02%	104.54%	111.65%	105.12%	97.38%	58.30%
Other	98.05%	100.58%	99.59%	107.78%	107.38%	94.25%	85.68%

**Table set 5: Population Age 15+ by Detailed Industry, Selected CMAs
1961 Database (1971 SIC)**

Industry	TOTAL						
		Montreal	Toronto	Hamilton	Calgary	Edmonton	Vancouver
Male							
TOTAL	1,946,938	694,696	637,404	133,588	91,882	109,630	279,738
Manufacturing	11,174	1,829	3,294	2,749	430	785	2,077
Primary	21,239	3,103	4,036	877	3,922	2,577	6,724
Food Manu	66,104	24,259	21,654	3,790	3,475	4,362	8,564
Needle trades	41,228	27,273	11,153	1,352	119	271	1,061
Wood & Paper	50,935	14,091	15,418	1,872	890	1,384	17,279
Printing	35,462	11,528	17,209	1,552	1,118	920	3,134
Metal-primary&fabri	71,491	20,889	21,137	21,238	1,262	1,891	5,064
Machining & large appl	39,099	10,384	19,399	5,429	825	771	2,480
Transport equip	42,888	23,363	11,939	3,156	905	746	2,777
Small appliances	38,525	15,064	16,654	5,592	128	129	958
Non-metal	19,122	7,570	6,163	2,511	1,025	782	1,072
Rubber chem petro plastics	43,870	17,186	16,867	3,561	1,245	2,596	2,416
Other manufacturing	23,995	9,420	11,230	1,321	312	418	1,295
Construction	162,198	56,423	52,481	10,753	10,359	12,302	19,880
Transportation & Storage	138,663	56,619	36,740	5,594	7,389	9,878	22,443
Communi&Utilities	56,990	19,214	20,694	2,795	3,205	3,369	7,713
Wholesale Trade	116,739	37,416	39,399	5,399	7,666	9,080	17,778
Food Stores	36,184	16,171	11,588	1,952	1,381	1,413	3,679
Retail Trade	128,844	41,611	47,197	7,865	7,391	8,938	15,843
FIRE	69,428	25,013	27,216	2,581	3,095	2,870	8,654
Education	35,145	10,752	12,185	2,069	1,519	2,891	5,730
Health	29,655	10,836	8,745	2,047	1,082	2,026	4,919
Religion welfare	8,371	2,745	2,972	551	409	558	1,136
Amuse&Recreation	13,201	4,336	5,016	719	721	719	1,690
Business Serv	46,675	14,162	17,978	1,772	4,048	2,761	5,954
Personal Serv	42,745	14,595	15,249	2,335	2,015	2,442	6,108
Food & Lodging	43,126	16,879	15,433	1,776	1,720	1,933	5,385
Public Admn	103,099	35,270	31,292	4,262	7,438	11,163	13,674
Missing	410,752	146,675	117,071	26,116	16,988	19,656	84,247
Female							
TOTAL	2,022,809	743,740	658,260	137,074	90,363	108,060	285,312
Manufacturing	1,452	140	336	505	18	53	401
Primary	3,069	177	597	110	1,322	351	512
Food Manu	21,968	7,049	7,804	1,950	883	1,177	3,104
Needle trades	56,480	36,815	15,247	1,829	185	929	1,474
Wood & Paper	11,043	3,215	4,658	579	193	337	2,061
Printing	12,710	3,535	6,951	489	339	353	1,042
Metal-primary&fabri	8,023	2,645	2,934	1,777	101	149	418
Machining & large appl	6,014	1,373	3,638	633	66	101	204
Transport equip	4,284	1,896	1,817	257	68	87	179
Small appliances	14,328	5,234	7,205	1,559	33	16	261
Non-metal	2,513	892	848	563	66	57	88
Rubber chem petro plastics	14,661	6,365	6,632	703	261	407	294
Other manufacturing	13,169	5,520	6,421	797	65	101	264
Construction	5,590	1,775	1,961	348	455	440	611
Transportation & Storage	12,924	5,306	3,657	393	694	802	2,071
Communi&Utilities	24,361	8,977	9,272	1,068	1,158	1,231	2,655
Wholesale Trade	31,424	8,559	12,310	1,519	2,069	1,944	5,021
Food Stores	17,807	4,878	7,168	1,377	856	941	2,586
Retail Trade	84,449	22,311	31,869	6,227	5,199	5,972	12,871
FIRE	56,967	18,129	24,748	2,381	2,413	2,651	6,645
Education	47,907	16,969	15,518	3,108	2,619	3,795	5,899
Health	65,227	21,834	19,543	4,491	2,929	5,409	11,022
Religion welfare	9,210	2,612	3,849	581	527	542	1,099
Amuse&Recreation	5,694	1,631	2,009	344	382	570	757
Business Serv	25,508	7,176	11,567	1,055	1,814	978	2,918
Personal Serv	58,418	19,843	19,477	3,877	3,364	3,792	8,067
Food & Lodging	50,571	13,535	19,595	3,360	2,786	3,422	7,874
Public Admn	27,392	8,930	11,170	1,194	1,217	3,412	3,469
Missing	1,329,645	508,418	399,460	93,998	58,281	68,063	201,425

**1961 Published Tables
Labour Force 15+**

industry 27	TOTAL	Montreal	Toronto	Hamilton	Calgary	Edmonton	Vancouver
Male							
TOTAL	1 575,355	565 967	529 018	108 642	76 651	90 815	204 262
na	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Primary	29,412	4,971	7657	329	4,201	3,327	8 927
Manufacturing	478,451	183,157	170,615	50,326	10,895	13,973	47,485
Construction	155,539	54 706	49,174	10,191	10,172	12,008	19 228
Trans. commu. and utilities	191,948	75,143	56,115	8,133	10,250	12,705	29 602
Wholesale Trade	111,792	35,055	37,667	5,211	7,568	8,720	17,571
Food Stores	38,436	16,889	12,291	2,112	1 384	1,531	4 249
Retail Trade	129,715	42,150	46 442	8 209	7,177	8,511	17,228
FIRE	68,451	24,407	27,000	2,722	2,979	2,929	8,414
Services	222,559	78,557	76 745	11,278	11,605	13,181	31,193
Public Admin	106,258	35,768	31,713	4,313	8,499	11,662	14,273
Female							
TOTAL	708,497	241,006	260 633	42 995	32,606	40,761	90,497
na	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Primary	4,340	309	963	632	1,308	314	8 14
Manufacturing	162,557	63,896	72,224	10 764	2,169	3,504	10,000
Construction	5,363	1,544	1,881	394	441	434	669
Trans. commu. and utilities	36,546	13,491	12,586	1 241	1,952	1,944	5,332
Wholesale Trade	30,559	8,339	11,927	1,218	1,961	1,928	5,186
Food Stores	18,050	4,882	7,159	1 442	931	997	2,639
Retail Trade	81,850	21,108	31,010	5,836	4,845	6,023	13,028
FIRE	57,791	17,577	25,338	2 247	2,587	2,538	7,504
Services	230,027	50,064	90,977	17,552	13,747	18,500	39,187
Public Admin	27,178	6,262	11,245	1 125	1,287	3,529	3,730

