

Immigration and Structural Change: The Canadian Experience, 1971–1986¹

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The educational, occupational, industrial and income characteristics of immigrants in Canada, 1971–1986, are considered in the context of postindustrial structural changes in the economic and social system, including declining primary and secondary sectors. Seven alternative theoretical models are reviewed. A composite model of “segmented structural change” is found to correspond more closely than alternative theoretical perspectives to the empirical evidence. Specifically, immigrants are found at all levels of the system, but there is differential incorporation by gender, ethnicity and period of immigration. Recent immigrants from Third World countries tend to be disadvantaged.

The economic and social systems of advanced industrial societies have undergone major structural changes in the last twenty years. These changes have a significant impact on the process of immigrant absorption. Among the most important effects are the growth of metropolitan areas, the improved level of education of the populations of sending and receiving societies, together with the transition from industrialism to postindustrialism. The latter is evident in the declining importance of the primary and secondary sectors of industry and the growth of the tertiary sectors. These include technologically advanced fields such as banking, finance and information processing associated with computerization, as well as traditional service industries such as domestic employment, catering, etc. These economic and social changes have occurred simultaneously with demographic shifts from “baby boom” to “baby bust,” with a consequent aging population

¹ This is a revised version of a paper presented at the conference, “Social and Economic Dimensions of Immigration and Multiculturalism” at the Institute of Applied Economic and Social Research, University of Melbourne, Australia, July 28, 1989. I am indebted to Shirley Seward, The Institute of Research on Public Policy, Ottawa, for helpful comments on an earlier draft and permission to use special tabulations from the 1986 Census of Canada. An anonymous referee also made valuable suggestions for revision.

and a substantial increase in female labor force participation. In the case of Canada, the structural changes also have been accompanied by deliberate attempts to recruit well-qualified immigrants and a "business class" of entrepreneurs with capital to invest. At the same time, there has been an emphasis on family reunion and some refugee migration.

A substantial shift from traditional to nontraditional source countries has taken place.² In the postwar period, up to 1961, immigrants from Britain were the largest single source; those surviving constituted almost 22 percent of that cohort in 1986. However, those of British origin were only 7.5 percent of those who arrived in the mid-1980s. In 1988, they were less than 5 percent of the total intake. Other traditional source countries in Europe now supply only 20 percent of the total arrivals. Since 1962, the Asian populations have been the fastest growing. Almost three quarters of Canada's annual immigration presently comes from Third World countries, with Asian, Caribbean and Latin American countries predominating. The composition of the Canadian population in 1986, by ethnic origin and period of immigration, is shown in Table 1.

Immigrants are not evenly distributed throughout the country. Postwar immigrants, as well as more recent arrivals, have gravitated to Canada's metropolitan centers which are growing economically, while Canada's older established populations (the Canadian-born of Canadian parentage of largely British and French origin) are disproportionately represented in the rural and maritime hinterlands, where economic opportunities are limited.³ In 1986, 15.6 percent of the total population was foreign born, but the average for 25 Census Metropolitan areas was 21.2 percent. The proportion for Toronto was 36.3 percent, about a quarter of whom arrived in the decade 1976-86. The black and Asian populations were even more highly concentrated in Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver.

Among the changes which have occurred in the last two decades in the characteristics of the immigrant population, the level of education is particularly important. Overall, 10 percent of the Canadian population in 1986 had a university degree, 44.5 percent had a high school diploma or better, and 18.2 percent had less than a grade nine education. Table 2 shows that there was considerable variation by age, sex, birthplace and period of immigration. Among the foreign born, males who arrived in the decade 1967-77 were the best educated—almost one in five had a degree. With a

² Traditional source countries are Britain, Europe and the United States; nontraditional sources are all other countries including those in Asia, Africa, the Caribbean and Latin America.

³ For example, throughout the 1970s and 1980s, unemployment rates in Newfoundland were 2 to 4.5 times the rate in Metropolitan Toronto. In rural areas of Newfoundland they were even higher. In 1985, they were 24% compared with 6.7% in Metropolitan Toronto.

TABLE 1
ETHNIC ORIGIN^a BY BIRTHPLACE AND PERIOD OF IMMIGRATION

	Total	Nonimmig ^b	Immig	Period of Immigration				
				1946	1946-66	1967-77	1978-82	1983-86
British	6,332,720	5,527,930	804,790	178,535	338,580	205,520	62,885	18,230
%	25.3	26.2	20.6	43.9	21.7	16.9	13.0	7.5
French	6,093,165	6,002,785	90,380	15,575	32,195	29,160	9,005	4,450
%	24.4	28.4	2.3	3.8	2.1	2.4	1.9	1.8
German	895,715	645,540	251,175	32,550	169,790	30,775	10,830	7,235
%	3.6	3.1	6.4	8.0	10.9	2.5	2.2	3.0
Italian	709,590	339,535	370,055	10,195	281,880	58,400	7,140	2,445
%	3.6	1.6	9.5	2.5	18.1	4.8	1.5	3.0
Portuguese	199,595	55,205	144,390	355	40,830	84,340	11,295	5,435
%	0.8	.3	3.7	.1	2.6	6.9	2.3	2.2
Chinese	369,320	93,330	266,990	2,215	34,375	105,710	81,330	40,360
%	1.5	.4	6.8	.5	2.2	8.7	16.9	16.6
South Asian	265,890	68,545	144,390	315	11,640	120,315	42,470	23,515
%	1.1	.3	3.7	.1	.7	9.9	8.8	9.6
Other single origins	3,176,760	1,877,580	1,299,080	115,375	479,980	397,525	192,040	113,150
%	12.7	8.9	33.2	28.4	30.8	32.6	39.9	46.4
Multiple origins	6,785,345	6,503,310	483,035	50,130	187,230	173,880	62,810	26,880
%	27.1	30.8	12.4	12.3	12.0	14.3	13.0	11.0
TOTAL	25,010,995	21,113,855	3,908,145	406,300	1,557,555	1,218,710	481,885	243,705
%	100.0	100.0	98.6	99.7	101.2	98.9	99.6	101.1

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 1986. Profile of Immigrants, Cat. 93-155. Table 1.

