

CANADIAN IMMIGRATION:

SHORT-AND LONGER-TERM IMPLICATIONS

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ABSTRACT

Policies of immigration intake have altered certain features both of quality and quantity of arrivals. With greater proportions of family and assisted relatives, the expected rates of participation are considerably lower. Among immigrants destined for the labour force, greater proportions intend blue-collar type occupations. This increase is mainly due to greater proportions of immigrants of Third-World origins, whose occupational profiles are concentrated in that category. The age range of immigrants is widening with large proportions in mature years. Social effects include more restricted changes for job mobility, increased demands for social assistance in years immediately following arrival and a vastly changed system of health and social service delivery for the aging cohort of immigrants from widely varying ethnic origins.

A. Introduction

This paper presents implications for Canadian social organizational arrangements from recent immigration intake. Two perspectives are presented: immigration policy and social accommodation.

During the past two decades, Canada's intake of immigration has grown significantly but erratically in terms of numbers. Whatever the year-to-year fluctuation in numbers, the proportion of intake from Third-World countries has steadily increased.¹ This dramatic increase is attributable in the first instance to a change in the basis of determination of eligibility for immigration to Canada. In turn, however, the social effects relate to the accommodation of large numbers of immigrants who are identifiable both visually and culturally.

Research in Canada has focused upon the effects of immigration intake on demographic structure or the stages of social adjustment within a few years of arrival (Kalbach, 1970, Goldlust and Richmond, 1974, 1979, Richmond and Kalbach, 1980, Richmond, 1975.) These careful analyses which have compared immigrants of all origins to Canada have often found that the number of arrivals from Third-World regions was such a small proportion that the analysis often had to collapse "Third World" arrivals with those in an amorphous "Other" category or to make other compromises for want of sufficient cases. In all likelihood finer-grained classifications will become possible for future undertakings, especially from those data based upon the forthcoming Census or other official sources gathered during the later 'seventies.

With the inauguration of the Immigration Act of Canada in 1976, both provincial governments and non-governmental organizations have become involved in an increasingly formalized consultative process relating to

levels and type of yearly or longer-range immigration intake. (Annual Report to Parliament...1981). While there is little evidence that immigration intake as a policy is being fundamentally questioned, the complexity of policy formulation is reflected both in a time-consuming process as well as in a policy which has been stated in somewhat ambiguous terms. Yet in the most recent pronouncements a series of sub-objectives appears to have reaffirmed certain traditions while indicating certain shifts in direction.

The sub-objectives of immigration relate principally to the recruitment and integration of (potential) immigrants to adaptation in Canada. While this mandate is broad and includes any social outcomes, it is clear that the adaptation concerns are pre-eminently of economic adaptation. Not only is immigration twinned with employment in a single federal ministry, the sub-objectives of each (employment, immigration) are listed in parallel juxtaposition whenever policy pronouncements occur (Annual Report, 1979-80, pp. 1-2).

Yet the framing of objectives has been broad enough to include multiple objectives. Thus a single policy may differentially affect both the whole of an immigration cohort from one year to the next. Likewise, if not more importantly, various immigration streams may be admitted to Canada as fulfilling different functions of an overall complex policy.

In recent years specific objectives have affected not only the quality but quantity of immigrants from year to year. An important shift occurred in the most recent decade of greater proportions of "family class" members, in contrast with "independents" as immigrants. Since 1975 especially the proportions of "independents" have been declining as a fraction of total intake as well as in absolute number, as indicated in Table 1.

B. Policy Perspectives

Indeed the decline in "independent" immigrant intake is dramatized in the percentage drop from the mid-60 percent range in the mid-1960's to the mid-20 percent range in the late 1970's. Correspondingly, the proportions of family class and to a lesser extent assisted relative² represents a mix both from the policy-administration and social perspectives.