Database as a proportion of the Published Tables

industry 27	TOTAL	Montreal	Toronto	Hamilton	Calgary	Edmonton	Vancouver
Male							
TOTAL							
na							
Primary	72%	62%	53%	267%	93%	77%	75%
Manufacturing	99%	99%	99%	102%	102%	102%	97%
Construction	104%	103%	107%	106%	102%	102%	103%
Trans. commu. and utilities	102%	101%	102%	103%	103%	104%	102%
Wholesale Trade	104%	107%	105%	104%	101%	104%	101%
Food Stores	94%	96%	94%	92%	101%	92%	87%
Retail Trade	99%	99%	102%	96%	103%	105%	92%
FIRE	101%	102%	101%	95%	104%	98%	103%
Services	98%	95%	101%	100%	99%	101%	99%
Public Admin	97%	99%	99%	99%	88%	96%	96%
Female							
TOTAL							
na							
Primary	71%	57%	62%	17%	101%	112%	63%
Manufacturing	102%	117%	89%	103%	104%	105%	94%
Construction	104%	115%	104%	88%	103%	101%	91%
Trans. commu. and utilities	102%	108%	103%	118%	95%	105%	89%
Wholesale Trade	103%	103%	103%	125%	106%	101%	97%
Food Stores	99%	100%	100%	95%	92%	94%	98%
Retail Trade	103%	106%	103%	107%	107%	99%	99%
FIRE	83%	97%	81%	138%	101%	150%	79%
Services	114%	167%	101%	98%	105%	100%	98%
Public Admin	101%	111%	99%	106%	95%	97%	93%

Appendix IV

Standardization Tables

A Note on Standardization

Method for Comparison:

Much of the analysis in this paper involves comparing socio-economic characteristics of the Canadian-born with different immigrant groups. However, explaining the differences in detailed census tables with a myriad of variables and many value labels can be both laborious and complex, particularly when differences are due to simple differences in such things as differences in the age or sex distributions. Using standardization techniques provides a means of explaining the degree to which differences between groups are explainable by differences in the distribution of independent factors such as age, sex or education.

The basic idea of standardization analysis is to compare two distributions across two or more variables using weighted means in order to determine the degree to which differences in an overall distribution of two or more variables are due to differences in the distribution of just one variable.¹

-
- ¹. The example provided shows the mechanics of doing an analysis using standardization. The intent is to compare the relationship between group means and subgroup means, where the group mean is the weighted sum of its subgroup means: For those who prefer a more algebraic explanation, it is as follows:

Immigrants are denoted "M"; Natives are denoted "N". Input attributes are denoted A_i ; Output attribute of interest is denoted O_j . A cross-tab cell X_{ij} refers to the actual number in the cross-tab at input attribute A_i and output attribute O_j .

Construct two cross-tabs, X^M_{ij} and X^N_{ij} . We want to apply the immigrant output distribution, O^M , within immigrant input classes, A^M , to the native input distribution, A^N , to create a new cross-tab, X^*_{ij} , which reflects what the immigrant population would be like if it had the same input distribution as natives, but a different output distribution within input classes.

$$X^*_{ij} = \left(\sum_i X^N_{ij} \right) \times \left(X^M_{ij} / \left(\sum_i X^M_{ij} \right) \right)$$

(number of natives in input category i) x
(proportion of immigrants in input category i who have output characteristic j)

A concrete example:

Let O_i be the thirteen SIC's and let A_j be age and education (6 age groups times twelve education classes gives us 96 elements in A_j). Thus we have a 13x96 cross-tab for each immigrants and natives, denoted $O_{industry}$ and $A_{age, education}$. Our new standardized cross-tab will be $X^*_{(industry)(age, education)}$:

$$X^*_{(industry)(age, education)} = \left(\sum_{(industry \text{ category})} X^{Natives}_{(industry)(age, education)} \right) \text{ times } \left(X^{Immigrants}_{(industry)(age, education)} / \left(\sum_{(industry \text{ category})} X^M_{(industry)(age, education)} \right) \right)$$

An Example Using School Attendance:

Table 1 shows data on school attendance for males and females by whether or not they were in school full time. In 1961, almost ninety percent of those over the age of fifteen living in the six CMAs were not in full time school attendance. Overall, women were less likely to be in school than males, and post war immigrants less likely to be in school than the Canadian born. Post-War Immigrant women were the group least likely to be in full time school attendance, with only one in twenty attending full time. The differences in school attendance could be a result of socio-cultural factors between immigrants and the Canadian born, however, they could also be a simple function of immigrants having a somewhat older age distribution, and therefore less likely to be in school full time.

Table 1
School Attendance (age 15+) by Sex for Total, Canadian Born
and Post War (1946-60) Immigrants, Aggregate of
Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver, 1961

	Total	Canadian Born	Post-War Immigrants 1946-60
Total	3,969,747	2,593,185	681,424
Attending	7%	9%	6%
Not Attending	89%	91%	94%
Unknown	4%	0%	-
Female	2,022,809	1,317,575	318,247
Attending	6%	7%	5%
Not Attending	88%	93%	95%
Unknown	6%	0%	-
Male	1,946,938	1,275,610	363,177
Attending	8%	11%	7%
Not Attending	90%	89%	93%
Unknown	1%	-	-

Source: 1961 Census database

Note: of the 157,000 persons having unknown attendance characteristics
100,000 immigrated prior to WWII.

Taking the base information in Table 1 for the total population, and including age, the information can be standardized to determine the degree to which differences in the age distribution between immigrants and the Canadian born explain differences in school attendance. Table set 2 shows the mechanics of such an analysis.

Table 2a shows the age distribution by school attendance for immigrants and the Canadian born living in the six CMAs. Overall nine percent of the Canadian born population are in school, but only six percent of post-war immigrants are in full time school attendance. However, there are differences between different age groups which may explain much of the total difference.

In standardization, the basic idea is to take the information in table 2a and ask the hypothetical question: what would the school attendance rate be for immigrants if they had the same age characteristics and were as large as the non-immigrant population. Thus the following steps are taken:

1. Table 2b is constructed in which the row percentages (attending, not attending, total) are calculated for each immigrant age group:
 - ie: divide the total number of immigrants age 15-24 who are in school full time by the total number of immigrants age 15-24 --

$$(37,002 / 123,054) * 100 = 30\%$$
 - This action effectively creates a table that shows standardized attendance data for each age group.
2. Set up a table which asks a hypothetical question:

What would the immigrant population be like if it were the same size and had the same age distribution as the native born population?

 - 2i to do this, take the percent distributions in table 2b and multiply them by the total number of people in the non-immigrant age specific group in table 2a:
 - ie: multiple the percent figure of post-war immigrants in table 4b for those age 15-24, by the total number of Canadian born age 15-24 --

$$30\% * 570,794 = 171,638$$
 - 2ii next, add down the age groups to get the total number of hypothetical immigrants who would be in full time school attendance if immigrants had the same age distribution as the Canadian born population:

$$171,638 + 10,208 + 4,188 + 1,978 + 880 + 665 = 189,557$$

do the same for the other two columns
3. The final step is to construct a summary statistics which explains the difference between the two distributions which is specifically a product of age differences:
 - 3i Calculate the percentage of native born in full time school attendance from table 2a:

$$(232,997 / 2,593,185) * 100 = 9\%$$
 - 3ii Calculate the percentage of immigrants in full time school attendance from table 2a:

$$(42,827 / 681,423) * 100 = 6\%$$
 - 3iii Calculate the percentage of hypothetical immigrants in school from table 2c:

$$(189,557 / 2,593,179) * 100 = 7\%$$

- 3iv Subtract the first percentage from the second to get the difference in school attendance between the two groups:
 $9.0\% - 6\% = 3\%$
- 3v Subtract the percent of native born in full time school attendance from the percent of hypothetical immigrants in school :
 $9.0\% - 7\% = 2\%$
- 3vi Calculate the proportion of difference in school attendance between the two groups which is specifically attributable to differences in age structure by taking the difference calculated in step 3vi and dividing by the total difference between the two groups calculated in step 3iii:
 $1\% / 2\% = 50\%$

Thus, standardizing the data for immigrants based on the age and size structure of the Canadian-born population suggests that half of the difference in school attendance between immigrants and the Canadian born is specifically attributable to differences in the age composition of the two groups -- immigrants are less likely to be of school age, and therefore are less likely to be in full time school attendance. However age does not explain all the difference, and there is further variance of one controls for sex. Running the same calculations separately for males and females, finds that age structure explains almost half of the difference for immigrant men (49%), but only twenty-four percent for immigrant women.

