

MIGRATION, REFUGEE AND POPULATION RESEARCH IN CANADA¹

by

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This paper is provided as background material specifically for my comments on the paper by Professor Dietrich Thränhardt on "Immigration as a Compensation of the Demographic Deficit - Chance and Necessity for Europe?", and for the conference on "Concrete Suggestions for a European Immigration Legislation" to be held under the auspices of the Evangelische Akademie Loccum.

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I INTRODUCTION

In September of 1996, I gave a paper on Migration and Crime at an international conference in Courmayeur, Italy. At that conference, most European experts on links between crime and migration gave evidence in their papers that they knew little of the extensive literature on migration and refugees in traditional countries of immigration - Australia, Canada and the United States. Most of the European papers were obsessed with the evidence that migrants committed two to four times the amount of crime as native born Europeans (the figures vary for the different countries of Europe) and did not seem to know that the research in countries of traditional immigration indicated that the rates of crime for immigrants and refugees were half that of native born.

Why the difference between Australia, Canada and the USA versus European states? Research pointed to several possible reasons - the established integration policies of traditional countries of immigration, reducing greatly the sense of alienation of migrants, the actual legal opportunities for migration providing a formal legal entry opportunity, the link between the latter and the fact that a great deal of the criminal charges against migrants in Europe were for migration related crimes.

This comment is not meant to indicate that European scholars of migration in general know little of the research on migration in traditional countries receiving immigrants.² Rather, some policy makers in an important component in the push for legislative changes in immigration law, those involved with crime related to migration, need to adopt corrective lenses. Europeans need to be aware of the extensive research on migration in Australia, Canada and the United States. This paper concentrates on relevant research on non-domestic aspects of migration, and is restricted to Canada. The research on law and on integration is far more extensive.³

On the other hand, researchers in the anglophone countries of traditional migration have much to learn from European researchers. The overwhelming bulk of the studies of migration in the New World is based on correlation studies or Whig history focusing on the rationale for migration policy decisions - and stands in some contrast to different

dominant methodologies in continental thought - examples include phenomenological approaches and the historiography of the Annales school with its emphasis on the *long durée* and a large space-time frame for understanding migration.

This paper is only intended to provide a brief overview of Canadian research on migration, and concentrates on those elements that relate to foreign policy since a study of research on integration and migration issues is already available.⁴ Using government statistics, three monographs published in the 1980s dealt with the demographic, educational, economic and urban aspects of the immigration experience in Canada and Australia - Rao, Richmond and Zubrzycki, 1984; Richmond and Zubrzycki, 1984; Burney and Kalbach, 1985.

This paper is organized as follows:

PART I: Frame

Topic	the title includes refugees as a separate topic from migration since there are distinctive issues, both theoretical and practical, which apply to the issue of refugees, and significantly more importance as far as foreign policy is concerned
Norms	depth, breadth, originality, objectivity, relevance and long-term orientation
Issues	research capacity (personnel, institutes, graduate training), existing in g netwo r k s a n d infra struc ture (incl uding insti tutio n s , journ als , profe

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Part II: Method

This report is based on contacting researchers in the field as well as updating a previous article⁵, previous research and another immanent publication.⁶ Since my own research had not significantly touched the population/migration issue, I used selected phone contacts⁷ and some reading⁸ to obtain an update on the nature and quantity of recent work (since 1990) on population issues. However, the evaluation of the research in that area is based on a melding of others' assessments, and, even then, I evaluated such research only in relationship to migration and foreign policy. I also reviewed the recent bibliography prepared by Xiad-Feng Liu of the Department of Geography at York for the Department of Immigration on migration issues, but that bibliography, with about 170 entries, included only 2 covering the international area, and even then the references were only indirectly related to integration.

In some senses, this report overlaps the substantive essays to be included in the spring 1997 edition of *Canadian Foreign Policy* which has scheduled a special issue (forthcoming) on Migration and Foreign Policy with an overview essay by Evan Potter, and 4 commissioned papers, one by Ann Weston and Dane Roberts on the impact of aid, trade and development on migration, a second on the impact of migration on security and stability by Nazaré Albuquerque Abell, a third on human rights and good governance and its impact on migration by Ken Bush, and a fourth by Peter Stoett dealing with international mechanisms with respect to handling migration. I interviewed each contributor except Ken Bush who was out of town.

Part III: Criteria for Measurement of Research Capacity

There are a number of ways to measure research capacity:

- a) absolute number of researchers;
- b) ratio of researchers in the area to the total population relative to other jurisdictions;
- c) concentration of research at centres and institutes to create a

critical mass;

- d) responsiveness to needs in the "real" world (relevance);
- e) comprehensiveness with respect to the areas covered (breadth);
- f) sustainability (age distribution of researchers and training);
- g) output;
- h) quality (depth, time horizon, originality, objectivity);
- i) recognition.

The time given for preparation and the effort expended for this paper was insufficient to measure research capacity according to all these criteria or to any high degree of accuracy in any one of them. For example, to measure sustainability it would be necessary to provide accurate numbers of researchers broken down by mature versus beginning (PhD students, post-docs and faculty members without tenure at the beginning of their careers). All I was able to do was provide estimates and impressions. Nevertheless, as many as possible of the above criteria were taken into account in this paper.

