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A Demo-economic Analysis

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Current Demographic Analysis

Caribbean Immigrants

A Demo-economic Analysis

J. Dumas, Editor

Anthony H. Richmond
Department of Sociology,
York University

Published under the authority of the Minister of Regional Industrial Expansion and the Minister of State for Science and Technology.

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Preface

The origins of new Canadians have diversified in recent years. Immigrants are increasingly arriving in Canada from other than the traditional source countries of Europe. Taking advantage of existing statistical information from the Census of Canada, this research attempts to assess economic adaptation experienced by one group of this new segment of Canadian society: those from the Carribean. Hopefully, this study will contribute to a better understanding of the situation of one of Canada's important recent immigrant streams.

Ivan P. Fellegi
Chief Statistician of Canada

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HIGHLIGHTS

Including immigrants from Guyana and Bermuda, the Caribbean population enumerated in the 1981 Census numbered 211,205, of whom the largest groups were the Jamaicans (78,000) and the Haitians (27,000). The majority arrived in the decade from 1970 to 1979. They were a diverse population in terms of ethnicity, reflecting British, French, Afro-Caribbean (Black) and Asian ancestry. By mother tongue, 85% were anglophone, 11% were francophone, and 4% were allophone. Women constituted 55% of all Caribbean immigrants.

XXX

Caribbean immigrants were highly concentrated in Census Metropolitan Areas, particularly Toronto (57%) and Montreal (21%).

XXX

The majority of Caribbean immigrants were young adults of working age.

XXX

The average educational level among earlier immigrants was high, but was lower among those who arrived after 1974. Altogether, 17% of males and 10% of females had some university education.

XXX

Labour force participation rates for men and women were high, while entrepreneurial activity and self-employment rates were low. Unemployment among Caribbean immigrants at the time of the 1981 Census was measurably higher than that among comparable Canadian-born persons.

In terms of occupation, there was a relative concentration of male and female Caribbean immigrants in processing and fabricating industries and, to a lesser degree, in professional and technical occupations, but only among the pre-1970 arrivals.

XXX

Among males, the average total income for those born in the Caribbean was below that for those born in Canada, and substantially below that of other immigrants. Francophone males showed the largest income differential, earning only 60% as much as did corresponding Canadian-born men. Anglophone Caribbean-born women were relatively better off.

XXX

Families with a Caribbean-born reference person were among the most likely (24%) to have had a low income. Among unattached individuals, low income status was most acute among recent arrivals, particularly in Quebec.

XXX

An examination of average, full-time, 1980 employment income indicates that Caribbean immigrants experienced income differentials, and that the situation of francophone males in Quebec was the most acute. The latter earned only two-thirds of the amount earned by Canadian-born males with the same characteristics.

XXX

Although employment incomes improved with length of residence, immigrant males who had been in Canada for more than ten years earned less than did Canadian-born males with the same socioeconomic profile. In contrast, the income of Caribbean-born women in Toronto took less time to approach the average for all women.