From the former: policy administrative, this change represents a choice governed pre-eminently from labour market conditions: as overall demand has decreased for new labour market entrants during the 'seventies, the number of independent immigrants is decreased by setting yearly levels or targets (Annual Report to Parliament...1981, p.5). While levels of family members and assisted relatives could likewise vary, official policy interprets those latter categories of inflow which vary less directly with employment demands. In fact the inflow has related inversely to numbers of "independents" most recently. Yet the objectives of family reunification as a policy item are related more immediately to number of recently-arrived immigrants rather than to the labour market. Potentially, the number of family members who wish to join Canadian arrivals is indefinitely large. Setting levels for these categories appears as no less important a policy consideration both because of the sheer numbers and the relation of these prospective arrivals to other immigrants in the same year.

Important as the objectives of family reunification appear, the criteria on which levels for family class and assisted relatives are set have remained officially vague. With regard to the objective of flexibility in setting levels, the vagueness is well suited. For the purposes of our analysis, however, the lack of explicit policy

pronouncements channels our attention to labour market participation and broad perspectives on social and family organization which may result as outcomes. It is to these outcomes and, more speculatively, potential outcomes, that the discussion now turns.

C. Immigration Classification and Destination to Labour Force:

An examination of data in Table 2 indicates that in successive quinquennia from the early 'sixties, fewer immigrants intend to be involved in the labour force. The overall "drop", however, is closely though not exclusively, linked to the increasingly large number of "family class" immigrants, who in the most recent quinquennium amount to some 28 percent of the intake. While the proportions of "family class" intending labour force involvement have fluctuated over the years, they nonetheless remain distinctive at about half the level of "independent" and "assisted relative" class. It may be noted that the data available for refugees also indicate a high labour force involvement. To some extent this phenomenon may be a function of their lower age profile. In any event the profile of occupational intentions of refugees come only from the most recent two years and are at best suggestive of considerable potential contribution (Lanphier, 1981, forthcoming).

In sum, the data indicate that the class of admission is strongly related to intentions of participation in the labour force. The increased levels of family class intake both in number and proportion have far less potential impact for the labour force than does any other class of admission.

D. Immigration Intake

Recent socio-demographic reports have convincingly demonstrated the effectiveness of a geographical shift of intake from predominantly British/European sources to those from Third World origins (Richmond, 197 , Lanphier 1979, 1980). This shift has resulted in an increase from intake in the 10 percent range to above the 50 percent range within the two decades

1960-1980). The shift has been facilitated by a change in the basis of admissability from geographic to economic suitability ("point system") criteria (Immigration Act, 1976). Thereby immigrants of similar qualification are selected without regard to origin. Not only did the early years of implementation of a "point-system" method of admission result in larger numbers of arrivals from Third-World origins, the rate of refusals of persons from these origins diminished as well (Immigration and Population Statistics, 1974, pp. 54-60). Yet there still exist de facto barriers to admissability to Canada from Third-World origins relating to the backgrounds educational and vocational training facilities in the countries of origin, for example.

With respect to intentions of joining the labour force, the differences between the profiles of persons from Third-World and other developed world are indicated in Table 3. Until the early 'seventies, the intentions varied but little by the global categories of last residence. In recent years, however, the profiles of Third-World immigrants reflect decreasing rates of intention to participate. The corresponding profile for immigrants from developed countries has fluctuated slightly and upwards, by contrast. This dramatic difference shows little sign of reversing.

The profile of intended occupations among those who intend to participate in the labour force differs as well among immigrants from Third-World origins. As Table 4 indicates, the intentions of Third-World immigrants have shifted in more recent cohorts from a fairly even mix of white-collar, mid-range, and blue-collar jobs to a decidedly blue-collar orientation. Simultaneously, the profiles of persons immigrating from more developed regions have shifted markedly more toward white collar occupational occupations. Thus an increasing

polarization appears in occupational profile when viewed against origin. For the most part, the immigrant group seeking jobs in semi-skilled and labouring occupations comprises persons of Third-World origin at a ratio that has increased from 1:1 to 2:1 within four years. By contrast the immigrant group intending occupations in both white-collar and mid-range (clerical, service) occupations finds persons from the developed world outnumbering their Third-World counterparts in a ratio that has changed from about 2:1 to about 2:5 in the same four years.