Part IV: Focus

This report is **not** on research capacity with respect to migration **and** refugees **and** population in its entirety, but concentrates on these areas where there is a foreign policy dimension.

Part V: Research Capacity

After providing an overview and referring briefly to areas of domestic research on migration issues by way of comparison, contrast and background, the paper deals with Canadian research capacity under the following headings. These headings, though they do not follow the categories used in the European Forum's description of the issues in its pamphlet on *International Migrations: Geography, Politics and Culture, in Europe and Beyond*: (Migrations in Historical Comparative Perspective, Migration in the Modern state System, and Immigrant Integration), do, in fact, cover many of the same topics contained within those headings and more specifically in the conference topics - membership theory including human rights, ethnicity, multiculturalism (opening address and day 2); demography and immigration; the trans-national and global context; and the international institutional context.

The topics covered in this essay are:

A. Theory - normative
- descriptive

B. Causes of Migration Flow and Impact of Migration on those Factors:

B1. Impact on Migration

B2. Impact of Migration on -

- 1) Demography - fertility, mortality, health, population density
- 2) Environment - direct and indirect
- 3) Economic Globalization - development aid, trade and investment
- 4) Political - human rights, democratization, rule of law
- 5) Social - ethnic conflict
- 6) Gender and Family

C. Mechanisms for Managing or Preventing Flows

- 1) Legal - harmonization, reconstruction, application
- 2) Political - international institutions, NGOs, regional ~~inter~~-state diplomacy
- 3) Economic
- 4) Administrative - security cooperation
 - early warning
 - repatriation
- 5) Military - humanitarian intervention

II Overview:

Canada is a leading country in immigration, refugee and population research. There are approximately 150 Canadian researchers who are members of the Anglophone Population Association (the Canadian Population Association) and about the same numbers in the Francophone parallel organization. They are located primarily in universities, but also in government and international agencies, particularly in Quebec. However, these figures are misleading since the list includes many people who are not engaged in research. Further, within the list, at most 15 percent (and more likely 10%) could be considered to be working on population and migration. Some of these, such as three researchers at the University of Western Ontario, work on migration and population studies as they impact on Canada domestically rather than related to foreign policy. Thus, when the focus is on population researchers undertaking research on population and migration issues as they affect foreign policy, the numbers are reduced to perhaps 15 in all of Canada.

There are, however, more researchers outside the population associations (the members of which are primarily demographers) working on migration and refugee issues. Refugee studies tend to be at the other end of the spectrum from population studies in the area of migration, although some exceptional researchers, such as Anthony H. Richmond and Alan Simmons (York University), would be counted in the population as well as refugee group. In terms of percentage of researchers to population, in a world context, Canada dominates the field of immigration and refugee research, particularly the latter in comparison with research being done in the United States, Europe, and Asia. Nevertheless, the numbers undertaking research in the field are relatively small. There are estimated to be approximately 100 scholars currently writing and undertaking research on domestic integration issues relative to migration, and an additional 85 or so undertaking work on the population/immigration/refugees/ foreign affairs intersection. There are a number of scholars, perhaps 30, who research and write on the history of migration.

Thus, the total complement of researchers working on integration issues and migration total 100, while in the area in which foreign policy intersects with population, migration and refugee issues, there are approximately 130 scholars (15 + 85 + 30). Of the migration and refugee researchers working on foreign policy who are not counted within the 15 in the population group or the 30 historians, the 85 can be broken down into 40 who would describe this as their primary area of research and the balance in which this area is one of their research interests.

III Domestic Research on Population, Migration and Refugees

This abbreviated section is included for background and contrast, but also to indicate where domestic issues impact on foreign policy to indicate whether research has been done on those issues. Since this is a study not just on migration, refugee and policy research in general, but primarily as they all relate to foreign policy issues, attention will **not** be focused on various types of research on the impact of immigration and refugees on our society, although the economic, social, cultural and political impacts all directly effect both the substance and priorities of foreign policy. A fuller picture of this area could be obtained by reviewing the Liu bibliography on immigrant integration which does not cover the legal field or many demographic studies in Quebec.

In the area of domestic impacts related to foreign policy issues,

four distinctive areas of research can be noted. First, there is the research on whether immigrants and refugees benefit Canada economically. Do immigrants and refugees bring needed capital, skills, and entrepreneurship, and do they provide a net greater economic benefit than cost? However, in the economic area, there has been little research on whether immigration, or even refugee movements, benefit trade or longer term investment, aside from the initial investment brought in under the immigration investment program. This is an area of domestic impact directly related to foreign policy issues. Most of the economic research has focused on integration, on how the immigrants themselves fare economically. There have been no updated thorough studies, as far as I know, on the impact of immigrants on the Canadian economy generally since NAFTA, the recession, and globalization achieved such a tremendous forward thrust in the nineties, though Don DeVoretz has written on the diminishing returns of immigration, and he and others have written on the impact on the labour market (participation rates, distribution and types of occupational skills). David Foot and Daniel Stockman have come out with a book recycling Foot's arguments based on his earlier research in the 80's in which he argued for a different selection system based on enhanced points for certain age cohorts to balance out the age distribution of the Canadian population and to turn off the spout of immigration during downturns because of the effects of recessions on the economic prospects of immigrants arriving during such periods and the competition created for previous immigrant waves as well as native-born workers; it is not a book based on a broad canvass and detached assessment of the literature, up-dated research, or other points of view. Finally, one of the main topics of the recently launched "Metropolis Project" (see below) includes the effects of immigration on urban economies.