Caribbean Islands

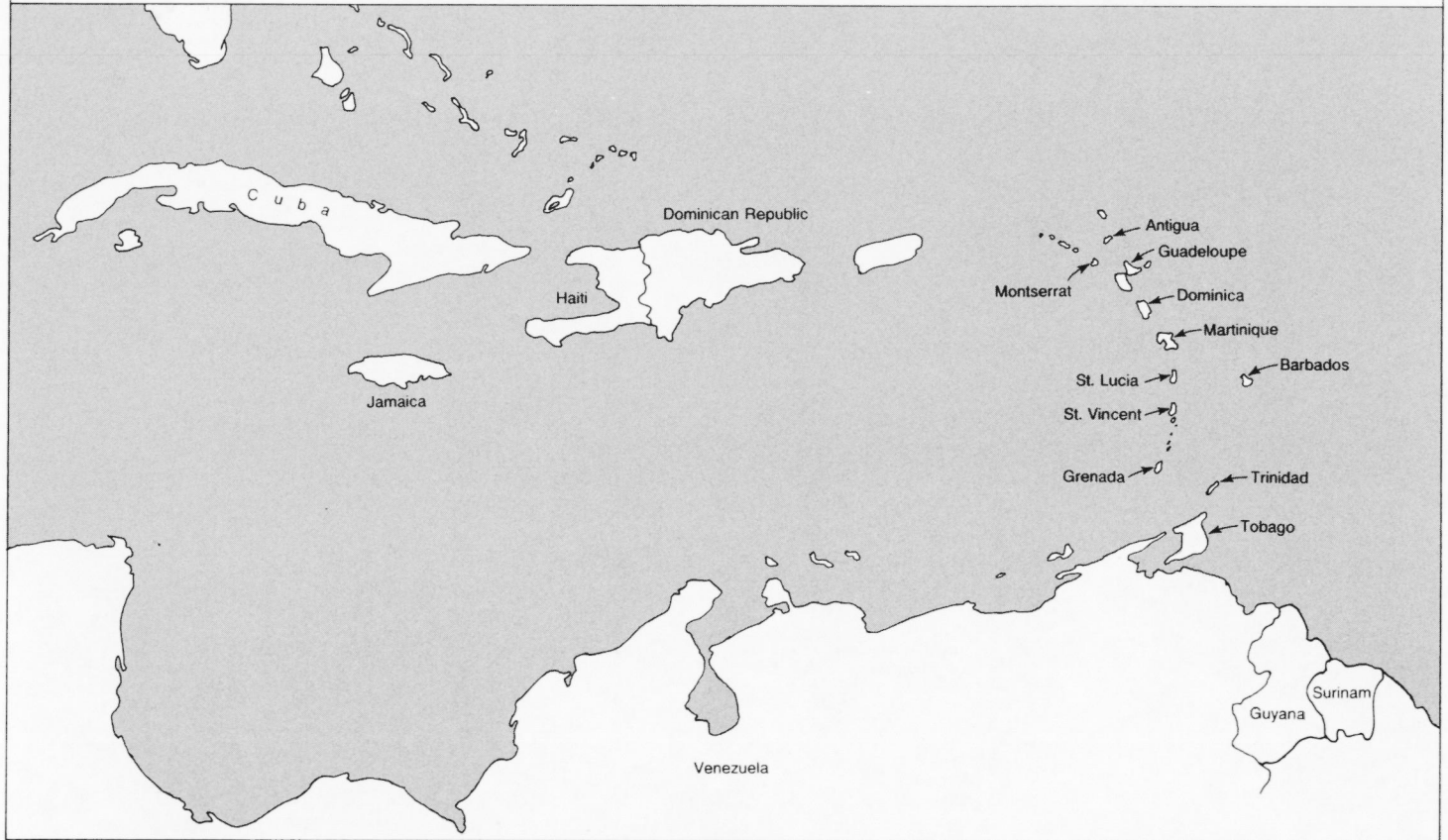




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INTRODUCTION

Until regulations were changed in the early 1960s, the majority of immigrants came to Canada from Britain, Europe, and the United States. These traditional source countries continue to supply many immigrants, but increasingly, Canada has admitted people from countries with different ethno-cultural backgrounds, some of whom constitute a "visible minority" in this country. This study examines the socioeconomic adjustment of one of these groups — those born in the Caribbean. All immigrants experience some difficulties in the process of adaptation to a new country. The challenge faced may vary according to pre-migration circumstances, period of arrival, conditions in the receiving society, as well as the characteristics of the immigrants in question. The process of adaptation is complex. As well as a demographic component, there are also psychological, social, cultural, political and economic dimensions. The main focus of the present study is upon the latter aspect.