Immigrants as prospective labour force entrants represent only a small portion of the total labour force in any given year - just under one percent, roughly, in years of moderate levels. Yet the disproportions noted above amount veritably to streaming if these profiles of intentions carry over into types of job attainment - and if they persist into the coming decade. At present, we lack a sufficient corpus of data on job attainment of recent immigrants to verify the differential streaming noted above. Data from the 1971 Census have been comprehensively analyzed with regard to these questions, however. The educational profiles of persons of Third-World origins were considerably higher among arrivals prior to 1971. Even there, however, the more recent arrivals appeared to experience a downward deflection in job type. Earlier arrivals from these origins (e.g., those arriving immediately post-World War II and earlier) showed higher levels of occupational attainment than their more recently-arrived counterparts (Lanphier, 1979).

Disparity in level of family earnings between Third-World and other immigrants was narrower, however. On closer examination, it is clear that the narrowing of the gap in earnings disparity is attributable to

multiple persons (usually both spouses) working in the same family-- an occurrence which was much less usual for immigrants from European, British and U.S. origins. Thus it is clear that, in 1971 at least, Third-World immigrants represented (perhaps unwittingly) an avant-garde with two or more household members engaged in the labour force as "normal" in at least half these households. Far from the pursuit of luxurious consumables, the data strongly suggest that these earnings represented an attempt to attain a level of living slightly inferior to that attainable by other immigrant families with one member engaged (Lanphier, 1979).

To extrapolate from these findings is fraught with more than normal hazards: the quality of immigrants has changed in the past decade. It is safe to assume, however, that two features will have persisted:

- 1) engagement of two (or more) persons per household in the labour force; and
- 2) a lower-than-expected initial job placement. Given that the job-intention profiles of Third-World immigrants markedly differs, it is reasonable to expect no less marked disparities with respect to comparative job attainment. It is likewise reasonable to expect that a considerable proportion of persons who did not intend employment before arrival will have in fact obtained employment³. The proportions of persons intending labour force attachment among family class members doubtless understates the potential numbers seeking work after arrival. This point pertains especially for immigrants from Third-World origins.

E. Age Structure

Immigration intake of Third-World immigrants is distinctive as well with regard to the age structure of recent arrivals. As Table 5 indicates

age profiles of immigrants showed little difference by origin until 1975. More recently markedly large numbers of older (age 45+) persons appear among arrivals from Third-World origins. While these proportions have increased since 1976 as well for immigrants from developed regions, the increase is not as great. Cumulatively arrivals age 45+ from Third-World origins outnumber their counterparts from developed origins by a ratio of 1.5:1.

Implications of the shift in age structure of immigration intake are threefold. First, the type and amount of participation in the labour force will alter. Older immigrants have participated in the labour force in their home country so that they have already established themselves in some type of occupational setting. Despite upheavals in the process of immigrating, they will doubtless seek to re-establish in occupations similar to those previously held. The chances of a shift in occupational type to one where local or regional demand in Canada may be higher are thereby diminished. If changes do occur, they would probably represent an enlargement of the "downward shift" or deflection in occupation experienced by large numbers of immigrants upon arrival in Canada (Goldlust and Richmond, 1974). In contrast to the experience of younger arrivals, the deflection is likely to be a permanent feature of the labour force participation of older immigrants. Incentives to enrol in re-training programmes are weaker, both from the standpoint of the immigrant and receiving society. The immigrant requires a certain minimal fluency in English or French to undertake re-training, so that the expectations of simultaneously retaining full-time employment necessary for support of a family during both language training and occupational re-training are less than certain. Frequent re-location for different or better jobs will likewise be resisted. Employers for their

part are less attracted to re-training persons if their likely length of participation in the (future) occupation might amount to less than ten years.

Secondly, these immigrants represent a fixed amount of population increase. It is likely that nuclear families arrive as completed units; they are unlikely to grow other than by addition of relatives joining them from the home country at a later date. This generation of immigrants will not contribute to population by natural increase.

Thirdly, the nature of goods and services required by these immigrants is more extensive and more specialized. Training in English or French as a second language has to be commenced immediately for nearly all persons. Classes have to be scheduled at times which can be accommodated by labour force members. Complete families require housing and amenities at low cost upon arrival. Income will have to be provided in the first few years from sources in addition to earnings as entry into the labour force is likely to be slower and to yield income sufficient for support. Social and cultural services will have to reflect more of the background of the immigrants. Not only may an array of services be offered in the immigrants' own mother tongues, but communities may develop alternate services to those which have already been developed even in diversified metropolitan areas⁴.