There are also other researchers scattered across Canada who have done work on internal migration. One of these is a demographer, Peter Li of the Department of Sociology at the University of Saskatchewan, who has just completed a book on the historical demography of Canada over the last fifty years as it relates to capital growth, growth in the labour market, gender, the family, and the welfare state. Statistics Canada is preparing to undertake a longitudinal survey of immigrants beginning next year which will monitor immigrants at specific intervals.

The issue of migration focuses on selection criteria and ethnicity as they both relate to capital, labour skills and social strife in the Canadian civil society and polity, rather than as these issues relate to foreign affairs issues. Though there has been and continues to be a great deal of research on the effects of immigration on racism and

inter-ethnic conflicts and the so-called backlash phenomenon, there has been little research on how Canada's image as a tolerant and multi-ethnic multicultural society (or, alternatively, how the degree of residual racism) affects the Canadian image abroad and our conduct of our foreign policy objectives, although there is an intuitive impression that our positive reputation in this area has assisted Canada enormously. Again, where domestic research has a relationship to foreign policy issues, we find virtually no research underway.

The other domestic issue, in addition to economic and social integration with respect to migration, is the area of selection. In the policy field this was a main area of research, but the problem has shifted to one of micro-management related to and determined by feedback on research on the integration area. For example, Jean Brodie at York University has undertaken research on the free trade strategies and labour mobility. Thus, the impact of foreign policy decisions as they effect the domestic situation are assessed, but the feedback of those effects on our foreign policy planning are not assessed.

Finally, a large amount of research has been done on domestic refugee law and a much smaller amount on immigration law. Here, there have been a number of studies on comparative law and the standards, implementation and consequences of Canadian law in relationship to other jurisdictions.

Currently, as indicated above, the largest concentration of research on migration and refugee issues in the domestic area has begun on the impact of migration on large metropolitan centres - with the establishment of centres of excellence in Montreal, Toronto, Edmonton, and Vancouver (the Metropolis Project). Twelve universities are involved in the four consortia establishing Centres of Excellence across Canada undertaking research in this area, and it is estimated that a total of over 100 researchers across Canada are involved. Many of these researchers are new to migration and refugee research per se, but not to urban research. This ambitious research initiative, with its international parallels and comparative studies, is largely focused on the impact of migration on urban areas (economics; government and non-government services; social, cultural, and political impacts; the relationship of immigrant enclaves and the urban underclass; social integration; and intergroup attitudes and social harmony), though, to some extent, this research cannot ignore the political and international context and issues of root causes. Nevertheless, a survey of the proposed research topics indicates that the overwhelming emphasis will be on the issue of integration and not foreign policy issues, in particular, building a research infrastructure, longitudinal

studies, and immigration data base in cooperation with CIC and StatsCan.

IV Research Capacity - Research Centres

This will be both a description and an evaluation of the research units across Canada in this field. The evaluation is based on only a few of the criteria set out in the European study done for the European community by Joseph ben David which described the essential criteria for successful research units. This one will focus only on the prerequisites of critical size, cohesiveness, comprehensiveness and international recognition.

There are, or, I should say, were three main centres for population research in Canada as well as a number of population researchers scattered around at other universities and in the government or in other institutions, but as far as I have been able to ascertain, there are really only two left. Though they may do work on fertility, mortality, etc., the focus of this survey will be on research in the area of population and migration as they relate to foreign policy.

The best known institute recognized internationally is the Centre for Population Research at the Université de Montréal under the direction of Jacques Legare. It has a strong section on fertility analysis and a population laboratory which completed pioneering work in historical demography in reconstituting the development of the Quebec population. In the immigration area, it undertook a very important survey in western Africa of internal, regional, and international migration.

The University of Alberta in Edmonton, with leading figures like Professors Kosinski (Geography) and Warren Kalbach (Sociology), had a very strong unit undertaking research in population and migration, but Kosinski and Kalbach have both retired, and the young replacement, Frank Trovato, a demographer, works on ethnic and race relations. Even in that area, the University of Alberta department has been decimated by three other senior retirements, the last one of these retiring in July.

The University of Western Ontario has within the Sociology Department a Population Studies Centre with 8 faculty members working in the population area, and three specifically on population and migration. Their work is mainly in internal migration and the impact of

migration on the Canadian population, on sociodemographic changes, the family, income and upward mobility. Balakrishnan has undertaken valuable work on ethnic distribution in cities. But the research does not appear to cut into the intersection of population, migration and foreign policy.