The preceding example showed how to compare two groups (immigrants and the Canadian born) by decomposing what basically amounts to a two dimensional table (age by attendance) by controlling for one variable (age). However one can also standardize across two or more groups. In this case, the intent would be to first control for one variable, while letting the other two vary, then controlling for the other and then finally controlling for both.

Actual and Standardized Industry Distribution for Wage Labour Cohort 1 Immigrant Males (1946-60)
Living in the Six CMAs, 1961

	Industry		Manufacturing	Construction	Distributive Services	Consumer Services	Business Services	Social Services	Public Administration	TOTAL
	Primary									
Canadian born		Actual	1%	32%	8%	23%	14%	7%	4%	100%
Immigrants 1946-50	Actual	Adjust for age	1%	41%	12%	15%	13%	6%	4%	100%
		education	1%	39%	12%	15%	15%	7%	4%	100%
		age and educ	1%	41%	12%	15%	13%	6%	4%	100%
		official language	1%	39%	12%	15%	13%	8%	5%	100%
		OL and education	1%	38%	13%	15%	13%	8%	5%	100%
Immigrants 1951-55	Actual	OL and age	1%	39%	14%	15%	14%	6%	4%	100%
		OL, age and education	1%	41%	12%	15%	13%	6%	4%	100%
		Adjust for age	1%	39%	12%	15%	15%	6%	4%	100%
		education	1%	37%	16%	14%	14%	5%	4%	100%
		age and educ	1%	38%	16%	15%	15%	6%	4%	100%
Immigrants 1956-57	Actual	official language	1%	37%	17%	14%	14%	6%	4%	100%
		OL and education	1%	39%	16%	14%	15%	6%	4%	100%
		OL and age	1%	37%	18%	14%	14%	5%	4%	100%
		OL, age and education	1%	38%	15%	15%	15%	6%	4%	100%
		Adjust for age	2%	38%	16%	14%	17%	6%	4%	100%
Immigrants 1958-60	Actual	education	2%	34%	15%	13%	18%	6%	5%	100%
		age and educ	2%	36%	15%	14%	17%	6%	4%	100%
		official language	1%	35%	14%	14%	18%	6%	5%	100%
		OL and education	1%	35%	15%	14%	17%	7%	5%	100%
		OL and age	1%	35%	16%	14%	18%	5%	4%	100%
Immigrants 1958-60	Actual	OL, age and education	1%	35%	14%	14%	18%	6%	5%	100%
		Adjust for age	2%	34%	18%	10%	21%	5%	2%	100%
		education	1%	33%	18%	10%	21%	5%	6%	100%
		age and educ	2%	36%	15%	11%	22%	5%	2%	100%
		official language	2%	35%	15%	11%	21%	6%	3%	100%
Immigrants 1958-60	Actual	OL and education	2%	34%	13%	12%	23%	6%	2%	100%
		OL and age	2%	35%	18%	10%	21%	5%	2%	100%
		OL, age and education	1%	35%	14%	12%	21%	6%	3%	100%
		Adjust for age	1%	35%	14%	12%	21%	6%	3%	100%
		education	1%	35%	14%	12%	21%	6%	3%	100%

Note: Population age 15-64 not in school full time
Living in CMAs of Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver
Source: 1961 Census database

Standardization Table for Wage Labour Females
Living in the Six CMAs, 1981

		Primary	Manufac- turing	Construc- tion	Distributive Services	Consumer Services	Business Services	Social Services	Public Admin- istration	Missing	Grand Total
Canadian Born	Actual	0.5%	23.5%	0.9%	11.3%	25.5%	13.1%	18.5%	4.8%	2.0%	100.0%
1946-50	actual Adjust for age official language (OL) education age and OL education and OL age and education all	0.4% 0.4% 0.4% 0.4% 0.4% 0.4% 0.4%	27.5% 25.6% 27.3% 27.1% 25.4% 27.0% 25.5%	0.7% 0.7% 0.6% 0.7% 0.7% 0.7% 0.7%	8.7% 10.3% 8.7% 9.2% 10.2% 9.2% 10.5%	29.0% 27.4% 28.9% 29.7% 27.4% 29.7% 28.2%	12.7% 14.5% 12.8% 13.0% 14.6% 13.1% 14.5%	15.0% 14.6% 15.1% 13.9% 14.6% 13.9% 13.8%	3.1% 3.4% 3.2% 3.3% 3.4% 3.3% 3.5%	2.9% 3.1% 2.9% 2.7% 3.1% 2.7% 2.8%	100.0% 100.0% 100.0% 100.0% 100.0% 100.0% 100.0%
1951-55	actual Adjust for age official language (OL) education age and OL education and OL age and education all	0.4% 0.4% 0.4% 0.4% 0.4% 0.4% 0.4%	35.0% 33.9% 33.8% 31.0% 32.8% 30.6% 29.4%	0.6% 0.6% 0.6% 0.6% 0.6% 0.6% 0.6%	7.8% 7.8% 8.0% 8.6% 7.9% 8.7% 8.9%	27.5% 28.4% 27.7% 27.2% 28.7% 27.4% 27.8%	11.4% 11.6% 11.7% 13.3% 12.1% 13.4% 13.7%	13.6% 13.5% 14.0% 14.7% 13.9% 14.8% 15.1%	2.1% 2.2% 2.2% 2.5% 2.3% 2.5% 2.7%	1.4% 1.3% 1.3% 1.4% 1.2% 1.4% 1.2%	100.0% 100.0% 100.0% 100.0% 100.0% 100.0% 100.0%
1956-57	actual Adjust for age official language (OL) education age and OL education and OL age and education all	0.4% 0.4% 0.4% 0.4% 0.3% 0.4% 0.3%	36.1% 35.9% 33.1% 31.5% 32.9% 30.5% 29.8%	0.5% 0.5% 0.5% 0.5% 0.6% 0.6% 0.6%	8.5% 7.9% 9.0% 9.5% 8.3% 9.6% 9.2%	26.0% 26.3% 26.8% 26.3% 29.1% 28.9% 29.1%	11.4% 10.6% 12.3% 13.1% 11.4% 13.3% 12.4%	13.9% 13.1% 14.8% 15.4% 14.2% 15.6% 15.0%	2.0% 2.1% 2.2% 2.4% 2.3% 2.4% 2.6%	1.1% 1.1% 1.0% 0.9% 1.0% 0.9% 0.9%	100.0% 100.0% 100.0% 100.0% 100.0% 100.0% 100.0%
1966-80	actual Adjust for age official language (OL) education age and OL education and OL age and education all	0.3% 0.3% 0.3% 0.3% 0.2% 0.3% 0.2%	39.6% 38.3% 30.7% 30.8% 29.0% 27.6% 25.4%	0.5% 0.5% 0.6% 0.6% 0.6% 0.6% 0.7%	6.4% 8.0% 7.1% 7.5% 6.6% 7.8% 7.0%	26.9% 29.6% 29.1% 27.9% 32.4% 29.5% 31.2%	9.1% 8.0% 11.4% 12.4% 10.2% 13.0% 11.7%	14.7% 14.7% 18.2% 17.6% 18.6% 18.7% 19.5%	1.1% 1.1% 1.4% 1.5% 1.3% 1.5% 1.9%	1.4% 1.5% 1.2% 1.2% 1.0% 1.2% 1.0%	100.0% 100.0% 100.0% 100.0% 100.0% 100.0% 100.0%