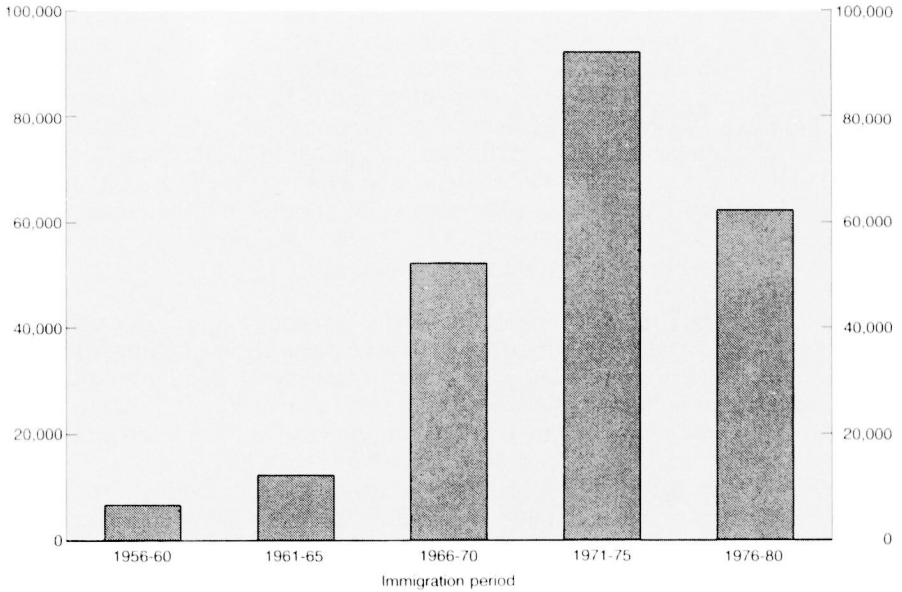
Using data from the 1981 Census of Canada, the study begins by describing some of the background characteristics — such as period of immigration, ethnicity, language and religion — that have a bearing on immigrant adjustment and adaptation. It then proceeds to a consideration of economic indicators, such as occupation, unemployment and income by length of residence. In order to make comparisons, standardization procedures have been used to remove the effects of any differences in sex, age and education distributions from the analyses. Comparisons are made throughout between the experiences of Caribbean-born immigrants, other immigrants, and the Canadian-born population. The study concludes by summarizing some of the differences between Caribbean immigrants by sex, mother tongue and place of residence.

Background

Employment and Immigration Canada statistics show that from 1956 to mid-1981, approximately 225,750 Caribbean-born persons (Employment and Immigration Canada statistics include Guyana and Bermuda among those born in the Caribbean) were admitted to Canada as "landed immigrants". Figure 1 illustrates these data, and also shows that very few such immigrants arrived before 1966. Furthermore, it is apparent from Figure 1 that immigration from the Caribbean reached a peak in the mid-1970's. **The total enumerated Caribbean immigrant population in the 1981 Census was 211,205.¹** This figure excludes some Caribbean-born (and other) persons

¹ The place of birth categories included were Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Haiti, Barbados, St. Vincent, Antigua, Dominica, St. Kitt's, St. Lucia, Nevis, Anguilla, Grenada, Bermuda, Bahamas, Dominican Republic, Montserrat, Netherlands Antilles, Martinique, Virgin Is. (U.S.A.), Virgin Is. (British), Puerto Rico, Cayman Is., Cuba, Guadeloupe, Turks & Caicos Is., and Guyana. Statistics Canada provided special tabulations from the 1981 Census which were obtained by crosstabulating the immigrant population by birthplace and other variables. It should be noted that the term "immigrant", as used in the 1981 Census, referred to persons who resided in Canada but who were not Canadian citizens by birth. Therefore, it included some persons born in Canada to diplomats or others (who did not automatically obtain Canadian citizenship by birth), and who subsequently became residents of Canada. It also excluded some persons resident in Canada at the time of the census but who were born outside Canada to Canadian citizens. The 1981 Census use of the term "immigrant" differs from the designation "Born outside Canada". The data on age, sex, and marital status used in this report are based on the 100% universe. The remaining data are from the 20% sample of all households. All data are subject to the usual errors identified by Statistics Canada, *Data quality: Sample Population* (Catalogue No. 99-905).

Figure 1
Caribbean Immigration, 1956-1980



Source: Employment and Immigration, annual Immigration Statistics.

who were in Canada, but who are not counted for census purposes.² The difference between the Employment and Immigration Canada figures and those of the Census can be accounted for by the effects of mortality and return or re-migration, if we consider counting errors from both sources to be negligible.