Notes: ^a Ethnic origin is based on question 17 in the 1986 Census of Canada which read "To which ethnic or cultural group(s) do you or did your ancestors belong? Mark or specify as many as applicable." There were fifteen pre-selected categories and room for three other write-in descriptions. A Note in the Census Guide indicated that ethnic or cultural group referred to "roots" and should not be confused with citizenship or nationality.

^b Nonimmig is defined as persons born in Canada, excluding those whose parents were diplomatic or military personnel temporarily resident in Canada

^c Imm is defined as persons born outside Canada, excluding those who acquired Canadian citizenship by birth.

not all columns sum to total due to rounding and omission of 'not known.'

TABLE 2
POPULATION 15 YEARS AND OVER HIGHEST LEVEL OF SCHOOLING BY SEX, BIRTHPLACE AND PERIOD OF IMMIGRATION

Level of Education	Total	Nonimmig	Immig	Period of Immigration				
				1946	1946-66	1967-77	1978-82	1983-86
MALES								
Less than grade 9	1,625,950	1,259,275	366,875	75,885	184,760	66,630	25,700	13,825
%	16.9	16.2	20.2	43.1	23.5	11.7	13.3	15.4
Grades 9-13, without cert.	2,530,405	2,180,255	350,150	41,485	128,485	115,770	43,870	20,540
%	26.3	28.0	19.3	23.6	16.4	20.3	22.8	22.9
Grades 9-13, with cert.	1,075,075	923,075	152,000	9,465	56,865	54,870	20,155	10,555
%	11.2	11.8	8.4	5.4	7.2	9.6	10.5	11.7
Trades cert. or diploma	397,070	320,680	75,390	8,485	42,800	18,595	4,555	1,840
%	4.1	4.1	4.2	4.8	5.5	3.3	2.4	2.0
Other non-university, without cert.	631,850	527,430	104,420	7,370	45,530	34,685	11,685	5,150
%	6.6	6.8	5.8	4.2	5.8	6.1	6.1	5.7
Other non-university, with cert.	1,395,975	1,094,225	299,750	14,055	149,550	97,585	28,700	9,850
%	14.5	14.0	16.5	8.0	19.1	17.1	14.9	11.0
University, without degree	856,880	676,370	190,510	8,550	71,870	73,785	24,500	11,825
%	8.9	8.7	10.5	4.9	9.2	12.9	12.7	13.2
University, with degree	1,085,050	810,170	274,770	11,000	104,705	109,665	33,315	16,185
%	11.3	10.4	15.1	6.2	13.3	19.2	17.3	18.0
Total	9,606,255	7,791,480	1,814,770	176,080	784,565	571,580	192,580	89,880
%	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.0	100.0	99.9	99.9

TABLE 2
(Continued)

Level of Education	total	Nonimmg	Immig	Period of Immifration				
				<-1946	1946-66	1967-77	1978-82	1983-86
FEMALES								
Less than grade 9	1,757,775	1,274,880	493,090	101,845	222,320	104,190	41,815	23,120
%	17.5	15.7	25.9	44.2	28.8	17.9	20.1	22.6
Grades 9-13, without cert.	2,790,825	2,353,190	437,635	64,280	172,315	130,105	48,235	22,695
%	27.8	29.0	23.0	27.9	22.3	22.4	23.2	22.2
Grades 9-13, with cert.	1,435,145	1,217,420	218,725	16,770	89,875	72,425	26,520	13,135
%	14.3	15.0	11.5	7.3	11.6	12.5	12.8	12.8
Trades cert. or diploma	204,430	170,720	33,705	2,535	15,150	10,780	3,590	1,640
%	2.0	2.1	1.8	1.1	2.0	1.9	1.7	1.6
Other non-university, without cert.	705,870	584,940	118,935	12,830	46,930	38,735	13,330	6,110
%	7.0	7.2	6.2	5.6	6.1	6.7	6.4	6.0
Other non-university, with cert.	1,459,695	1,202,550	250,940	15,655	108,470	92,320	27,975	11,520
%	14.6	14.8	13.2	6.8	14.0	15.9	13.5	11.3
University, without degree	871,780	705,315	160,470	9,535	57,730	65,450	21,780	10,880
%	8.7	8.7	8.4	4.1	7.5	11.3	10.5	10.6
University, with degree	793,430	614,655	178,780	5,870	60,194	74,810	24,610	13,290
%	7.9	7.6	9.4	2.5	7.8	12.9	11.8	13.0
Total	10,027,845	8,123,565	1,904,285	230,220	772,890	580,815	207,855	102,395
%	99.9	100.0	99.4	99.6	100.0	101.4	100.0	100.0

Source: Statistics Canada, 1986 Census of Canada, Profile of Immigrants: Cat 93-155, Table 1.

growing emphasis on family reunion, and the admission of refugees, there has been a decline in the number and proportion of highly selected independent immigrants in the last decade. As a result, there is evidence of a less well-educated stream, most marked among recently arrived women. However, even among the 1983–86 cohort, the level of education of males is generally above the Canadian average. In this group of immigrant women, there is some clustering at the highest and lowest ends of the scale.