Note: Population age 15-64 not in school full time

Living in CMAs of Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver
Source: 1981 Census database

**Actual and Standardized Industry Distribution for Self Employed Cohort 1 Immigrant Males
Living in the Six CMAs, 1981**

	Actual	Primary	Manufacturing	Construction	Distributive Services	Consumer Services	Business Services	Social Services	missing	TOTAL
Canadian born		2%	10%	15%	15%	32%	14%	7%	5%	100%
Immigrants 1946-50	Actual	2%	14%	24%	10%	33%	9%	3%	3%	100%
	Adjust for age	2%	14%	24%	11%	33%	9%	3%	4%	100%
	education	2%	14%	23%	11%	31%	11%	5%	3%	100%
	age and educ	2%	14%	23%	11%	31%	11%	4%	4%	100%
	official language	2%	14%	22%	11%	32%	11%	4%	3%	100%
Immigrants 1951-55	Actual	2%	13%	21%	12%	32%	11%	5%	3%	100%
	Adjust for age	2%	14%	24%	10%	33%	9%	3%	3%	100%
	education	2%	14%	23%	11%	31%	11%	4%	4%	100%
	age and educ	3%	12%	26%	10%	36%	8%	3%	3%	100%
	official language	3%	13%	23%	10%	34%	10%	5%	3%	100%
Immigrants 1956-57	Actual	2%	13%	22%	11%	34%	11%	5%	3%	100%
	Adjust for age	2%	13%	22%	11%	34%	11%	5%	3%	100%
	education	2%	13%	22%	11%	34%	11%	5%	3%	100%
	age and educ	2%	13%	22%	11%	34%	11%	5%	3%	100%
	official language	2%	13%	22%	11%	34%	11%	5%	3%	100%
Immigrants 1958-60	Actual	2%	13%	22%	11%	33%	10%	5%	3%	100%
	Adjust for age	2%	14%	22%	12%	37%	7%	4%	2%	100%
	education	2%	15%	18%	14%	37%	7%	5%	2%	101%
	age and educ	2%	13%	21%	12%	34%	8%	7%	2%	100%
	official language	2%	14%	18%	13%	35%	8%	6%	2%	100%
Immigrants 1958-60	Actual	2%	14%	19%	14%	37%	8%	7%	2%	100%
	Adjust for age	2%	14%	19%	13%	37%	7%	4%	2%	100%
	education	2%	14%	18%	12%	37%	7%	4%	2%	100%
	age and educ	2%	14%	18%	12%	36%	8%	6%	2%	100%
	official language	2%	12%	20%	10%	38%	10%	4%	2%	100%
Immigrants 1958-60	Actual	3%	12%	20%	10%	38%	10%	4%	2%	100%
	Adjust for age	4%	13%	17%	11%	37%	12%	4%	2%	100%
	education	3%	11%	21%	11%	35%	11%	5%	2%	100%
	age and educ	3%	14%	17%	12%	35%	13%	4%	3%	100%
	official language	4%	13%	20%	13%	34%	11%	5%	1%	100%
Immigrants 1958-60	Actual	5%	12%	20%	14%	33%	11%	4%	1%	100%
	Adjust for age	3%	12%	20%	10%	36%	10%	4%	2%	100%
	education	2%	15%	18%	10%	34%	13%	5%	2%	100%
	age and educ	2%	15%	18%	10%	34%	13%	5%	2%	100%
	official language	2%	15%	18%	10%	34%	13%	5%	2%	100%

Note: Popu Population age 15-64 not in school full time
Living in C Living in CMAs of Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver
Source 1981 Census database

**Actual and Standardized Industry Distributions for Native-born and Cohort-1 and Cohort-2 Immigrants
Living in the Six CMAs, 1971**

		Primary	Manufac- turing	Construc- tion	Distributive Services	Consumer Services	Business Services	Social Services	Public Admini- stration	Grand Total
Wage Labour Males										
Canadian-bor	actual	2%	20%	8%	22%	15%	8%	7%	9%	1,187,924
Cohort-1	actual	1%	38%	14%	15%	15%	8%	7%	5%	288,408
	adj age	1%	35%	13%	15%	16%	8%	7%	5%	100%
	adj schooling	1%	35%	13%	15%	15%	8%	7%	5%	100%
	adj both	1%	35%	12%	15%	16%	8%	7%	5%	100%
Cohort 2.1	actual	1%	37%	16%	11%	17%	7%	8%	3%	98,347
	adj age	1%	37%	15%	11%	19%	6%	8%	3%	100%
	adj schooling	1%	38%	15%	12%	18%	7%	7%	3%	100%
	adj both	1%	38%	13%	12%	19%	7%	8%	3%	100%
Cohort 2.2	actual	1%	35%	11%	12%	19%	9%	11%	3%	103,548
	adj age	2%	33%	11%	11%	20%	8%	11%	3%	100%
	adj schooling	1%	37%	13%	11%	21%	7%	7%	2%	100%
	adj both	1%	36%	11%	12%	22%	7%	8%	3%	100%
Wage Labour Females										
Canadian-bor	actual	1%	16%	1%	10%	25%	14%	26%	5%	822,327
Cohort-1	actual	1%	27%	1%	8%	28%	12%	20%	3%	169,853
	adj age	1%	26%	1%	9%	25%	14%	20%	4%	100%
	adj schooling	1%	23%	1%	9%	27%	14%	22%	4%	100%
	adj both	1%	22%	1%	9%	26%	15%	22%	4%	100%
Cohort 2.1	actual	1%	35%	1%	7%	23%	10%	21%	3%	69,305
	adj age	1%	37%	1%	7%	25%	10%	18%	3%	100%
	adj schooling	1%	27%	1%	8%	24%	12%	24%	3%	100%
	adj both	1%	27%	1%	8%	26%	12%	23%	3%	100%
Cohort 2.2	actual	1%	27%	1%	7%	22%	13%	25%	3%	77,744
	adj age	1%	28%	1%	7%	26%	11%	24%	3%	100%
	adj schooling	1%	27%	1%	7%	24%	13%	24%	3%	100%
	adj both	1%	25%	1%	7%	27%	12%	24%	3%	100%
Self-Employed Males										
Canadian-bor	actual	5%	9%	15%	15%	32%	17%	8%		163,133
Cohort-1	actual	2%	12%	25%	9%	40%	9%	4%		38,218
	adj age	2%	11%	24%	9%	40%	9%	4%		100%
	adj schooling	1%	12%	14%	11%	44%	9%	9%		100%
	adj both	2%	11%	22%	9%	37%	12%	7%		100%
Cohort 2.1	actual	1%	12%	19%	8%	44%	8%	8%		7,425
	adj age	1%	13%	16%	8%	44%	8%	10%		100%
	adj schooling	1%	12%	16%	8%	42%	9%	10%		100%
	adj both	1%	13%	15%	8%	43%	9%	11%		100%
Cohort 2.2	actual	1%	12%	17%	10%	41%	10%	9%		4,168
	adj age	1%	12%	14%	11%	44%	9%	9%		100%
	adj schooling	1%	12%	19%	9%	42%	7%	9%		100%
	adj both	1%	12%	15%	10%	46%	6%	8%		100%