Within a decade, Canadian society will experience large numbers of aging immigrants. With only a short period of experience in Canada, these persons will depend upon what family resources are available. These resources will be insufficient for considerable numbers of such immigrants either because of few or no relatives nearby, or because of pre-occupation of their children with activities which preclude attention

likely devoted to parents out of filial respect in the home culture.

The number of such immigrants is easily derivable from data in Table 5 (about 86,000 persons). They represent only just over one percent of the population of Canada in those age ranges. Yet the needs of this immigrant cohort will probably be the most specialized and demanding of human services in the aggregate of those required by immigrants at any stage of the life cycle. It is unlikely that services normally provided by Canadian society in health care delivery and social support will adequately respond to needs which will be expressed in diverse cultural modes. It remains to be seen, of course, whether slight adaptations of typical Canadian patterns, e.g., residential nursing homes for aged members of a particular ethnic origin, will be affordable or even desirable to meet a mix of needs which yet remains to be described. In short, future social development occasioned by an aging ethnic population of recent arrival remains to be charted.

It is clear, then, that the shift in population intake has implications both for the formulation of population policy and in the consequent social organization for the receiving society. The change represents a shift in concern about numbers to a concern more exclusively about the quality of life of an immigrant cohort for whom there is little precedent in terms of social adaptation in Canada. From a policy perspective, this concern shifts from immediate adjustment upon intake to the longer-term adjustments required throughout the latter part of the life cycle. The organization of social arrangements is of course not determined exclusively from the aging profile of immigrants; rather this profile sets limits within which social arrangements must accommodate.

Conclusion

Recent developments in Canadian immigration intake tangibly reflect policy decisions to alter the number of persons destined for labour force participation. The effects are threefold. First, immigrants are received with differential rates by administrative classification: the proportion of "independent" immigrants has been diminished in comparison to those in "family" and "assisted relative" classifications. Secondly, the proportions of persons intending to participate in the labour force has diminished somewhat, with a relatively greater fraction intending blue-collar and labouring occupations in contrast with white-collar and mid-range occupations. Thirdly, the increased intake of immigrants from Third-World origins distinctively interacts with this policy shift: their larger numbers reflect not only a somewhat lower proportion of intentions to join the labour force, they are disproportionately aggregated in the blue-collar occupational classifications. If this difference in profiles of intake continues in terms of job attainment in the years after arrival, it is possible that a job streaming will result from a series of policy moves which in the first instance were intended to regulate level of intake. Yet in this instance a difference in quality of labour force participation emerges as a consequence, in which a polarization appears between the profiles of arrivals from Third-World origins from those from origins more highly technologically developed.

A concomitant shift in intake toward family units has been accompanied by a larger proportion of arrivals in the mature years

(age 45+). While most of these persons intend labour force participation the likelihood of marked change in job type in years after arrival is remote. No less significant are implications for population increase given the age structure of this cohort: their increase will be slight. There will be no appreciable natural increase. These arrivals, however, may sponsor relatives to join them, so that this cohort will stimulate further immigration in a modest way.

The social implications of a recently-arrived immigrant population are manifold. Not only will difficulties in accommodation arise among particular ethnic communities because of difficulties of caring for aged family members in a Canadian context; more dramatic will be the accommodation of social and health care delivery systems to culturally diverse patterns of aging among people only minimally acquainted with North American life-cycle context.

FOOTNOTES

¹ Third-World refers basically to intake from the following countries: Argentina, Bermuda, Peoples Republic of China, Egypt, Haiti, Hong Kong, B.C.C., India, Jamaica, Lebanon, Mexico, Pakistan, Philippines, Sri Lanka, Taiwan (Formosa), Trinidad & Tobago, Vietnam, West Indies, Other Countries. Owing to administrative classification it has not been possible in earlier years to select individual countries but rather the regions of Asia, Africa (less Rhodesia and South Africa), Central and South America and West Indies.