There are immigrants in Canada from almost everywhere in the Caribbean. In contrast to earlier periods, certain source countries have predominated since 1962, the year in which the country of origin restrictions (which had previously limited the number of immigrants admitted to Canada from other than the traditional source areas of Europe and the United States) were lifted. Since that time, the leading countries of last permanent residence reported by Caribbean

² It should be noted that the census counts for 1971 and 1981 do not include visitors, students, those in Canada on temporary employment visas, and, as always, illegal immigrants who may have been in the country at the time. The experience of those in Canada on temporary employment visas and working as domestics, farm labourers, etc., is a separate issue not dealt with in this paper. For more information on the question of temporary workers in Canada see: Marchal, Dawn L., *Report of the Eastern Caribbean Migration Project*, Barbados: Institute of Social and Economic Research, 1984; Whyte, Anne V., *Eastern Caribbean-Canada Migration Research Project: Final Report on Phase I*, Toronto: Institute for Environmental Studies, University of Toronto; Wong, Lloyd, "Canada's Guestworkers: Some Comparisons of Temporary Workers in Europe and North America" *International Migration Review*, 18: (1984), pp. 185-189; Thomas-Hope, Elizabeth M., "Transients and Settlers: Varieties of Caribbean Migrants and the Socio-Economic Implications of their Return", *International Migration Review*, 24:3 (1986), pp. 559-571.

immigrants have been Jamaica, Guyana, Haiti and Trinidad, although there has also been some migration to Canada of Caribbeans who had first settled in the United States. Precise estimates are not available, but up to the early 1970's, the proportion of Caribbeans who become return-migrants appears to have been lower, on average, than was the proportion who returned to the U.K., U.S.A., and most European countries.³ A comparison of the 1981 Census counts with the expected number (based on Employment and Immigration arrivals data by birthplace), suggests that the loss after 1956, from death and re-migration, was in the order of 6 percent among Caribbeans.

The various countries in the Caribbean basin have different historical experiences of colonization and eventual political independence. Such differences are reflected in their ethnic and cultural composition, as well as in the principal language(s) spoken. Although Guyana is not a Caribbean island, and rather is located on the mainland of South America, traditionally it has had close links with the Caribbean countries. Together with Trinidad and Tobago, Guyana experienced an early in-migration of South Asian indentured workers who were brought for work in the plantations. Consequently, the ethnic and religious composition of Guyana is more diverse than that of Jamaica and some other Caribbean territories — territories whose populations are largely of Afro-Caribbean and European descent.

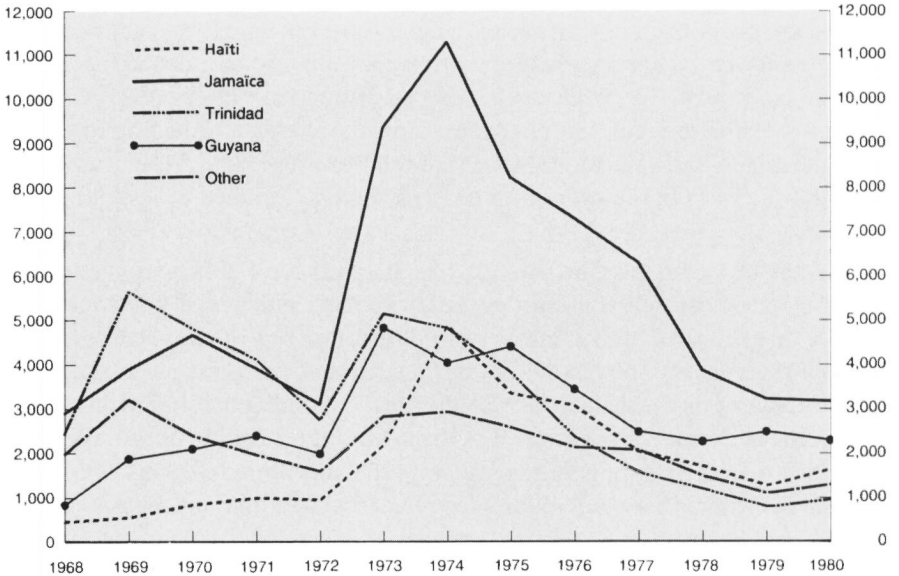
In addition to those who followed the normal procedures to become "landed immigrants", there were other Caribbean immigrants who came initially on student or visitor visas, and who later applied for permanent resident status. There was a backlog of such applications by 1972, at which time many were processed through a more expeditious procedure which used relaxed selection criteria. Some who were reported to have received their landed immigrant status in Canada up to 1974 had, in fact, been in the country for several years before the date of their official "landing".