Source: 1971 Census database

Note: Population age 15-64 not in school full time, living in CMAs of Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Edmonton, Calgary &

**Actual and Standardized Industry Distribution for Canadian Born and Cohort 1 Immigrants (1946-60)
Living in the Six CMAs, 1981**

			Industry								
			Primary	Manufacturing	Construction	Distributive Services	Consumer Services	Business Services	Social Services	Public Administration	Grand Total
Wage Labour Males Canadian (Actual)			2%	25%	7%	22%	14%	11%	6%	6%	100%
1946-55	Actual		1%	33%	11%	18%	13%	9%	6%	6%	100%
	Adjust for age		1%	29%	9%	20%	13%	12%	10%	6%	100%
	Education		1%	32%	9%	18%	13%	10%	10%	6%	100%
	Age Education		1%	29%	9%	20%	13%	12%	10%	6%	100%
1956-60	Actual		1%	31%	14%	17%	15%	8%	7%	7%	100%
	Adjust for age		1%	32%	11%	18%	17%	9%	6%	6%	100%
	Education		1%	30%	12%	18%	14%	9%	6%	7%	100%
	Age Education		1%	32%	11%	18%	17%	9%	7%	6%	100%
Wage Labour Females Canadian (Actual)			1%	14%	1%	6%	30%	13%	25%	7%	100%
1946-55	Actual		1%	21%	2%	8%	25%	15%	24%	4%	100%
	Adjust for age		2%	17%	3%	10%	22%	17%	23%	5%	100%
	Education		1%	17%	2%	9%	24%	17%	26%	5%	100%
	Official Language		1%	20%	2%	8%	25%	15%	24%	4%	100%
	Age Education		2%	16%	3%	10%	23%	17%	24%	5%	100%
1956-60	Actual		1%	28%	2%	8%	26%	15%	18%	4%	100%
	Adjust for age		1%	22%	2%	10%	23%	21%	16%	5%	100%
	Education		1%	30%	12%	18%	14%	9%	6%	7%	100%
	Official Language		1%	24%	2%	9%	26%	15%	18%	5%	100%
	Age Education		1%	18%	2%	11%	22%	22%	18%	5%	100%
Self-employed Males Canadian (Actual) born			6%	6%	11%	16%	25%	23%	7%		100%
1946-55	Actual		4%	12%	20%	10%	33%	16%	4%		100%
	Adjust for age		4%	10%	18%	11%	32%	17%	7%		100%
	Education		3%	11%	18%	11%	31%	18%	7%		100%
	Age Education		4%	10%	18%	11%	31%	18%	7%		100%
1956-60	Actual		2%	12%	28%	6%	36%	13%	4%		100%
	Adjust for age		2%	12%	23%	6%	37%	15%	5%		100%
	Education		2%	11%	20%	7%	33%	20%	6%		100%
	Age Education		2%	11%	20%	7%	33%	20%	6%		100%

Note: Population age 15-64, not in full time school attendance
 Living in CMAs of Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver
 Source: 1981 Public Use Sample, Individual file

**Actual and Standardized Industry Distributions for Native-born and Cohort 2 (1961-70) Immigrants
Living in the Six CMAs, 1981**

		Industrial Sector								Total
		Primary	Manu- facturing	Con- struction	Distrib- utive Services	Con- sumer Services	Business Services	Social Services	Public Admini- stration	
Wage Labour Males										
Canadian	actual	2%	25%	8%	21%	19%	10%	7%	8%	100%
born										
Immigrants										
1961-66	actual	1%	30%	14%	14%	19%	9%	9%	4%	100%
	adjust age	1%	30%	13%	15%	23%	8%	6%	4%	100%
	schooling	0%	32%	18%	12%	21%	6%	6%	3%	100%
	age schooling	1%	31%	12%	14%	22%	9%	7%	3%	100%
1967-70	actual	2%	30%	11%	14%	20%	8%	10%	4%	100%
	adjust age	2%	31%	11%	14%	23%	8%	8%	4%	100%
	schooling	1%	33%	18%	12%	23%	5%	6%	2%	100%
	age schooling	2%	30%	10%	12%	24%	11%	8%	3%	100%
Wage Labour Females										
Canadian	actual	1%	13%	2%	12%	27%	18%	22%	6%	100%
born										
Immigrants										
1961-66	actual	1%	25%	1%	8%	28%	13%	19%	4%	100%
	adjust age	1%	23%	1%	9%	28%	16%	17%	5%	100%
	schooling	1%	33%	1%	7%	31%	10%	15%	2%	100%
	age schooling	1%	24%	1%	10%	30%	13%	15%	3%	100%
1967-70	actual	1%	23%	1%	8%	25%	14%	23%	4%	100%
	adjust age	1%	21%	1%	9%	27%	17%	20%	4%	100%
	schooling	1%	33%	1%	6%	31%	9%	18%	1%	100%
	age schooling	0%	19%	1%	9%	33%	13%	21%	2%	100%
Self-Employed Males										
Canadian	actual	5%	7%	18%	13%	28%	21%	7%		100%
born										
Immigrants										
1961-66	actual	0%	12%	19%	13%	40%	12%	5%		100%
	adjust age	2%	11%	19%	11%	43%	10%	3%		100%
	schooling	0%	8%	24%	13%	42%	13%	1%		100%
	age schooling	2%	11%	15%	10%	35%	11%	6%		100%
1967-70	actual	0%	12%	19%	13%	40%	12%	5%		100%
	adjust age	2%	11%	19%	11%	43%	10%	3%		100%
	schooling	1%	12%	19%	6%	48%	10%	2%		100%
	age schooling	0%	6%	14%	6%	34%	9%	5%		100%

Note: Population age 15-64 not in school full time, living in the CMAs of Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver

Source: 1981 Public Use Sample, individual file

**Actual and Standardized Industry Distributions for Native-born and Cohort 3 (1971-77) Immigrants
Living in the Six CMAs, 1981**