There are three centres for refugee research in Canada, at McGill, at Carleton in the Sociology Department, and at York. The McGill unit is too fragile and has never developed a critical mass, based on the work of one couple who do not even have permanent teaching positions in the university. The Carleton unit, the Centre for Immigration and Ethno-Cultural Studies, has some strength, particularly in some of its work on integration of refugees in Canada and racism. Daiva Stasiulis also does domestic research on Philippine nurses and maids. Two research projects have been undertaken in the international area, one by Nahla Abdo on Palestinian refugees in the West Bank, and the other, historical joint project of Gertrude Neuwirth and John De Vries on migration of Austrians to Canada.

The major centre, the Centre for Refugee Studies (CRS), in this area is located at York University. Of the 215 Canadian scholars estimated to write on the population/migration/refugee area, and the approximately 40% working on the foreign policy aspects of population/migration/refugee (85 scholars), approximately 40% of them are at York, and 75% of these or 24 consider foreign policy related to refugees and migration their major area of research, the largest single concentration at any university in the world. Others undertake research on related migration issues. The Centre for Refugee Studies, in fact, is the largest academic centre in the world in this area, although the Oxford centre has a much larger resource centre and far more visiting scholars given its location at Oxford.

CRS offers undergraduate certificates and graduate diplomas in refugee and migration studies, and a significant proportion of its research is in the overseas area. Some of its members overlap the population, migration, refugee intersection. For example, Alan Simmons is perhaps one of the best known in the field of population and migration with both his theoretical work and his empirical work in Central America, both in the refugee area and in relationship to free trade and globalization.

There is no national Migration and Refugee Association compared to the Canadian Population Association, although refugee scholars are linked to an international network of scholars both through the network at Oxford and the one fostered by Geneva which went into disarray when

transferred to the University of Berlin. There are, however, a wide range of internet linkages. There is, for example, a WWW for ethnic and migration research, again with the primary focus on domestic settlement and integration rather than foreign policy issues.

There are no non-profit institutes, akin to the Fraser or CD Howe Institutes in Canada, devoted to immigration and refugee research as there are in the USA, though occasionally these research institutes and the North-South Institute do undertake work on refugee, migration and population issues. For example, in the intersection of foreign policy/migration/refugee studies, the Open Society Institute in New York under Arthur Helton's direction, undertakes research concentrated on eastern Europe, focused on developing regional laws and institutions related to early warning, preventive and post-emergency strategies related to humanitarian action, including relief, asylum protection, rehabilitation, human rights protection mechanisms, and long term development. The one parallel in Canada on the domestic front is the research currently underway by OCASI on the Nation of Immigrants Project researching the image and representation of immigrants in the media. The Economic Council of Canada, before it was dissolved, had Neil Swan undertake the most definitive study on the economic and social impacts of migrants to Canada (1991). The government, particularly Citizenship and Immigration Canada, has a small in-house capacity for research as does StatsCan. CIDA has little in-house capacity, but the IDRC has occasionally commissioned research on refugees, and, as part of Canada's gavelling the Working Group on Refugees in the Middle East as part of our role in the peace process, specific background studies on Palestinian refugees were commissioned by IDRC for the Working Group.

Canada has no centre specifically devoted to migration issues. Australia, which compares favourably with Canada in the highest ratio of researchers on immigration/refugee/population issues relative to population, was ahead of Canada with its Bureau of Immigration Research which received direct government funding in excess of \$5,000,000 per year aside from other research funds obtained. However, the new Australian government dissolved the centre. Canada had and has no equivalent, but the CIDA funding of the Centre for Refugee Studies of \$5,000,000 spread over seven years was a tremendous boost in allowing CRS to become the largest academic research centre in the world on refugees.

In sum, there are only two research centres in the area of population/migration/refugees/foreign policy of any significance, the Centre for Population Research at the Université de Montréal and the

Centre for Refugee Studies at York University.

V Research Capacity - Research Areas

A. Theory

There are two areas of theoretical research in this area - normative theory and descriptive theory. In the latter area, there are only a handful of theorists and one of them, Anthony H. Richmond, though retired from York University, is still a member of the Centre for Refugee Studies and an active researcher. Anthony Richmond has published extensively on theory, specifically on theoretical models of migration. He is clearly currently one of the leading figures in the world in this field.

In the normative area, there are approximately 20 researchers in the world who work on membership theory/immigration/refugees. (Ranier Bauböck who is giving the opening address at the conference is one of the foremost scholars in this field.) Most of them have written on both its international application and on citizenship rights within a state. Fifteen percent of the theorists, excluding thinkers such as Charles Taylor of Montreal who write on the issue without specific attention to immigrants and refugees, are to be found in Canada. Two are in Toronto, including one of the world's leading researchers in this area, Professor Joe Carens at the University of Toronto. One, Will Kymlicka, is at the University of Ottawa and writes on human rights generally with only some reference to migration and refugees. In addition, Rhoda Howard at McMaster could be added as another adjunct member of this theoretical group.

The normative area is a critical area of study since normative more than empirical issues are at the foundation of most decisions on immigration and refugee policy, and, in fact, is often the prime determinant of commissioned research in the area.