As a proportion of the total number of landed immigrants admitted to Canada from all countries combined, those from the Caribbean represented more than ten percent between 1973 and 1978, but only about 6% in 1980. In absolute numbers, over 26,000 were "landed" in 1974, compared with only 9,600 in 1980. Figure 2 shows the number of 1968 to 1980 entrants by country of last permanent residence, and also that the largest single source of Caribbean immigrants over this period was Jamaica.⁴

³ Motuz, Carol, *Return Migration: An Analysis of Return Migration from Canada, 1969-1974*, Ottawa: Manpower and Immigration, 1976.

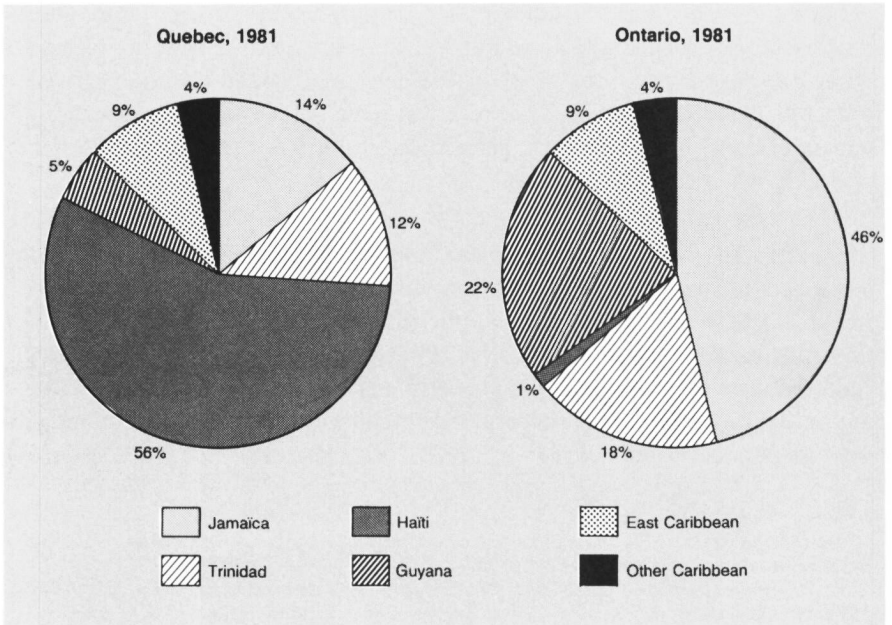
⁴ Based on *Annual Immigration Statistics*, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, 1956-65, Manpower and Immigration, 1966-76 and Employment and Immigration, 1977 to date.

Figure 2
Caribbean Immigrants by Country of Last Permanent Residence, 1968-1980



Source: Employment and Immigration, Canada, annual Immigration Statistics.

Figure 3
Caribbean Immigrants in Quebec and in Ontario by Birthplace



Source: Statistics Canada, 1981 Census of Canada, special tabulations.

According to the 1981 Census, the majority of Caribbean immigrants resided in Ontario (67.6%) and Quebec (21.8%), while the remaining 10.6% lived elsewhere in Canada. It is for this reason that much of the analysis herein focuses on the economic adaptation of Caribbean-born Canadians in these two provinces only. Since the official language of Haiti is French, it is not surprising to find that almost all Haitian immigrants were living in Quebec in 1981. Quebec, however, was not the exclusive destination of Haitians. Moreover, as Figure 3 indicates, immigrants from each of the six major Caribbean sources were found in both Ontario and Quebec in 1981.

Previous Research

In 1971, the Census of Canada enumerated 67,980 persons who were born in the Caribbean and 38,060 persons who were born in Guyana. The largest concentration of Caribbean immigrants, at that time, was in Metropolitan Toronto, where Ramcharan conducted a survey in 1972. In that survey, some 290 household heads were interviewed, and subsequent analysis uncovered a discrepancy between "intended" and "actual" occupations (intended occupations were those which Employment and Immigration Canada used to determine eligibility for admission to Canada). The most successful and satisfied immigrants were more likely to have been better educated, female, light-skinned and to have resided in Canada for more than seven years. Darker skin colour was associated with a perception of personal discrimination, having a "blue collar" occupation and having been dissatisfied with the migration experience. Even in the face of reported discrimination in employment, however, analysis indicated that the respondents felt gratified with their economic circumstance in Canada, relative to that in their former country.⁵