	Primary	Manufacturing	Construction	Distributive Services	Consumer Services	Business Services	Social Services	Public Administration	Total
Wage Labour Males									
Canadian actual born	2%	25%	8%	21%	19%	10%	7%	8%	100%
Immigrants									
1971-75 actual	1%	36%	9%	14%	20%	11%	6%	2%	100%
adj age	1%	33%	9%	13%	25%	10%	6%	2%	100%
education	1%	38%	9%	14%	21%	10%	5%	2%	100%
age & education	1%	38%	9%	14%	21%	10%	5%	2%	100%
1976-77									
actual	1%	31%	8%	14%	26%	12%	6%	3%	100%
adj age	1%	30%	8%	14%	28%	11%	6%	3%	100%
education	1%	32%	8%	15%	27%	10%	6%	3%	100%
age & education	1%	32%	8%	15%	27%	10%	6%	3%	100%
1971-77									
actual	1%	35%	8%	14%	21%	11%	6%	2%	100%
adj age	1%	33%	8%	13%	26%	10%	6%	2%	100%
education	1%	37%	8%	14%	23%	10%	5%	2%	100%
age & education	1%	34%	7%	14%	26%	10%	6%	2%	100%
Wage Labour Females									
Canadian actual born	1%	13%	2%	12%	27%	18%	22%	6%	100%
Immigrants									
1971-75 actual	1%	26%	1%	8%	28%	16%	17%	4%	100%
adj age	1%	27%	1%	7%	30%	15%	15%	4%	100%
education	1%	24%	1%	8%	27%	17%	18%	4%	100%
age & education	1%	24%	1%	8%	27%	17%	18%	4%	100%
1976-77									
actual	2%	25%	1%	8%	32%	14%	15%	4%	100%
adj age	2%	26%	0%	8%	35%	13%	13%	3%	100%
education	1%	25%	1%	8%	32%	14%	15%	3%	100%
age & education	1%	25%	1%	8%	32%	14%	15%	3%	100%
1971-77									
actual	1%	26%	1%	8%	28%	16%	17%	4%	100%
adj age	1%	27%	1%	7%	31%	15%	15%	4%	100%
education	1%	24%	1%	8%	28%	16%	17%	4%	100%
age & education	1%	24%	1%	8%	28%	16%	17%	4%	100%
Self-Employed Males									
Canadian actual born	5%	7%	16%	13%	28%	21%	7%		100%
Immigrants									
1971-75 actual	1%	9%	13%	16%	40%	14%	7%		100%
adj age	2%	9%	11%	14%	46%	12%	8%		100%
education	1%	10%	14%	16%	42%	12%	4%		100%
age & education	1%	10%	14%	16%	42%	12%	4%		100%
1976-77									
actual	0%	7%	14%	12%	52%	12%	2%		100%
adj age	0%	12%	11%	11%	45%	19%	1%		100%
education	0%	5%	11%	9%	58%	13%	5%		100%
age & education	0%	5%	11%	9%	58%	13%	5%		100%
1971-77									
actual	1%	9%	13%	15%	43%	13%	6%		100%
adj age	2%	9%	10%	13%	46%	13%	7%		100%
education	1%	9%	13%	15%	45%	13%	5%		100%
age & education	1%	9%	10%	12%	50%	13%	5%		100%

Note: Population age 15-64 not in school full time
 Living in Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver
 Source: 1981 Public Use Sample, Individual file.

**Actual and Standardized Industry Distributions For Native-born and Immigrant Cohorts
Living in the 6 CMAs, 1991**

		Primary	Manu- facturing	Construc- tion	Distrib- utive Services	Con- sumer Services	Busi- ness Service	Social Services	Public Admin- istration	Grand Total
Wage Labour Males										
Canada-born	Actual	2%	19%	9%	20%	22%	13%	7%	8%	1,730,798
Cohort 1 Actual		2%	25%	11%	17%	18%	10%	10%	7%	141,033
1946-60	Adjust by age *	3%	21%	9%	18%	21%	11%	8%	8%	100%
	education	2%	24%	9%	18%	17%	12%	10%	7%	100%
	age education	3%	21%	9%	20%	21%	11%	8%	8%	100%
Cohort 2 Actual		1%	26%	10%	15%	20%	12%	10%	5%	179,402
1961-70	Adjust by age	1%	24%	10%	16%	23%	13%	7%	6%	100%
	education	1%	26%	9%	17%	21%	12%	8%	6%	100%
	age education	1%	24%	10%	16%	23%	13%	7%	6%	100%
Cohort 3 Actual		1%	25%	8%	15%	24%	14%	7%	5%	179,402
1971-77	Adjust by age	1%	23%	8%	15%	26%	15%	7%	4%	100%
	education	1%	26%	7%	16%	26%	13%	6%	4%	100%
	age education	1%	24%	7%	15%	27%	14%	6%	4%	100%
Wage Labour Females										
Canada	Actual	1%	10%	2%	11%	27%	18%	25%	7%	1,659,088
Cohort 1 Actual		1%	15%	2%	8%	20%	15%	24%	5%	115,333
1946-60	Adjust by age *	1%	13%	3%	10%	25%	19%	25%	5%	100%
	education	1%	12%	2%	9%	26%	17%	26%	5%	100%
	age education	1%	11%	3%	10%	25%	19%	26%	5%	100%
Cohort 2 Actual		1%	16%	1%	9%	25%	17%	25%	5%	178,035
1961-70	Adjust by age	1%	14%	1%	10%	26%	21%	22%	5%	100%
	education	1%	13%	1%	9%	24%	19%	27%	6%	100%
	age education	1%	12%	1%	10%	26%	22%	23%	6%	100%
Cohort 3 Actual		1%	17%	1%	8%	27%	17%	23%	5%	172,967
1971-77	Adjust by age	1%	16%	1%	8%	28%	18%	21%	5%	100%
	education	1%	16%	1%	9%	27%	18%	23%	5%	100%
	age education	1%	15%	1%	9%	28%	19%	22%	5%	100%
Self-Employed Males										
Canada	Actual	4%	7%	19%	11%	26%	28%	6%		228,867
Cohort 1 Actual		4%	11%	18%	10%	32%	19%	4%		32,133
1946-60	Adjust by age *	4%	11%	16%	12%	33%	20%	5%		100%
	education	3%	11%	15%	10%	30%	25%	5%		100%
	age education	3%	12%	14%	11%	32%	22%	5%		100%
Cohort 2 Actual		2%	9%	20%	10%	35%	20%	5%		179,402
1961-70	Adjust by age	2%	8%	21%	10%	35%	19%	5%		100%
	education	2%	9%	18%	10%	33%	23%	5%		100%
	age education	2%	8%	19%	10%	33%	22%	5%		100%
Cohort 3 Actual		1%	8%	15%	13%	36%	18%	8%		31,168
1971-77	Adjust by age	1%	8%	16%	13%	36%	18%	8%		100%
	education	1%	8%	16%	14%	36%	18%	6%		100%
	age education	1%	7%	17%	14%	38%	18%	6%		100%

Note Population age 15-64 not in school full time
Living in the CMAs of Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver

Source 1991 Public Use File, individual file.

* for cohort 1, there were no immigrants less than 25 years old, so comparison is between people age 25-64

Appendix V

Supporting Immigration Regulations

Schedule A
New P.C. 1967-1616, Aug. 16, 1967
NORMS FOR ASSESSMENT OF INDEPENDENT APPLICANTS

1. The factors to be used in assessing independent applicants, the weight to be allotted to each factor, and the units of assessment to be used in applying those factors, are as follows:

(a) Education and training	One unit for each successfully completed year of formal education and for each year of professional, vocational and formal trades training, or apprenticeship, up to a maximum of twenty
(b) Personal assessment	Adaptability, motivation, initiative, resourcefulness and other similar qualities to be assessed during an interview with the applicant by an immigration or visa officer, the total assessment up to a maximum of fifteen to reflect the latter's judgment of the personal suitability of the applicant and his family to become successfully established in Canada.
(c) Occupational demand	On the basis of information gathered by the Department on employment opportunities in Canada, units to be assessed according to demand for the occupation the applicant will follow in Canada, ranging from fifteen when demand for the occupation is strong to zero when there is an oversupply in Canada of workers having the particular occupation of the applicant.
(d) Occupational skill	To be assessed according to the highest skill possessed by the applicant, ranging from ten units for the professional to one unit for the unskilled, irrespective of the occupation the applicant will have in Canada.
(e) Age	Ten units if the applicant is between eighteen and thirty-five years of age, but one unit to be deducted for each year of age over thirty-five.
(f) Arranged employment	Ten units if the applicant has arranged definite employment in Canada which offers reasonable prospects of continuity.
(g) Knowledge of English and French	(a) Ten units if the applicant reads and speaks fluently both English and French. (b) Five units if he reads, writes and speaks fluently one of the languages. (c) Four units for each of the languages he speaks and reads well. (d) Two units for each of the languages he speaks fluently. (e) One unit for each of the languages he speaks with difficulty. (f) Two units for each of the languages he reads well (g) One unit for each of the languages he reads with difficulty
(h) Relative	Where the applicant has a relative in Canada willing to assist him in becoming established and eligible to support or nominate him but is unprepared or unable to do so, (a) five units if the applicants destination is the municipality in which the relative lives. (b) three units if his destination differs from the municipality in which the relative lives.
(i) Employment opportunities in the area of destination	A maximum of five units if the applicant intends to go to an area of Canada where there is a very strong demand for labour, fewer if the demand for labour is less strong, and zero if there is an over-supply of labour in the area.