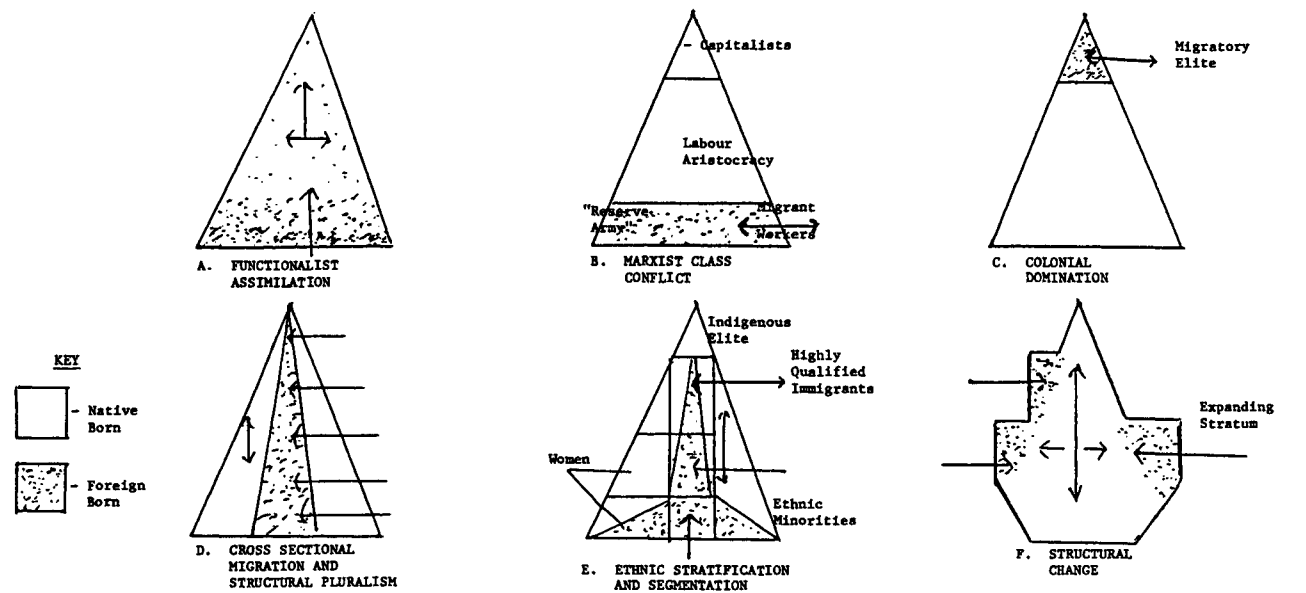
ECONOMIC DIMENSIONS

In the first fifteen years after World War II (1946–61), the total labor force of Canada increased by 1.9 million and postwar immigration accounted for 42 percent of that growth. In the following decade (1961–71) another 2.15 million workers were added, and net immigration accounted for 16.4 percent of that growth. Between 1971 and 1981, net immigration accounted for 20 percent of the growth of over 3.5 million, but in the next five years (1981–86) there was a slight decline in the number of immigrants in the labor force, despite the addition of approximately 175,000 workers who had immigrated in that period. This was a consequence of the remigration, retirement and mortality of the earlier cohorts. By far, the largest single source of growth in the labor force in recent years has been the increased labor force participation rates of Canadian-born women which, on an age-standardized basis, rose from 39 percent in 1971 to 55.4 percent in 1986—still slightly below that of immigrant women (57.8%).

Structural Change

Detailed analyses of 1971 census data led to the conclusion that no single theoretical model of immigrant adaptation and incorporation of the foreign born into the economy could explain the complex distribution of immigrants in the industrial and occupational system of Canada (Richmond and Kalbach, 1980; Richmond and Zubrzycki, 1984). Functionalist theories, ethnic pluralism, class conflict, colonial and labor market segmentation models all received some support when partial and limited aspects of the phenomenon were considered. However, one aspect of the experience of immigrants between 1951 and 1971 was highlighted, namely, the influence of postindustrial development and structural changes taking place in the distribution of workers by industry. It was found that, generally speaking, immigrants avoided the declining primary sector and that an increasing proportion of those arriving before 1971 had entered the expanding secondary and tertiary sectors, lending support to a “structural change” model

FIGURE 1
MODELS OF MIGRATION AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS



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of immigrant absorption. The various theoretical models of immigrant adaptation and occupational status are illustrated in Figure I.⁴

The Canadian experience, in the years following 1971, continues to lend support to the importance of structural change, while at the same time reinforcing the conclusion that in order to arrive at even a "rough approximation to the complex realities of immigration" no single theoretical perspective is adequate and that "the institutional structures of receiving societies, already experiencing exogenous pressure to change and to respond to worldwide economic forces and technological innovations, react also to endogenous pressures which emanate from demographic sources" (Richmond and Zubrzycki, 1984:133). Analyses of 1981 census data for Canada confirmed that no one model was adequate to explain the occupational distribution of immigrants and their income levels. It was necessary to distinguish the experience of those who came from traditional source countries from others, to differentiate between men and women, and to take into account the effect of length of residence and the auspices of immigration. Beaujot *et al.* (1988:88) noted that immigrants might include "an American engineer recruited to work in a Canadian subsidiary, an Indochinese refugee rescued from the boats leaving Vietnam and a teacher who arrived from the Netherlands as a very young child some thirty years ago." No one theory could explain the experience of all.

Although processes of structural change alone may not be able to explain all the trends in immigrant adaptation, shifts in the distribution of a much expanded labor force, 1971–86, have an important bearing on the process of absorption. Table 3 shows the pattern of structural change that occurred in the Canadian labor force by industry in this period. Overall, the labor force grew by nearly 4 million people. The primary sector (agriculture, mining etc.) only added 6 percent compared with a growth of 17 percent in the secondary (mainly manufacturing) industries. By far the most rapid expansion was in the tertiary sector (69%). Some industries that were expanding up to 1971 have since begun to decline, but only tobacco, leather and textiles experienced an absolute decline in the fifteen-year period. Clothing and textiles survived largely through tariff protection. Some, such as agriculture, fishing, oil exploration and rail transportation, benefited from direct government subsidies, supply management and tax incentives.

Table 4 shows the percentage distribution and relative concentration of immigrants by industrial sector, comparing males and females and those

⁴ Prepared by the present author in 1979 and used for teaching purposes, the models were first published in Richmond and Zubrzycki (1984). They have since been reproduced and/or discussed in Beaujot *et al.* (1988); Verma and Basavarajappa, (1989); and Seward and Tremblay (1989; 1990).