B. Causes of Migration Flow and Impact of Migration on those Factors:

B1. Impact on Migration

B2. Impact of Migration on -

1) Demography - fertility, mortality, health, population density

There are at least four main reasons population policy is of concern to Canadian foreign policy:

1. A rapid rise in population in the third world impacts on issues of

overseas aid, sustainability, environmental degradation;

2. population pressures are a prime cause of instability and refugee flows;

3. there is a widespread belief that development aid can be used to reduce population pressures;

4. Canada should take advantage of population pressures to obtain immigrants and re-balance our own low birth rate lest the Canadian population fall.

The third of the above issues is discussed under economics and the fourth is related to the issue of selection and is not discussed.

Canada has a number of experts in this field (Victor Piché at the Université de Montréal who is an expert on West Africa, Eddie Ebanks at the University of Western Ontario who has written both on the Caribbean and Bangladesh, Karol Krotki now retired from the University of Alberta who has written on North Africa and Pakistan). There are also other researchers at the centre for Ethnic and Cultural Studies at Concordia University in Montreal and at Statistics Canada (particularly Dr. R. Verma and Dr. M. Malinowski).

Canadian expertise in this area is also evidenced by the large numbers of Canadians in international institutions and agencies whose expertise is in this area - in addition to the best known, Margaret Catley-Carlson, president of the Population Council in New York, there are Judy Harrington at the World Bank, Richard Osborne and Michael Vlasov at the UN Population Fund, Carol Valsov at WHO in Geneva who is Director of the Program for contraceptive acceptance and another Canadian doctor in the Tropical Disease Unit working in this area. Research in this area is valuable in itself and for the benefit of the country, but, according to the early warning studies, there is no correlation between fertility rates and migration flows. However, according to the theoretical model being tested by Thomas Homer-Dixon at the University of Toronto on the impacts of environmental and demographic threats, population pressure and densities can be directly correlated with problems of security. (Cf. the study on Rwanda by Peace and Conflict Studies indicating at best an indirect causal connection.)

With respect to population pressure as a prime cause of refugee flows, Susanne Schmeidl, currently a Post-Doctoral Fellow at the Centre for Refugee Studies, has claimed through regression analysis that there is no correlation between population size (and/or density) with refugee flows, and the frequency or degrees of violence of societies or the migration and refugee flows, even if this conclusion appears counter-

intuitive to some, and contrary to the conclusions of others. On the issue of the relationship of demographic population pressures to migration, the results of Schmeidl's work seem to be supported by international researchers, such as Mary Kritz of the Population and Development Program at Cornell University, whose research examines the link between population growth as a push factor in migration, and finds **no** direct correlation between fertility and population increases and migration. In fact, Kritz demonstrates, ironically, the reverse to be the case - countries with low or moderate population growth are the prime source of migrants to the USA. Of course, this may have nothing to do with pressures, and everything to do with US selection policies and the correlation between prosperity, low fertility rates, and the selection of migrants based on elevated educational and professional credentials. However, after migrant links with migrant stock in the receiving country, the most important push factor is population **size** rather than rates of growth. Again, however, this may be a product of the US allocation of its quotas in contrast to the Canadian system. Nazaré Albuquerque Abell, formerly of the Centre for Refugee Studies and currently with the International Centre for International and Security Studies at York University, is currently undertaking comparative research on the linkage between migration and regional security, policy responses, and efforts at cooperation. Her article on this subject is slated to appear in *Foreign Policy* (Canada) special spring issue. Some of these issues are bound to come up at the UN Commission on Population and Development 1997 Conference on Migration Issues.

2) Environment - direct and indirect

In the environmental area, Stephen Lonergan has undertaken research in the area of Environmental Degradation and Population Displacement. Peter Stoeth (Guelph) is also concerned with the impact of the environment on inter-state relations, and the international mechanisms available to regulate such migration. In contrast, Thomas Homer-Dixon at the University of Toronto is concerned with environmental migration by undertaking comparative studies of Rwanda, South Africa, Gaza, and Pakistan, countries of dense population with high rates of reproduction, to study the impact on security both in the countries of origin and on urban growth and increased violence generally.

3) Economic Globalization - development aid, trade and investment

Research has been undertaken in many countries, including Canada, on the relationship of development aid to reducing population flows. In

fact, at the OECD meeting in Madrid in Spain in 1993, the research results, including those from Canada, were unanimous in indicating that not only does development aid have no impact in reducing immigration pressures in the short and medium term, neither do trade and investment policies. In fact, the research indicates that the more aid, the more trade, the greater investment between a developed and a developed country, the greater the immigration flow. In the longer term, free trade is the best option to accelerate the propensity of populations to stay at home, but it is a policy that is only effective over the long run.

On the other hand, an area on which very little research has been undertaken is the effects of development on inducing migrations flows - not just the direct effects through building dams, but indirect effects such as agricultural pricing related to world bank and IMF policies. A team of 4 researchers led by Peter Penz at York (Luin Goldring, Vivian Petronix, Shally Gatachuzi) with a collaborator at UVic (Peter van der Geest) has done some preliminary work in this area and funding proposals have been submitted to SSHRC and IDRC.