The longitudinal surveys of recent immigrants, conducted by Employment and Immigration Canada between 1969 and 1976, noted gender variations in economic and social adaptation among immigrants. By the end of their first year in Canada, the unemployment rate for Caribbean women had declined more than that for their male counterparts. Six months after arrival, Caribbean males were earning only 60% of the average wage earned by recent immigrants, but Caribbean women were earning 80%. By the end of their first year, the ratios were 75% and 86%, respectively. Caribbean immigrants also encountered more difficulty than did others in finding employment commensurate with their education and experience. Compared with other immigrants during their first year, Caribbeans were worse-off and, at the end of six months, a quarter were still unemployed. Even when education was taken into account, occupational status

⁵ Ramcharan, Subhas, "The Economic Adaptation of West Indians in Toronto," *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*, 13:3, (1976), pp. 295-304; "Analysis and Perception of Discrimination by West Indians in Toronto", *Rikka*, 3:3 (1976).

and income were below the average for all other respondents in the survey, with the exception of Southern Europeans.⁶

Other studies carried out in Toronto by various researchers have identified specific problems facing "Black", "Asian" and other "visible minorities", which includes Caribbean immigrants. These studies confirmed evidence of ethnic prejudice as well as high "social distance", components of which included Blacks having ranked themselves low in social acceptability, and high in self-reported experiences of discrimination in housing and employment. Field tests confirmed discriminatory practices on the part of prospective employers — employers who clearly preferred white clients and job applicants. Certain studies have also indicated that Caribbean immigrants were relatively concentrated in certain fields of employment, with women being overrepresented in the service sector. There was, in addition, some residential concentration (which is true for most immigrant groups), but no "ghetto" formation as such.⁷ Other problems included non-recognition of qualifications, insistence upon "Canadian experience", low incomes relative to qualifications and experience, and problems of social adjustment that were not related to language. Studies of immigrant children in schools have also noted the special communication difficulties of Caribbeans, due primarily to the existence of various dialects.⁸

Other research on Caribbean immigrants in Canada includes an intensive case study of fifteen women from Montserrat who were originally employed as domestics.⁹ Results showed that personal networks established by these women enabled them to leave domestic work, to obtain blue collar employment, and to seek further education. Though faced with ethnic stereotypes and various barriers, they nevertheless were successful in being upwardly mobile after their arrival in Canada.

⁶ Pool, G.R., *Development of West Indian Migration to Canada*, Montreal: Ph.D. dissertation, McGill University, 1979; Ornstein, Michael, *The Work Experience of Immigrants to Canada, 1969-1976*, Toronto: Institute for Behavioural Research, York University, 1983; Ornstein, Michael and R.D. Sharma, *Adjustment and Economic Experience of Immigrants in Canada: 1976 Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants*, Toronto: Institute for Behavioural Research, York University, 1983.

⁷ See John Kralt, *Atlas of Residential Concentration*, (Toronto) and *Atlas of Residential Concentration*, (Montreal), Cat. 96-32/1986, Ottawa, Supply and Services, 1986.

⁸ For more information concerning the adjustment problems of "visible minorities" attributable to racial prejudice and discrimination see, Head, Wilson and J. Lee, *The Black Presence in the Canadian Mosaic: A Study of Discrimination Against Blacks in Metro Toronto*, Toronto: York University; Richmond, Anthony H., "Black and Asian Immigrants in Britain and Canada: Some Comparisons", *New Community*, 4:4 (1976), 501-516; Bogue, C.A., S. Shakeel and F. Siddiqui, *Labour Market Experience of Recent Immigrants in Canada*, A Report for the Human Rights Commission, Toronto: Ontario Department of Labour, 1979; Breton, Raymond, "West Indian, Chinese and European Ethnic Groups in Toronto," in J.L. Elliott, (ed.), *Two Nations, Many Cultures: Ethnic Groups in Canada*, (rev.ed.), Scarborough: Prentice.

⁹ Turriffin, Jane S., "Networks and Mobility: The Case of West Indian Domestics from Montserrat", *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*, 13:3 (1976), pp. 305-320.