TABLE 3
STRUCTURAL CHANGE IN EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY: 1971-1986

Industries ^a	Employment 1971	Employment 1986	Change 1971-1986	% Change 1971-1986
Total	7584396	11569900	3985504	52.55
All Primary	703295	748240	44945	6.39
All Secondary	2195296	2571320	376024	17.13
All Tertiary	4685805	7908745	3222940	68.78
Secondary				
Food & Beverages	220694	264625	43931	19.91
Tobacco Products	9582	6950	-2632	-27.47
Rubber & Plastics	44928	70135	25207	56.11
Leather Industries	28017	22185	-5832	-20.82
Primary Textiles	69487	21290	-48197	-69.36
Textile Products	23948	34685	10737	44.83
Clothing Industries	99516	122170	22654	22.76
Wood Industries	93040	121960	28920	31.08
Furniture & Fixtures	44580	65955	21375	47.95
Paper & Allied	119102	123265	4163	3.50
Printing & Publishing	85862	141260	55398	64.52
Primary Metal	112889	113055	166	.15
Metal Fabricating	138992	152265	13273	9.55
Machinery	71441	75695	4254	5.95
Transportation Equipment	150597	211705	61108	40.58
Electrical Products	123450	148600	25150	20.37
Nonmetallic Mineral	51925	54690	2765	5.32
Petroleum & Coal	14056	22980	8924	63.49
Chemical	77445	94795	17350	22.40
Miscellaneous Manufacturing	57971	85955	27984	48.27
Construction	557774	617085	59311	10.63
Tertiary				
Transportation & Storage	376319	537145	160826	42.74
Communications	144003	229705	85702	59.51
Electric & Other Utilities	63523	126585	63062	99.27
Wholesale trade	343942	524330	180388	52.45
Retail trade	929854	1385270	455416	48.98
Finance, Insurance & Real Estate	336183	632920	296737	88.27
Business Services	267943	545285	277342	103.51
Government Services	639585	874815	235230	36.78
Education	569485	773915	204430	35.90
Health & Welfare	513095	940555	427460	83.31
Amusement & Recreation	45351	132380	87029	191.90
Accommodation & Food	297922	662410	364488	122.34
Other Personal & Miscellaneous	158600	543430	384830	242.64

Source: Statistics Canada, Census 1971 and 1986.

Note: ^a Excluding "Other" and not specified.

TABLE 4
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION AND INDEX RELATIVE CONCENTRATION OF IMMIGRANTS BY INDUSTRIAL SECTOR

	Total L.F. ^a	Nonimm ^b	All Imm ^c	Trad ^d	Long <1971	Inter 1971-80	Recent 1981-86	Non Trad ^e	Long ^f <1971	Inter 1971-80	Recent ^g 1981-86
MALES											
Primary %	9.2	10.2	4.8	5.8	5.7	5.5	6.8	2.6	2.6	2.4	3.0
Index	100.0	110.9	52.2	63.0	62.0	59.8	73.9	28.3	28.3	26.1	32.6
Secondary %	30.6	29.2	37.0	39.1	39.0	39.6	38.5	32.4	26.3	34.7	35.7
Index	100.0	95.4	120.9	127.8	127.5	129.4	125.8	105.9	85.9	113.4	116.7
Tertiary %	60.2	60.7	58.2	55.1	55.2	54.9	54.6	65.1	71.0	62.9	61.3
Index	100.0	100.8	96.7	91.5	91.7	91.2	90.7	108.1	117.9	104.5	101.8
FEMALES											
Primary %	3.6	3.8	3.0	3.4	3.5	3.2	4.2	2.2	1.6	2.2	3.3
Index	100.0	105.6	83.3	94.4	97.2	88.9	116.7	61.1	44.4	61.1	91.7
Secondary %	13.2	11.7	20.2	19.4	19.4	19.8	17.8	21.9	13.4	23.7	30.2
Index	100.0	88.6	153.0	147.0	147.0	150.0	134.8	165.9	101.5	179.5	228.8
Tertiary %	83.1	84.6	76.7	77.2	77.2	77.0	78.0	75.9	85.0	74.1	66.5
Index	100.0	101.8	92.3	92.9	92.9	92.7	93.9	91.3	102.3	89.2	80.0

Source: Statistics/IRPP, Special Tabulations, 1986 Census of Canada, adapted from Seward, 1989.

Notes ^a L.F. is labor Force.

^b Nonimmig is defined as persons born in Canada, excluding those whose parents were diplomatic or military personnel temporarily resident in Canada.

^c Imm is defined as persons born outside Canada, excluding those who acquired Canadian citizenship by birth.

^d Trad is defined as immigrants from traditional source countries i.e. Britain, Europe and the USA.

^e Non Trad is defined as all other source countries.

^f Long are immigrants arriving before 1971.

^g Recent are immigrants arriving 1981-86.

from traditional and nontraditional source countries by period of immigration. The data confirm the continued underrepresentation of immigrants in the primary sector (although this is more true of men than women). It also confirms the relative concentration of immigrants, from both traditional and nontraditional sources, in the secondary (mainly manufacturing and construction) industries. Males from nontraditional source countries are also overrepresented in the tertiary sector. However, immigrant women exhibit the greatest degree of overrepresentation in the secondary manufacturing sector. This is particularly true of the most recent arrivals from nontraditional source countries. With the exception of the long term immigrants from nontraditional sources, foreign-born women are underrepresented in tertiary industries.