On globalization and its impacts, in addition to Alan Simmons, Liisa North, Vivian Catroni (York) and Gerald Dirks (Brock) are also doing work in this area, though the work of North and Catroni tends to focus on micro-studies to challenge the macro-theories of the impact. Further, the special emphasis is on aid. CRS also has a refugee and development unit, but the focus is less on economic development than on development more broadly cast with the focus on the civil and political society. The Weston/Rowlands (North-South Institute) forthcoming piece in *Foreign Policy* is expected to be more of a think piece on the linkages between aid, trade and investment with respect to migration. Dirk's work, by contrast, is on the effects of global migration itself on the international order, and, in particular, on the erosion of sovereignty of the state. The international research on preventing or mitigating refugee flows through development aid has been quite definitive in indicating only perverse effects in enhancing such migration in the short and mid term.⁹

In the interaction between trade, investment, aid and migration in the economic area, there has been little research on whether immigration, or even refugee movements, benefit trade or longer term investment aside from the initial investment brought in under the immigration investment program. This is an area of domestic impact directly related to foreign policy issues.

4) Political - human rights, democratization, rule of law

I will generally refer to the above as the justice area of research. However, the justice area is much broader and includes research in political theories of membership and justice and the impacts on both integration issues, selection issues, on the one hand, and overseas policy related to operational solutions - humanitarian intervention or "not-so-gentle" (as opposed to voluntary) repatriation or legal harmonization and reconstruction.

In relation to the root causes of refugee and, to some extent, migration flows in the area of human rights, Schmeidl's work (see above) on key indicators of refugee flows has indicated that human rights violations are one indicator (in contrast to population density or fertility or poverty) related to anticipating refugee flows. The new Director of the Centre for Refugee Studies, Anne Bayevsky, is one of the world's foremost researchers in the application or non-application of human rights law and norms and whose new work is focused on directly linking human rights regimes with refugee flows. The monitoring and support work of the International Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Development in Montreal is directly related to this area of research.

5) Social - ethnic conflict

There are a large number of researchers in Canada working on inter-ethnic conflict, either domestically or internationally, but very few on ethnic conflict in relationship to migration (cf. the Centre for Immigration and Ethno-Cultural Studies at Carleton), and virtually no one undertaking research on how inter-ethnic conflict intersects with foreign policy. For example, Nergis Günlük is completing her research at York on Greek-Turkish conflict in relationship to migration, but is not connecting her work with foreign policy itself. McAndrew's Centre for Ethnic Studies at the Université de Montréal does not focus on the intersection of inter-ethnic violence, migration and foreign policy, but is well positioned to do so.

6) Gender

There is one other area of research on which Canada has taken a significant lead and which crosses all of the issues discussed above - the area of gender research. Currently, gender research covers the following areas, all in relationship to refugees and migration, and some (Noreen Spencer-Nimmons on the Canadian Women-at-Risk Program) directly on foreign policy: gender-related persecution and gender-specific human rights violations, the gendered dimensions of involuntary migration, the impacts of aid on refugee women, women and

repatriation, the special condition of women in refugee camps, women NGOs working with refugees, and the impacts of exile on refugee women. Researchers in this area have organized an Ad Hoc Working Group on the Status of Refugee Women to examine the gendered dimensions of Canadian refugee policy on women refugees both nationally and internationally.¹ An edited volume dealing with many of these issues entitled *Development and Diaspora: Gender Implications of the Refugee Experience*, edited by Wenona Giles et al, is forthcoming.

C. Mechanisms for Managing or Preventing Flows

1) Legal - harmonization, reconstruction, application

In the area of justice focused on legal issues, the major researchers in Canada on refugee law are Professor Patrick Glenn at the McGill law school, whose critical comparative analysis of refugee law and its operation has been significant, and Professor James Hathaway at the Centre for Refugee Studies who has undertaken the leading normative research on refugee law with the goal of recasting and reconceiving refugee law within a human rights frame. Both scholars undertook a great deal of earlier work on Canadian asylum law. Hathaway's annotation of asylum case law is on-line and also part of a larger set of asylum cases on-line compliments of the University of Antwerp. Gerald Dirks has done research on OECD cooperation in the area of refugees, but there has been little research on the harmonization of international migration and refugee law except that connected to Hathaway's project on the reconceptualization of refugee law. This is particularly relevant given the recent accord between Canada and the United States with respect to handling refugee claims.

Another area of research in the justice sphere is enforcement of immigration intakes and the relationship to crime, criminality, and the spread or containment of such crime as a result of migration policy. On this area of crime and migration, little research has been initiated, though Reg Whitaker has undertaken some research on the relationship of security to migration and refugee issues.