2. An independent applicant who intends to establish a business or retire in Canada may be given a credit of twenty-five units instead of being assessed under the factors set out in paragraphs (c) and (d) of section 1. if

- (a) he has sufficient financial resources to establish himself in business or to retire; and
- (b) the immigration or visa officer is satisfied that any business the applicant proposes to establish as a reasonable chance of being successful.

3. In order to be assessed as likely to establish himself successfully in Canada, an independent applicant outside Canada must achieve at least fifty units of assessment.

4. An applicant in Canada described in subsection (1) of section 3 must achieve at least fifty units of assessment on the factors set out in section 1 other than arranged employment.

Schedule B
New P.C. 1967-1616, Aug. 16, 1967
NORMS FOR ASSESSMENT OF NOMINATED RELATIVES

1. The factors to be used in assessing independent applicants, the weight to be allotted to each factor, and the units of assessment to be used in applying those factors, are as follows:

(a) Education and training	One unit for each successfully completed year of formal education and for each year of professional, vocational and formal trades training, or apprenticeship, up to a maximum of twenty
(b) Personal assessment	Adaptability, motivation, initiative, resourcefulness and other similar qualities to be assessed during an interview with the applicant by an immigration or visa officer, the total assessment up to a maximum of fifteen to reflect the latter's judgment of the personal suitability of the applicant and his family to become successfully established in Canada.
(c) Occupational demand	On the basis of information gathered by the Department on employment opportunities in Canada, units to be assessed according to demand for the occupation the applicant will follow in Canada, ranging from fifteen when demand for the occupation is strong to zero when there is an oversupply in Canada of workers having the particular occupation of the applicant.
(d) Occupational skill	To be assessed according to the highest skill possessed by the applicant, ranging from ten units for the professional to one unit for the unskilled, irrespective of the occupation the applicant will have in Canada.
(e) Age	Ten units if the applicant is under thirty-five years of age, but one unit to be deducted for each year of age over thirty-five.

2. (1) A nominated relative must achieve

(a) at least twenty units in an assessment based on the factors set out in paragraphs (a) to (e) of section 1 if that relative is

- (i) a son or daughter twenty-one years of age or over,
- (ii) a married son or daughter under twenty-one years of age,
- (iii) a brother or sister,
- (iv) the father, mother, grandfather or grandmother under sixty years of age, or
- (v) an unmarried nephew or niece under twenty-one years of age of a person who is a Canadian citizen residing in Canada.

(b) at least twenty-five units in an assessment based on the factors set in paragraphs (a) to (e) of section 1 if he is a relative described in paragraphs (i) to (v) of paragraph (a) of a person lawfully admitted to Canada for permanent residence and residing in Canada.

(2) A nominated relative must achieve

(a) at least thirty units in an assessment based on the factors set out in paragraphs (a) to (e) of section 1 if that relative is

- (i) a nephew or niece twenty-one years of age or over,
- (ii) a married nephew or niece under twenty-one years of age, or
- (iii) an uncle, aunt, grandson or granddaughter of a person who is a Canadian citizen residing in Canada; and

(b) at least thirty-five units in an assessment based on the factors set in paragraphs (a) to (e) of section 1 if he is a relative described in paragraphs (i) to (iii) of paragraph (a) of a person lawfully admitted to Canada for permanent residence and residing in Canada.

3. (1) An applicant in Canada who could have been eligible to be nominated for admission to Canada and examined while abroad as a nominated relative must achieve

(a) at least thirty units in an assessment based on factors (a) to (e) section 1 if that relative is

- (i) a son or daughter twenty-one years of age or over,
- (ii) a married son or daughter under twenty-one years of age,
- (iii) a brother or sister,

- (iv) a parent or grandparent under sixty years of age, or
- (v) an unmarried nephew or niece under twenty-one years of age of a person who is a Canadian citizen residing in Canada, and
- (b) at least thirty-five units in an assessment based on factors (a) to (c) of section 1 if he is a relative described in subparagraphs (i) to (v) paragraph (a) of a person lawfully admitted to Canada for permanent residence and residing in Canada.

(2) An applicant in Canada who could have been eligible to be nominated for admission to Canada and examined while abroad as a nominated relative must achieve

(a) at least forty units in an assessment based on factors (a) to (c) in section 1 if that relative is

- (i) a nephew or niece twenty-one years of age or over,
 - (ii) a married nephew or niece under twenty-one years of age, or
 - (iii) an uncle, aunt, grandson or granddaughter of a person who is a Canadian citizen residing in Canada;
- and

(b) at least forty-five units in an assessment based on factors (a) to (c) of section 1 if he is a relative described in subparagraphs (i) to (iii) of paragraph (a) of a person lawfully admitted to Canada for permanent residence and residing in Canada.

4 If the nominated relative is married, and is not the head of the family, the assessment shall be made of the head of the family as if he had the same degree of relationship to the person making the nomination as the person nominated.

The Canada Gazette. Part II, vol 96. p: 138-139.
February 14, 1962: SOR/62.
PC: 1962-86
effective February 1, 1962.

31. Landing in Canada is limited to persons who comply with all the requirements respecting landing in Canada set out in the Act and these regulations and who come within one of the following Classes:

- (a) a person who, by reason of his education, training, skills or other special qualifications is likely to be able to establish himself successfully in Canada and who:
 - (i) has sufficient means of support to maintain himself in Canada until he has so established himself,
 - (ii) has come to Canada under arrangements made or approved by the director for placement in employment
 - (iii) has come to Canada under arrangements made or approved by the director for establishment in a business, trade or profession, or in agriculture, or
 - (iv) is the son, son-in-law, daughter or fiance of a Canadian citizen who:
 - (A) resides in Canada and
 - (B) has applied for and is willing and able to provide care and maintenance for the person, until the person has established himself successfully in Canada;
- (b) a person who is the husband, wife or the unmarried son or daughter under 21 years of age of an individual who:
 - (i) complies with the requirements of paragraph (a)
 - (ii) is accompanying the person to Canada and
 - (iii) is willing and able to provide care and maintenance for the person until such person has established himself successfully in Canada.
- (c) a person who is the parent, grandparent, husband, wife or fiancée, or the unmarried son or daughter under 21 years of age, of a Canadian citizen or of an individual legally admitted to Canada for permanent residence who:
 - (i) is residing in Canada, and
 - (ii) has applied for and is willing and able to provide care and maintenance for the person until such persons has established himself successfully in Canada; or
- (d) a person who is a citizen of any country of Europe, including Turkey, or of any country of North, Central or South America or islands adjacent thereto; or of Egypt, Israel or Lebanon, if such person is:
 - (i) the son, daughter, brother or sister, as well as the husband or wife and the unmarried son, daughter, under 21 years of age of any such son, daughter, brother or sister as the case may be; or
 - (ii) the unmarried orphan nephew or niece under 21 years of age, or fiance of a Canadian citizen or of a person legally admitted to Canada for permanent residence, who is residing in Canada and who has applied for such person and who is willing and able to provide care and maintenance for such person until he has established himself successfully in Canada.