Further light is thrown on the question of immigration and structural change when the distribution of immigrants in the fastest growing industries is compared with that in declining sectors (Table 5). The seven fastest growing industrial subsectors between 1971 and 1986 were business services, finance insurance and real estate, accommodations and food services, health and welfare (social services), amusement and recreation, and "other" personal and miscellaneous services. Altogether, they accounted for 43 percent of the total labor force in 1986 and almost half of the immigrants from nontraditional source countries. The relative concentration of immigrants was greatest in the accommodation and food services sector, business services and in finance, insurance and real estate. Only in accommodation and food services, together with business services, were the most recently arrived immigrants from nontraditional source countries overrepresented. However, as shown in Table 5, there was also some overrepresentation of immigrants in declining industries such as leather and textiles, but these accounted for only .5 percent of the total labor force and only 1.1 percent of the most recent immigrants. It must be noted that accommodations and food services, while growth industries in terms of employment, are also subject to seasonal fluctuations, high unemployment and traditionally low wages. They are at the unskilled end of the expanding service sector, employing many immigrant women. This industry contrasts with business services, where immigrants also are overrepresented, but which are part of the "high-tech" expansion in computers and communications technology, characteristic of postindustrial societies.

Structural changes in the industrial distribution of the labor force accelerated in the mid-1970s and, by 1981, some industries began to decline in terms of the absolute numbers employed. The decline continued between 1981 and 1986 and was evident in a number of secondary industries, notwithstanding some overall growth (albeit slow) over the longer period,

TABLE 5
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION AND INDEX OF RELATIVE CONCENTRATION OF IMMIGRANTS BY INDUSTRY, 1986, TOTAL (MALE AND FEMALE) BY SPECIFIC INDUSTRIES

	Total L.F. ^a	Nonimm ^b	All Imm ^c	Trad ^d	Long <1971	Inter 1971-80	Recent 1981-86	Non Trad ^e	Long ^f <1971	Inter 1971-80	Recent ^g 1981-86
Declining Labor Force											
Tobacco Products %	.1	.1	.1	.1	.1	.0	.0	.1	.1	.0	.0
Index	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	.0	.0	100.0	100.0	.0	.0
Leather prod. %	.2	.2	.4	.4	.4	.6	.5	.4	.1	.5	.8
Index	100.0	100.0	200.0	200.0	200.0	300.0	250.0	200.0	50.	250.0	400.0
Primary textiles %	.2	.2	.2	.2	.2	.2	.2	.2	.1	.2	.3
Index	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	50.	100.0	150.0
sub-total %	.5	.5	.7	.7	.7	.8	.7	.7	.3	.7	1.1
Fast Growing Labor Force											
Utilities	1.1	1.1	.9	1.0	1.1	.7	.4	.6	1.1	.6	.2
Index	100.0	100.0	81.8	90.9	100.0	63.6	36.4	54.5	100.0	54.5	18.2
Business serv. %	4.6	4.5	5.2	5.1	4.8	5.5	7.0	5.5	6.1	5.3	4.8
Index	100.0	97.8	113.0	110.9	104.3	119.6	152.2	119.6	132.6	115.2	104.3
Fin. Ins. & Real Est.	5.4	5.4	5.7	5.3	5.5	5.0	4.3	6.4	6.7	7.1	4.1
Index	100.0	100.0	105.6	98.1	101.9	92.6	79.6	118.5	124.1	131.5	75.9
Accom. & Food ser. %	6.3	6.0	7.7	6.1	5.4	8.6	8.4	10.9	8.2	10.8	15.4
Index	100.0	95.2	122.2	96.8	85.7	136.5	133.3	173.0	130.2	171.4	244.4
Health & Welfare	8.2	8.2	8.1	7.2	7.1	7.5	8.1	9.9	13.5	9.5	5.5
Index	100.0	100.0	98.8	87.8	86.6	91.5	98.8	120.7	164.6	115.9	67.1
Amuse & Rec.	4.6	4.7	4.3	4.2	4.3	4.0	4.2	4.3	4.2	4.3	4.5
Index	100.0	102.2	93.5	91.3	93.5	87.0	91.3	93.5	91.3	93.5	97.8
Other Pers. & Misc.	12.6	12.9	11.1	11.0	11.0	11.1	10.2	11.	10.5	12.0	11.6
Index	100.0	102.4	88.1	87.3	87.3	88.1	81.0	91.3	83.3	95.2	92.1
Sub-total %	42.8	42.8	43.0	39.9	39.2	42.4	42.6	49.1	50.3	49.6	46.1

Source: Statistics Canada/IRPP, Special Tabulations, 1986 Census of Canada, adapted from Seward & Tremblay, 1989

Notes ^a L.F. is labor Force.

^b Nonimmig is defined as persons born in Canada, excluding those whose parents were diplomatic or military personnel temporarily resident in Canada.

^c Imm is defined as persons born outside Canada, excluding those who acquired Canadian citizenship by birth.

^d Trad is defined as immigrants from traditional source countries i.e. Britain, Europe and the USA.

^e Non Trad is defined as all other source countries.

^f Long are immigrants arriving before 1971.

^g Recent are immigrants arriving 1981-86.

1971–86, which occurred mainly in the early part of the decade. In fact, almost all secondary industries experienced some loss of employment in the quinquennium 1981–86, when the overall decline in that sector was -5 percent. The largest losses were in metals, machinery, wood, paper and primary textiles. A recent monograph, based on the 1986 census, examined the relevance of the aforementioned theoretical models and tested the hypothesis that structural change is important in explaining the occupational and industrial distribution of immigrants in Canada (Seward and Tremblay, 1989). More support was found for the structural change model in respect of male immigrants than for females. Men from nontraditional source countries had higher levels of education and were responding to the needs of rapidly expanding industries, whereas recently arrived immigrant women from similar countries were not responding as effectively to changing labor markets as nonimmigrant women, although both were overrepresented in low paid jobs in the expanding service sector (Seward and Tremblay, 1989:36). A further analysis found that rapidly growing industries had a more highly educated labor force with better official language skills, but no clear association between growth and employment income (Seward and Tremblay, 1990:19).