² The three categories of immigrants: independent, family members, assisted relatives and refugees, are distinguished by potential labour force attachment, in which persons destined for the labour force who apply for immigration. Assisted relatives are sponsored by landed immigrants or citizens of Canada who are assessed according to labour-force criteria, but whose sponsorship implies support for the prospective assisted relative for a period of five years. Family-class members are not assessed according to labour-force eligibility criteria and are usually very closely related to the principal sponsor (who may already have arrived in Canada) or who accompany the "principal" on arrival. Refugees are assessed either by a formal definition (United Nations) or alternatively by a special designation from time-to-time by the government of the day. All of these categories are subject to annual levels set by the Minister of Employment and Immigration.

³ All landed immigrants in Canada regardless of class of admission, may legally enter the labour force once they have obtained a landing card and social insurance number. In most cases these documents are forwarded within a month of arrival. Separate work permits are needed only by visitors and students on visas.

⁴ In Toronto, for example, the ethnic food industry already extends far beyond restaurants. Specialty shops for imported food materials, cooking utensils and related items abound. The clothing industry is supplemented by shops selling imported materials with tailors available for customer service. Alternate sources of repair and construction are widely diffused within specific ethnic communities.

IMMIGRATION TO CANADA, 1965-1979, BY ADMINISTRATIVE CLASS^a

YEAR	TOTAL	FAMILY CLASS		ASSISTED RELATIVE		INDEPENDENT		REFUGEES	
		Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
1965	146,758	57,073	38.9			89,685	61.1		
1966	194,743	66,562	34.2			128,181	65.8		
1967	222,876	74,427	33.4			148,449	66.6		
1968	183,974	38,307	20.8	35,040	19.1	110,627	60.1		
1969	161,531	33,548	20.8	39,084	24.2	88,899	55.0		
1970	147,713	32,263	21.8	35,151	23.8	80,299	54.4		
1971	121,900	33,450	27.4	29,328	24.1	59,122	48.5		
1972	122,006	33,019	27.1	30,692	25.2	53,115	43.5	5,180	4.2
1973	184,200	41,677	22.6	44,278	24.0	95,886	52.1	2,359	1.3
1974	218,465	54,232	24.8	53,161	24.3	109,406	50.1	1,666	0.8
1975	187,881	64,124	34.1	45,727	24.3	72,464	38.6	5,566	3.0
1976	149,429	60,839	40.7	32,528	21.8	44,320	29.6	11,751	7.9
1977	114,914	51,355	44.7	26,114	22.7	30,145	26.2	7,300	6.4
1978	86,313	45,540	52.8	17,199	19.9	19,319	22.4	4,255	4.9
1979 ^b	112,096	46,763	41.7	11,474	10.2	25,980	23.2	27,879	24.9
1965-79	2,354,799	733,170	31.1	399,776	16.9	1,155,897	49.0	38,956	1.6

Source: Department of Employment and Immigration, Annual Report to Parliament on Immigration Levels 1981, Table 3.

Notes:

^aTotal number cases in that category, upon which percentage is based.

^b1979 data are preliminary figures.

TABLE 2

PERCENT INTENDING TO JOIN LABOUR FORCE, BY CLASS OF ADMISSION,
AGE 15 AND OVER, 1962-79

<u>CLASS OF ADMISSION</u>	<u>1962- 1969</u>	<u>1970- 1974</u>	<u>1975- 1979</u>
Independent ('000) ^a	449	249	107
Assisted relative ^b ('000) ^a	41	106	76
Family class ('000) ^a	121	42	77
Refugee ^c ('000) ^a	--	--	14
TOTAL ('000)	611	397	273

Source: Annual Report to Parliament 1981, Table 8.

Notes:

^a Total number cases in that category, upon which percentage is based.

^b New category 1968 onwards.

^c Convention and Designated Class refugees combined, 1978-79 only.