The criminologist, Matthew Yaeger, has written a meta survey of *Immigrants and Criminality* which provide a very thorough literature review of the empirical research, including historical studies (Robinson's 1992 study on Ukrainian settlers in Alberta and Ribordy's 1970 studies on Italians in Montreal in the sixties) on the involvement

¹ Cf. Victoria Foote, "Refugee Women and canadian policy: Gaining Ground" August 1995.

of immigrants in crime **after migrating**. (Cf. the studies of Derrick Thomas (1993) of CIC and Frances Henry (1994) from York.) As indicated in the opening paragraphs, research by Borowski and Thomas (in Adelman et al. eds. 1994) indicated crimes rates among migrants in Australia and Canada to be approximately half that of the native born. The results yield two very opposite general conclusions. (Even in most European countries, it would appear that first-generation immigrants have **less** criminality than the native-born when appropriate research controls are introduced -indicating that the key variable is the domestic characteristic of the host country in dealing with immigrants and criminalizing certain behaviour. But research also indicates that second- and third-generation immigrants born in the host country have **higher** rates of criminality, resulting from cultural anomie and marginalization exacerbated by the migration process.

There has been little if any Canadian research on illegal labour migration or on guest or temporary workers, either in the legal protection area in international and domestic law or in the descriptive area of deterrence, border controls, employer sanctions, etc. This is understandable since this is an American and a European issue, but one which has little impact on Canada. Further, Canada has not undertaken normative work on the protection of temporary guest workers (with the exception of some research on the treatment of domestic workers in Canada) comparable to that undertaken under the auspices of Crown Prince Hassan of Jordan or some research in the Philippines.

One area intersecting migration, refugees and foreign policy that does not seem to have been covered by any original research is the field of government criminality as an instigator of instability, persecution, and forced migration. (Cf. Adelman, "Crime and Migration," 1996.) Nor has there been much research that I am familiar with on the role of smugglers in refugee flows and illegal migration.

2) Political - international institutions, NGOs, regional ~~inter-~~ state diplomacy

Work has been undertaken in Canada studying UNRWA, the largest UN agency with almost 18,000 employees dealing with Palestinian refugees. The recent Rwanda study dealt with the role of UNHCR, the UN Security Council, UNPA, and UNDPKO in relationship to both the refugees and the genocide, but there has been no systematic study of UNHCR that I know of. The most extensive work on NGOs and emergency relief was undertaken in Britain, while the lead work on rehabilitation and the return of refugees was undertaken in Washington. John Rogge at the University of Manitoba is one of the leading figures in the world on migration and

refugee disasters and the variety of mechanisms dealing with such calamities. When it comes to the use of mediating and diplomatic efforts, strategic or peace study research units take the lead, though they frequently have little expertise in migration and refugees.

3) Economic¹⁰

Other than a few think pieces that appeared in *Refuge*, there has been no systematic studies on comparative cost benefit analysis of the value of the case law system of dealing with refugee protection, protection of refugees in camps, and in comparison with other uses of such monies such as enhancing the human rights protection as undertaken by the International Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Development.

4) Administrative - early warning

Some administrative policies and practices (early warning) are related to prevention. The most important is the research on early warning (detection). CRS has a unit working on prevention/early warning. The unit now consists of a senior researcher, a junior researcher, and five doctoral students. Its initial research was on mitigation of refugee flows through setting up early warning networks of humanitarian agencies in Geneva, but there have been no follow-up studies on the results. The second research area focused on identifying, evaluating, and, possibly, coordinating the 17 indicator bases that had been identified as having been developed at other research centres. This area of research never came to fruition. The third area of research begun with area focuses on eastern Europe focused on the former Soviet Union was also abandoned with the departure of the key researcher in this area when funding ran out. However, the unit covering the former Yugoslavia is still in existence and is actively involved in an electronic network monitoring the Balkan area. The indicator studies and the case study on Rwanda suggested that the most fruitful area of research in this area would be on networks of area researchers working within the frame of an index system drawn from the work of the indicator researchers. In addition to indicator research, the unit is involved in case study analysis (Adelman and Shurke 1996, *Early Warning and Conflict Management: The Genocide in Rwanda*.) The current joint project of the development and prevention/early - Western Africa Research Network (WARN) - employs both indicator and case study research to monitor developments in West Africa, with a primary focus on Nigeria. The prevention/early warning unit is also involved in institutional development in the creation of an international consortium of NGOs, academic research units,

international agencies and possibly states. The organization is called FEWER, the Forum for Early Warning and Emergency Response.

A second administrative area with a focus on justice and refugee issues related to foreign affairs concerns solutions to the refugee issue, with a new major focus on repatriation, the norms, mechanisms, and results. There is, in fact, only a small amount of research in this area worldwide, most of it pioneered at Oxford even though it is a very contentious issue and one on which Canada could take a lead in its foreign policy. For example, Canada is now gavelling the Refugee Working Group on refugees, and should be able to tie research on repatriation into its diplomatic efforts in this area.

Other than some moralistic work, there has been virtually no descriptive research on the effects of international collaboration on diverting or limiting illegal migration and refugee flows heading toward Canada or towards other countries for that matter.

5) Military - humanitarian intervention

CRS at York has two scholars currently working on humanitarian intervention in relationship to refugee flows, but the major work in this area tends to be done in security, peace and strategic study centres and is usually not directly connected with migration research.