Occupations and Incomes

The economic aspects of immigrant absorption and the effect of structural change can be further analyzed by an examination of occupational distributions. Marr (1986:770–771) showed that, in 1981, foreign-born males were proportionally overrepresented in nine out of the twelve fastest growing occupations for men, and immigrant females were proportionally overrepresented in seven out of sixteen fastest growing occupations for women. However, the most recently arrived were somewhat less likely to follow this trend than those who had arrived before 1971. When the total foreign-born population is considered, there are few significant differences between it and the Canadian born, except those that would be expected given the small number of immigrants in rural areas and primary industries. However, when specific birthplace was taken into account, male immigrants (in 1981) from the United States, Great Britain, western Europe and Asia were overrepresented in professional and managerial occupations, while those from southern Europe were relatively concentrated in manufacturing and construction. Immigrant women tended to be in services and product fabricating, and this was particularly true of those from southern Europe (Beaujot *et al.*, 1988:40–44). The effect of length of residence on occupational distributions (in 1986) is shown in Table 6. It is evident that the most recently arrived immigrants are overrepresented in product fabricating and

in service occupations, confirming the evidence of numerous previous studies that, notwithstanding high educational qualifications and occupational selection, immigrants frequently do not pursue their intended occupations during their first few years in Canada (Richmond, 1967; Manpower and Immigration, 1974; Beaujot *et al.*, 1988). Language difficulties and nonrecognition of qualifications are contributory factors in this initial adjustment period.

Evidence from the 1971 census suggested that, notwithstanding early adjustment difficulties and set-backs, immigrants eventually recovered and generally surpassed the Canadian born in terms of income (Richmond and Kalbach, 1980). This continues to be the case. In 1980, unadjusted immigrant male incomes were \$18,553 compared with \$16,577 for Canadian-born men; the equivalent figures for women were \$8,872 and \$8,322, respectively (Beaujot *et al.*, 1988:49). In 1985, median total incomes were \$19,797 for males and \$9,540 for females (Statistics Canada, 1989: Table 1). The distribution by sex, birthplace and period of immigration is shown in Table 7. Although median incomes of postwar immigrants, who had been in the country ten years or more, exceeded those of the Canadian born, more recent immigrants fell below the average. Males who arrived 1983-86 received only \$9,323 and females received \$8,219. Male immigrants in 1970 had arithmetic average total incomes that were 7.7 percent above those of the Canadian born, 12.8 percent higher in 1980 and 11.8 percent above in 1985. The average for female immigrants was about the same in 1970, but 6.7 percent above in 1980 and 5.6 percent higher in 1985.

Employment incomes for those working full time and part time in 1985 are also shown in Table 7. Immigrants arriving in the period 1978-86 were clearly falling below the average, whereas earlier arrivals were earning more than nonimmigrants. When overall comparisons are confined to earned incomes for those working full time for 40 weeks or more in the year, and then standardized for age and education, a different picture emerges. In 1970, the relative advantage of male immigrants persisted, with standardized earned income 2 percent above the Canadian-born average. However, in 1980 the standardized comparison fell to 1.1 percent below, and by 1985 men were 2.6 percent below their Canadian-born equivalents. Comparable figures for immigrant women were 2.2 percent above in 1970, 1.7 percent below in 1980 and no difference in 1985 (Beaujot and Rappak, 1989:59).

It seems that immigrants in Canada have lost some of their earlier advantage. A combination of cohort differences in origin and level of education, combined with increased adaptation for those having longer residence, accounts for some of the difference between earlier and later

TABLE 6
POPULATION 15 YEARS AND OVER, IN LABOR FORCE, BY BIRTHPLACE, PERIOD OF IMMIGRATION AND OCCUPATION

Occupational Group	Total	Nonimmig ^a	Immig ^b	1956	1946-66	1967-77	1978-82	1983-86
MALES								
Managerial, administrative, etc.	919,690	735,375	184,310	8,400	98,015	58,905	13,890	5,105
%	12.6	12.4	13.5	17.8	15.9	12.1	9.1	8.3
Professional & related	957,140	737,395	219,745	5,925	93,540	87,610	24,135	8,540
%	13.1	12.4	16.1	12.5	15.1	18.1	15.8	13.9
Clerical & related	494,410	413,945	80,465	2,735	30,865	33,135	9,795	3,930
%	6.8	7.0	5.9	5.8	5.0	6.8	6.4	6.4
Sales	641,511	541,250	100,490	4,855	45,480	35,745	9,485	3,930
%	8.8	9.1	7.4	10.3	7.4	7.4	6.2	6.4
Service	742,515	584,355	158,250	3,760	59,575	57,370	26,125	11,325
%	10.2	9.9	11.6	8.0	9.6	11.8	17.1	18.4
Primary	575,020	522,015	53,005	8,415	24,745	12,125	5,335	2,380
%	7.9	8.8	3.9	17.8	4.0	2.5	3.5	3.9
Processing	597,985	461,730	136,255	2,385	58,545	49,850	18,505	6,980
%	8.2	7.8	10.0	5.0	9.5	10.3	12.1	11.4
Product fabricating, assembling, etc.	725,155	555,855	159,265	3,535	71,700	61,915	22,705	9,505
%	9.9	9.4	11.7	7.5	11.6	12.8	14.9	15.5
Construction trades	735,385	599,115	135,275	2,855	76,335	44,015	9,135	3,955
%	10.1	10.1	9.9	6.0	12.4	9.1	6.0	6.4
Other occupations	905,065	779,525	125,530	4,400	58,105	44,470	13,880	5,785
%	12.4	13.1	9.2	9.3	9.4	9.2	9.1	9.4
All occupations	7,294,215	5,929,610	1,364,605	47,235	617,825	485,145	152,880	61,425
%	100.0	100.0	99.1	100.1	99.8	100.0	100.1	100.0

TABLE 6
(Continued)