Appendix VI

Additional Tables

Detailed Industry Distribution by Immigrant Status for Wage Labour Men, Canadian-born and Immigrants (1961-70) **Living in the Six CMAs, 1971**

		TOTAL														Public Administration
		Manufacturing		Construction	Distributive Services		Consumer Services			Business Services			Social Services			
		Needle trades	Other Manufacturing		Wholesale Trade	Other Distributive Services	Retail Trade	Personal Services	Food & Lodging	Other Services	FIRE	Other Business Serv.	Health Welfare	Education		
		Canadian-born	2%	25%	7%	14%	7%	9%	1%	2%	2%	5%	3%	2%	5%	8%
		Immigrant Total	4%	31%	13%	5%	6%	8%	1%	6%	3%	4%	4%	3%	5%	3%
		USA	1%	18%	3%	6%	6%	7%	1%	3%	5%	5%	6%	7%	22%	2%
		UK Ireland	1%	34%	9%	6%	9%	7%	1%	1%	2%	6%	6%	3%	7%	5%
		Scandinavia	1%	31%	20%	6%	8%	7%	0%	1%	3%	4%	5%	3%	2%	2%
		Netherlands	1%	30%	10%	7%	8%	10%	1%	4%	3%	4%	6%	2%	5%	4%
		Austria Germany	1%	38%	13%	9%	5%	9%	1%	4%	2%	3%	4%	2%	4%	1%
		Czechoslovakia	2%	37%	8%	7%	5%	6%	0%	4%	3%	2%	3%	4%	6%	3%
		Poland	7%	41%	11%	5%	4%	5%	1%	2%	3%	3%	5%	3%	4%	3%
		Hungary	4%	42%	8%	5%	4%	8%	1%	4%	3%	3%	5%	3%	4%	2%
		Portugal	3%	27%	24%	3%	5%	6%	1%	9%	6%	2%	1%	3%	2%	1%
		Greece	8%	24%	7%	2%	3%	8%	2%	27%	5%	1%	1%	2%	1%	1%
		Italy	7%	30%	30%	3%	3%	8%	3%	4%	2%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%
		Yugoslavia	3%	50%	15%	4%	3%	6%	1%	3%	2%	2%	2%	2%	9%	2%
		Other Europe	3%	29%	7%	5%	6%	8%	1%	10%	3%	3%	5%	4%	4%	3%
		West Asia	8%	30%	5%	5%	5%	15%	2%	4%	2%	3%	4%	4%	9%	6%
		S Asia	2%	34%	3%	6%	8%	5%	0%	2%	2%	5%	8%	5%	9%	4%
		Other Asia	1%	28%	4%	6%	7%	9%	0%	3%	2%	5%	6%	12%	5%	4%
		China	3%	16%	2%	5%	7%	7%	2%	32%	2%	3%	5%	3%	4%	3%
		Jamaica	3%	37%	8%	6%	9%	7%	1%	2%	2%	3%	3%	6%	3%	3%
		Other Caribbean	4%	26%	3%	6%	10%	10%	1%	3%	2%	6%	5%	8%	7%	6%
		Latin America	2%	32%	10%	4%	5%	7%	1%	8%	4%	4%	4%	4%	6%	3%
		Other	3%	25%	4%	7%	8%	9%	1%	4%	3%	0%	6%	4%	10%	4%

Source 1971 Census database

Note Population age 15 - 64 not in school full time

Living in the CMAs of Montreal Toronto Hamilton Edmonton Calgary and Vancouver

Immigration Intake and Male Unemployment Rate 1946-91

Source: Immigration Statistics and Labour Force Statistics

Unemployment Rate for Females, Canada and Selected Provinces, 1946-91

Unemployment Rate for Males, Canada and Selected Provinces, 1946-91

Source: Labour Force Statistics, Statistics Canada.

Appendix VII
Mechanics of the Angle of Difference

Appendix VII

The Mechanics of the Angle of Distance Measure ($\text{Arccos}(r_p)$)

The angle of difference index can be thought of as measuring the number of degrees of distance between two distributions. In distributions with no negative values (-), the angle can vary between 0° and 90° . The lower the angle, the more similar the two distributions.

The index is based on a geometric interpretation of the correlation coefficient (see R. Wonnacott and J. Wonnacott, 1970: 280-317; see also Beaman and Vaske, 1995). To calculate the angle between two distributions, the following steps are carried out:

1. Calculate the sum of squares of each distribution.
2. Calculate the square root of the sum of squares of each distribution
3. divide each number in each distribution by the square root of its sum of squares.
4. Compute the products of the two new distributions.
5. Calculate the sum of the new distribution.
6. Calculate the arc-cosine of the sum thereby deriving a correlation expressed in radians.
7. Convert the radians to degrees by multiplying by $180/\Pi$.

From a geometric interpretation, steps 1 through 3 serves to standardize the length of the vectors. However from a statistical perspective. However algebraically, step 3 can be thought of as dividing each distribution by the standard deviation of the array. Cross-multiplying the two arrays and computing the arc-cosine of the summed values serves to compute an angle of distance between two vectors of the same length. This is equivalent to computing a correlation coefficient.

Interpretation of the index has two caveats. First, the degree difference is finer at lower angles of difference than higher angles of difference. Second, the angle can actually vary between 0 and 180 degrees. However because this paper only uses positive values, it varies between 0 and 90 degrees.

Angles of less than 5° indicate that the two groups are practically identical. Angles of between 6 and 10 degrees indicate minimal difference. Angles of between 10° and 20° indicate that some difference is apparent. Angles which are greater than 30° indicate that the two distributions are very different and often indicate that immigrants are highly concentrated in particular sectors. With these cutoffs in mind, the angle of difference measure can serve to focus attention on where the greater contrasts lie between immigrants and non-immigrants.

**Example of Calculating the Angle of Difference between two
Industry Distributions**

Wage Labour Canadian-born Males		3. divide by Sqrt of Sum of Squares	4. cross- multiply
TOTAL	1 291 498		
Primary	19 604	0 04	0 00
Manufacturing	348 083	0 63	0 47
Construction	91 289	0 17	0 05
Distributive Services	261 595	0 47	0 11
Consumer Services	278 955	0 51	0 24
Business Services	102 171	0 19	0 03
Social Services	88 056	0 16	0 03
Public Administration	101 745	0 18	0 01
1 Calculate Sum of Squares	3 04672E+11	5. sum	0 95
2 Square root of Sum of Squares	551 971	6. arc-cosine	0 32
		7. *180/11	18 3°

Wage Labour Cohort-2 Males		3. divide by Sqrt of Sum of Squares
TOTAL	212 295	
Primary	2 492	0 03
Manufacturing	72 859	0 75
Construction	27 324	0 28
Distributive Services	23 267	0 24
Consumer Services	46 313	0 48
Business Services	15 757	0 16
Social Services	18 490	0 19
Public Administration	5 793	0 06
1 Calculate Sum of Squares	9371214177	
2 Square root of Sum of Squares	96 805	

Immigration Intake and Male Unemployment Rate 1946-91

■ Unemployment Rate * Immigration Intake

Source: Immigration Statistics and Labour Force Statistics

Unemployment Rate for Females, Canada and Selected Provinces, 1946-91

Unemployment Rate for Males, Canada and Selected Provinces, 1946-91

Source: Labour Force Statistics, Statistics Canada.

END

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