TABLE 3

PERCENT INTENDING TO JOIN LABOUR FORCE,
BY LAST RESIDENCE AND YEAR ARRIVAL IN CANADA,
1962-79

<u>LAST RESIDENCE</u>	<u>1962- 1975</u>	<u>1976</u>	<u>1977</u>	<u>1978</u>	<u>1979</u>	<u>Total 1962-79</u>
Third-World ^a	45%	36%	36%	34%	34%	43%
('000) ^b	726	77	48	42	65	958
Developed World ^c	44%	54%	45%	47%	47%	45%
('000) ^b	1711	62	67	44	47	1931
Total	45%	43%	41%	41%	43%	44%
('000) ^b	2437	139	115	86	112	2889

Source: Annual Reports, Dept. Employment and Immigration, 1962-79

Notes:

^a Argentina, Bermuda, Peoples Republic of China, Egypt, Haiti, Hong Kong B.C.C., India, Jamaica, Lebanon, Mexico, Pakistan, Philippines, Sri Lanka, Taiwan (Formosa), Trinidad & Tobago, Vietnam, West Indies, Other Countries.

^b Total Immigrants

^c Australia, Austria, Belgium, Britain, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Republic of Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Malta, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Republic of South Africa, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, United States, U.S.S.R., Yugoslavia

TABLE 4
INTENDED OCCUPATION, BY YEAR ARRIVAL CANADA AND LAST RESIDENCE

<u>LAST RESIDENCE</u> <u>Occupation</u>	<u>YEAR</u>					<u>Total</u> <u>1962-1979</u>
	<u>1962-</u> <u>1975</u>	<u>1976</u>	<u>1977</u>	<u>1978</u>	<u>1979</u>	
Third-World ^a						
White Collar	31%	24%	19%	22%	14%	27%
Mid-range	34	33	33	32	17	33
Blue collar	35	43	48	46	69	40
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
('000) ^b	218.9	28.2	17.4	14.6	26.1	305.2
Developed World ^c						
White Collar	29%	40%	39%	36%	38%	31%
Mid-range	27	25	27	27	31	27
Blue collar	43	35	33	37	30	42
Total	100%	100%	99%	100%	99%	100%
('000) ^b	870.6	33.3	30.2	20.6	22.1	976.8
Total						
White Collar	29%	33%	32%	30%	25%	29%
Mid-range	28	29	29	29	24	28
Blue collar	43	39	38	41	51	43
Total	100%	101%	99%	100%	100%	100%
('000) ^b	1089.4	61.5	47.6	35.2	48.2	1282.

Source: Annual Reports
Dept. Employment and
Immigration, 1962-79.

Notes:

^a Argentina, Bermuda, Peoples Republic of China, Egypt, Haiti, Hong Kong B.C.C., India, Jamaica, Lebanon, Mexico, Pakistan, Philippines, Sri Lanka, Taiwan (Formosa), Trinidad & Tobago, Vietnam, West Indies, Other Countries

^b Total Immigrants

^c Australia, Austria, Belgium, Britain, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Republic of Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Malta, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Republic of South Africa, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, United States, U.S.S.R., Yugoslavia

TABLE 5

AGE STRUCTURE, BY YEAR ARRIVAL AND LAST RESIDENCE, 1962-79

AGE RANGE						
	1962-75	1976	1977	1978	1979	
THIRD WORLD ^a	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	
0 - 14	25%	26%	24%	21%	23%	
15 - 24	30	24	26	26	30	
25 - 44	34	31	32	31	27	
45 - 64	9	12	13	14	16	
	2	7	5	7	4	
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	
('000) ^a	52	78	57	43	67	
DEVELOPED WORLD ^a						
0 - 14	23%	25%	24%	23%	21%	
15 - 24	26	22	22	26	21	
25 - 44	41	41	39	41	39	
45 - 64	7	10	10	8	13	
65 +	3	2	5	3	6	
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	
('000) ^a	1650	71	58	43	45	
TOTAL						
0 - 14	23%	26%	24%	21%	22%	
15 - 24	27	23	24	25	26	
25 - 44	39	35	30	35	32	
45 - 64	8	11	12	13	14	
65 +	3	4	11	6	5	
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	
('000) ^a	2171	149	115	86	112	

Source: Annual Reports, Dept. Employment and Immigration, 1962-79

Notes:

^a See Table 3 for definition

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