Occupational Group	Total	Nonimmig ^a	Immig ^b	1956	1946-66	1967-77	1978-82	1983-86
FEMALES								
Managerial, administrative, etc.	422,280	347,530	74,755	2,435	36,980	27,755	5,825	1,755
%	7.8	7.8	7.5	8.9	9.1	7.1	4.7	3.7
Professional & related	1,136,740	948,435	188,305	4,560	77,995	79,280	20,030	6,475
%	20.9	21.3	18.9	16.7	19.2	20.4	16.2	13.5
Clerical & related	1,824,210	1,544,185	280,020	8,520	118,045	114,680	28,755	9,025
%	33.5	34.7	28.2	31.2	29.0	29.5	23.3	18.9
Sales	511,410	426,520	84,795	3,490	37,830	31,920	8,255	3,295
%	9.4	9.6	8.5	12.8	9.3	8.2	6.7	6.9
Service	874,905	701,310	173,500	4,280	63,600	64,890	27,705	13,120
%	16.1	15.8	17.4	15.7	15.6	16.7	22.5	27.4
Primary	136,130	114,150	21,985	1,815	9,510	5,730	3,455	1,475
%	2.5	2.6	2.2	6.7	2.3	1.5	2.8	3.1
Processing	129,550	99,055	30,485	530	10,935	12,190	4,940	1,895
%	2.4	2.2	3.1	1.9	2.7	3.1	4.0	4.0
Product fabricating, assembling, etc.	229,990	129,560	100,435	925	35,660	37,445	18,325	8,080
%	4.2	2.9	10.1	3.4	8.8	9.6	14.9	16.9
Construction trades	18,095	15,005	3,090	35	1,345	1,185	380	145
%	.3	.3	.3	.1	.3	.3	.3	.3
Other occupations	152,700	125,675	30,025	590	13,945	14,190	5,610	2,575
%	2.8	2.8	3.0	2.2	3.4	3.6	4.6	5.4
All occupations	5,446,010	4,451,535	994,480	27,280	406,815	389,250	123,280	47,845

Source Statistics Canada, 1986, Census of Canada, Profile of Immigrants, Cat. 93-155, Table 1.

Notes: ^a Nonimmig is defined as persons born in Canada, excluding those whose parents were diplomatic or military personnel temporarily resident in Canada.

^b Imm is defined as persons born outside Canada, excluding those who acquired Canadian citizenship by birth.

TABLE 7
TOTAL AND EMPLOYMENT INCOME, 1985, BY SEX, BIRTHPLACE, AND
PERIOD OF IMMIGRATION

	Total	Nonimmig ^a	Immig ^b	Period of Immigration				
				< 1946	1946-66	1967-77	1978-82	1983-86
				Median Total Income, \$				
Males	19,797	19,326	21,345	12,922	25,587	22,378	15,884	9,323
Females	9,540	9,420	9,983	8,753	10,839	11,175	8,954	8,219
				Average Employment Income Worked Full Year, Full Time, \$				
Males	30,504	30,153	31,843	33,708	33,577	31,460	25,559	21,815
Females	19,995	20,052	19,721	20,211	20,882	19,905	15,817	13,222
				Average Employment Income Worked Part Year, or Part Time, \$				
Males	13,474	12,977	16,070	15,972	18,931	14,949	11,576	8,219
Females	8,012	7,810	8,897	9,017	10,055	8,898	7,479	5,885

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 1986, Profile of Immigrants, Cat. 93-155, Table 1.

Notes ^a Nonimmig is defined as persons born in Canada, excluding those whose parents were diplomatic or military personnel temporarily resident in Canada.

^b Immig is defined as persons born outside Canada, excluding those who acquired Canadian citizenship by birth.

immigrants. Further differences are due to the clustering of immigrants in metropolitan areas. Generally, they have retained a closely comparable level of earning capacity to that of the Canadian born as a whole, qualified only by the high cost of living (and particularly housing) in the metropolitan centers in which the majority are resident. Verma and Basavarajappa (1989:448) examined income levels for immigrants in metropolitan areas in 1980 and found that, overall, men earned 1.9 and women 5.9 percent less than the Canadian born living in those areas, but that the differences were greater when age and education were controlled. There was considerable variation by birthplace and period of immigration. Recently arrived immigrants from nontraditional source countries earned the lowest incomes. They found evidence of ethnic labor market segmentation as well as a relative concentration of immigrants in service industries. However, they concluded that "the differential labor market entry of immigrant groups is better explained by the structural pluralism model or the ethnic stratification and segmentation model" (Verma and Basavarajappa, 1989:449).

The overall picture, based on averages for all immigrants, disguises some of the variations within the immigrant population, particularly when comparisons are made between those from traditional source countries and those from Third World countries. In 1985, among those who arrived 1975-79, standardized employment incomes for nontraditional source countries were 21.2 percent below those of traditional immigrant groups in the case of men and 10.7 percent below for women (Beaujot and Rappak, 1989).⁵ More recent arrivals were further disadvantaged.

The situation of Caribbean immigrants in 1980 is a specific case in point. A detailed analysis of the economic experience of Caribbean men and women in Canada (based on 1981 census data) revealed a pattern of absolute and relative deprivation, compared with other immigrants and the Canadian born (Richmond, 1989). When standardized for age and education, the employment incomes of francophone Caribbean males was only 67 percent of comparable Canadian-born men; the proportion for anglophone Caribbean males was 83 percent. Comparable figures for Caribbean women were 79 percent and 90 percent, respectively (Richmond, 1989:61). It was notable that the degree of disadvantage was greater in Montreal than in Toronto, lending support to the conclusion that Haitian immigrants in Quebec faced even greater degrees of prejudice and discrimination than their West Indian counterparts in Ontario. The study also demonstrated that Caribbean women faced the same substantial gender gap in income as other women, but that they recovered from the initial adjustment difficulties more quickly than Caribbean men. Furthermore, the data also show that the gap between actual and "expected" employment incomes (after standardizing for sex, age and education) grew wider as educational levels rose. In other words, well-educated Caribbean immigrants had greater difficulty achieving an occupational status and income comparable with their qualifications than those with less education. Those with university degrees had greater difficulty than similarly qualified immigrants from other countries (Richmond, 1989:44).