Part VI: Outputs

In addition to a number of leading reports (the ones on Palestinians, the recent study on Rwanda), Canada has led the world in comparative migration and refugee studies with books published on Canada/UK, Canada/US, Canada/Australia, and, currently under completion, Canada/Europe comparative studies. *Refuge* (CRS -York) and *INSCAN* (the Carleton Centre) are not refereed journals. There already exist two international journals in English on the refugee issue - the *Journal of Refugee Law* and the *Journal of Refugee Studies* with leading Canadian researchers on the editorial boards of both - and two international journals in English on migration - the *International Migration Review* (New York) and the *Georgetown Immigration Law Journal* (Washington). *Refuge*, the Canadian periodical on refugees, and *INSCAN* try to bridge the gap between the scholarly journals and those actively engaged in policy and implementation. McGill-Queens Press and U of T Press have both published a number of books on the immigration/refugee/migration issue in addition to some books published by the small presses and Centres themselves.

Part VII: Funding Sources

Currently, the major sources for funding population, migration and refugee research in Canada comes from the government - CIDA, CIC, Justice, Foreign Affairs, although American foundations, in particular, Ford, PEW, MacArthur - have all been major funders of Canadian research. CIDA currently has a review underway on strategic planning and funding research related to conflict/peace/development and the forced migration issue. The CRB foundation has funded some incidental studies related to refugees and foreign affairs, particularly in the Middle East. However, there is clearly a dearth of funding sources in the private sector related to population, migration and refugee issues in connection with foreign affairs.

ENDNOTES

1. An early draft of this paper was originally prepared for a seminar in February of 1996 which had been scheduled to be held at the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs at Carleton University in Ottawa. The seminar was cancelled at the last minute, although the paper was used as background for a larger report on research in Canada. (The Norman Paterson School of International Affairs, "The State of Canada's Foreign Policy Research Capacity," Ottawa: Carleton University)
2. My forthcoming book, *Comparing Canadian and European Migration*, containing a selection of papers by European and Canadian scholars and scheduled to be published by the University of Toronto Press, indicates quite the reverse.
3. For some references to recent research and issues, please see:

Adelman, Howard, ed., 1995, *Legitimate and Illegitimate Discrimination: New Issues in Migration*, Geneva: UNESCO, York Lanes Press;

Adelman, Howard and Lois Foster, Meyer Burstein, Allan Borowski, eds., 1994b, *Immigration and Refugee Policy: Australia and Canada Compared*, University of Melbourne Press and University of Toronto Press;

Adelman, Howard and John Sorenson, eds., 1994c, *African Refugees*, Boulder: Westview Press;

Adelman, Howard, 1994d, *Migration: A European Journal of International Migration and Ethnic Relations*, Guest Editor, *Migration and Refugee Policy and Practice in Canada*, 1/2/21-22;

Adelman, Howard, ed., 1991, *Refugee Policy: Canada and the United States*, Toronto: York Lanes Press Ltd;

Adelman, Howard and C. Michael Lanphier, eds., 1990, *Refuge or Asylum? A Choice for Canada*, Toronto: York Lanes Press Ltd.
4. Cf. Concordia University, *An Annotated Bibliography of Canadian Immigration Research*. For an excellent account of the history of research on immigration and refugee issues, see Anthony H. Richmond's draft paper, "Immigration Policy and Research In Canada: Pure, or Applied?" referred to elsewhere in this paper.
5. Howard Adelman, "Refugees: A Conceptual View of Current Research and Towards a Research Framework for the 1990s," in *Crossing Borders: Transmigration in Asia Pacific*, eds. Ong Jin Hui, Chan Kwok Bun and Chew Soon Beng, Singapore: Prentice Hall: Simon & Schuster, 1994, 140-54.

6. Howard Adelman, ed. *Immigration and Refugee Policy: Canada and Europe: Volume I: Supernational, Intergovernmental and State Perspectives; Volume II: Equality and Difference in the Process of Integration*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997. This two volume edition of papers were originally presented at a conference in Berg en Dal, Holland in November 1995.

7. Information on contacts was obtained by consulting the Directories of the Canadian Population Association (French and English divisions), the Canadian and Business and Current Affairs Data Base under population (84), the Population Association of America (97 Canadian members), and the International Union for the Scientific Study of Population (78 Canadian members) as well as contacts in the United Nations Population Fund, the United Nations Population Division, the Department of Foreign Affairs, StatsCan, and Immigration and Citizenship Canada.

8. Direct information was obtained from Chapter 10 of the Report from the 1994 Cairo International Conference on *Population and Development* (Volume 1), literature surveys, and telephone discussions with Canadian researchers in the field. I also used a draft paper by Anthony H. Richmond, "Immigration Policy and Research in Canada: Pure or Applied?", and extensively revised and updated version of an earlier paper, "Demographic Research and Public Policy: The Case of Immigration," in *Demography, Methodological and Substantive: Essays in Honour of Dr. Karol J. Krotki*, Edmonton: Department of Sociology, University of Alberta, 1987, 507-622.

9. Also, see the research of the Migration Research Unit, University of Warwick, U.K., the Center for Ethnic Studies at Utrecht, The Population Institute in Paris, the Institute for Applied Systems Analysis in Vienna, and Professor Ari Zolberg's research centre at the New School for Social Research in New York. Reference should also be made to Myron Wiener's *The Global Migration Crisis* (Harper 1995).

10. See the substantive discussion under aid, trade and investment.