The problem of credentialism has been a persistent source of difficulty for wave after wave of immigrants in Canada who find their university degrees discounted, their professional qualifications unrecognized and their trade diplomas useless. The problem has been particularly acute in recent years, as the number of Canadian trained students entering the labor market increased and competition for jobs intensified. Refugee doctors have been specially hard hit. While being allowed to take written examinations to

⁵ Borjas (1988:64) also noted that the 1960-64 cohort in Canada started out at a 14.3% wage disadvantage, but for 1975-79 immigrants the wage disadvantage increased to 44.8%. The greatest disadvantage was for those from Africa and Asia.

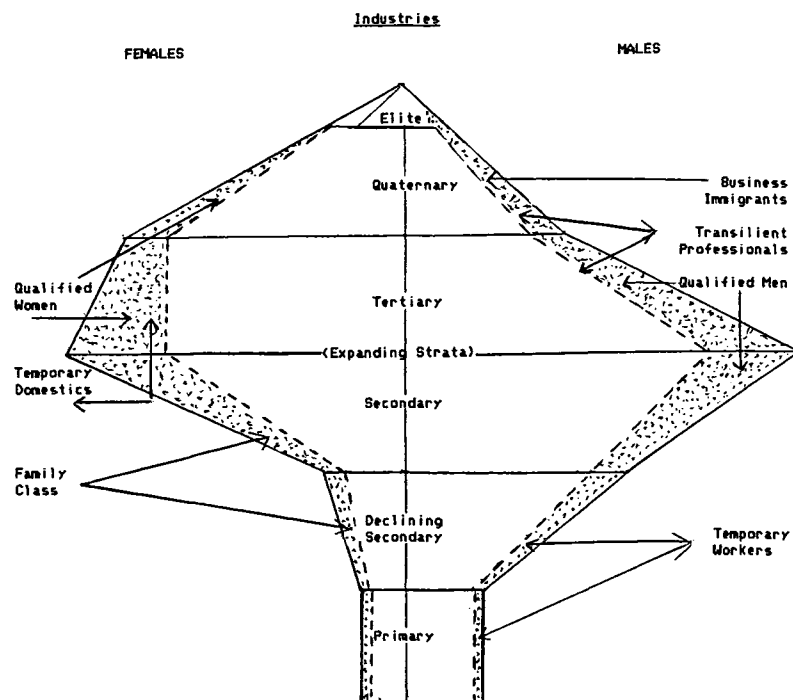
prove their competence, often they have been refused the necessary period of hospital internship which is mandatory before they can be licensed to practice. A recent study of the barriers to the recognition of immigrant credentials concluded that these varied according to occupation, country of origin and province of settlement. Doctors, teachers, social workers, nurses and tradesmen all faced barriers. Ethnic prejudice and discrimination in hiring and promotion added to these difficulties (McDade, 1988; Cumming *et al.*, 1989).

CONCLUSION

Is it possible to formulate a revised, composite model of immigrant adaptation in a postindustrial society, such as Canada, that accounts for the complex empirical findings of recent research? It is evident that a number of factors are involved, some of which are countervailing or even contradictory. The government encourages well-educated and qualified immigrants, but there are obstacles in the way of recognizing their credentials. "Canadian experience" is valued and preference is given to established immigrants over recent arrivals. Immigrants from nontraditional source countries are encouraged through a nondiscriminatory admission policy, but black and Asian immigrants face race prejudice and barriers to hiring and promotion. Female labor force participation has increased dramatically, and women are increasingly employed in professional, technical and managerial positions. Yet married women with children need assistance with housework and childcare if they are to work full time, creating a demand for immigrant women in low paid domestic employment. While well-qualified immigrants eventually move into better paid professional employment in expanding sectors, many of those not so qualified, or whose language skills are inadequate, appear to be a replacement population in manufacturing industries losing older workers (immigrant and nonimmigrant). Pay and working conditions in such industries are no longer attractive to a younger generation of well-educated Canadians who have entered the labor force in the last decade or so.

The resulting economic picture is a complicated one, but it may be represented, in a somewhat simplified form, by superimposing the characteristics of the "ethnic stratification and segmentation" model E on the "structural change" model F. The result is diagrammatically represented in Figure II (model G) and titled the "segmented structural change model." It recognizes the existence of a corporate elite mainly consisting of indigenous managers and entrepreneurs, but including a few "business class" immigrants who bring with them capital for investment. There is also a multiway movement of highly qualified immigrants and transilient professionals who

FIGURE 2
ECONOMIC ADAPTATION OF IMMIGRANTS, REVISED MODEL



G. SEGMENTED
STRUCTURAL CHANGE

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Notes Elite is defined as Government and Corporate, politicians and top managerial positions.

Quaternary is defined as Business services, Finance, Insurance, Real Estate, Educational Services, Health and Social Services.

Tertiary is defined as remaining Service industries.

Secondary is defined as all Secondary industries, excluding declining industries.

Declining Secondary is defined as Tobacco, Primary Textiles, Textile Products.

Primary includes all Primary industries: Agriculture, Mining, Fishing etc.

do not necessarily settle permanently but whose skills are in demand in a technologically advanced society. Expanding industries draw their labor from immigrant and nonimmigrant sources alike. Women are found at all levels of the system, but immigrant females are overrepresented in many of the poorly paid service industries and in those manufacturing industries where semiskilled manual labor is employed but a knowledge of English (or French) is not necessary. Many immigrant women are "family class," sponsored without regard to their qualifications. Some recently arrived immigrant men and women gravitate toward declining industries whose competitiveness in international markets can only be sustained by offering wages and working conditions that are unattractive to indigenous workers. Older workers in these industries (both immigrant and nonimmigrant) are retiring, while younger indigenous workers enter better paid jobs in expanding sectors. The effect of discrimination is to block the mobility opportunities for ethnic minorities and to delay the effective integration of recently arrived immigrants from nontraditional source countries. Temporary workers include males who are employed in agriculture, construction and manufacturing and women who are mainly engaged in domestic service.

A "segmented structural change" model of immigrant adaptation to the labor market describes the experience of Canada in recent decades. It remains for further comparative research to be undertaken to determine whether the experience of other countries can be explained in similar terms.

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