Several studies of Caribbean immigrants in Quebec, and especially of Haitians (who, as previously noted, are concentrated in that province), have been undertaken. Many of the problems chronicled in these studies are similar to those reported for anglophone Caribbean immigrants in Ontario, but differences between anglophone and francophone immigrants in Quebec, observed in 1971, mainly reflected period of immigration. In this respect, it should be noted that many early Haitian immigrants had come via Europe and Africa, but Haitian immigration to Canada peaked in 1974, reflecting the political crises in that country. It was this large number of later arrivals, however, who had difficulty in obtaining recognition for their professional qualifications. This despite the fact that, in general, their level of education was high, and many were employed in teaching and health services. There were also, however, a significant number in manufacturing industries. Further problems identified in the Quebec studies included complaints by Black taxi drivers of racism and discrimination and, as noted above, problems concerning the integration of Caribbean immigrant children in Montreal schools, the latter mainly related to language and dialect.¹⁰

¹⁰ Kempeneers, Marianne and R. Masse, *Les migrations antillaises: Bibliographie sélective et annotée*, Montreal: Centre de recherche caraïbe, 1981; Jean-Baptiste, Jacqueline, *Haitians in Canada*, Ottawa: Minister of State Multiculturalism, 1979; Laferriere, Michel, "Blacks in Quebec", *Research in Race and Ethnic Relations*, 3 (1982) pp. 3-27; Piche, Victor, S. Larose and M. Labelle, *L'Immigration Caraïbienne au Canada et au Québec: Aspects Statistiques*, Montreal: Centre Recherche Caraïbe, Université de Montreal.

SOCIAL, DEMOGRAPHIC AND ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS

Ethno-cultural characteristics

Table 1 shows the distribution of the Caribbean-born population in Canada, by birthplace and ethnic origin, in 1981. **Jamaica was the largest single source (37%), followed by Trinidad and Tobago (18%), Guyana (18%), and Haiti (13%).** The eastern Caribbean Islands made up 9.5%, while the balance were from elsewhere in the Caribbean region.

The "ethnic origin" question in the 1981 Census permitted multiple responses in order to allow for the fact that, when paternal and maternal ancestries are taken into account, many people have more than one ethnic origin. The question was a confusing one for many Caribbean immigrants (and not only due to mixed ancestry) because of the strong colonial links which the region has with the "mother countries" (mainly Britain and France) in Europe. This may explain why many Caribbean-born persons reported their ethnic origin as British or French. Of the Jamaicans, 45% described their origin as "British", as did half of those from the eastern Caribbean Islands. Over 41% of those born in Haiti described their ancestry as "French". Asian origins were reported by 18% of those born in Trinidad and Tobago, and by 26% of the Guyanese, reflecting the existence of East Indians in these countries.

Terms such as "Black" or "visible minority" are frequently applied to immigrants from the Caribbean in Canada. Unfortunately, this classification obscures the diversity of linguistic and cultural backgrounds found among Caribbean immigrants. It also overlooks the fact that there is no uniformity of somatic type. Extensive miscegenation in the past has resulted in a variety of "racial" characteristics, shades of skin colour and degrees of "visibility". In some parts of the West Indies, there is still a tendency to equate lighter skin colour and approximation to European features with higher social status, although "colour and class" may not be as closely correlated as they were a generation or more ago.¹¹

Overall, only 40% of the Caribbean-born population described their ancestry in terms which emphasised their Afro-Caribbean origins, using terms such as "African", "Negro", Caribbean, Haitian, etc. It is their varied cultural background which probably explains why so few immigrants described their ethnic origin in racial terms.

¹¹ See Simey, T.S., *Welfare and Planning in the West Indies*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1946; Henriques, Fernando, *Family and Colour in Jamaica*, London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1953.

Table 1. Caribbean Immigrant Population by Birthplace and Ethnic Origin, Canada, Quebec, Ontario and the Rest of Canada, 1981

Birthplace	Ethnic Origin							
	Numbers	All	British	French	Carib- bean	Asian	Other	
							Single	Multiple
							Percent	
Canada								
Total	211,200	100.0	35.1	6.0	40.2	9.9	5.1	3.6
Jamaica	77,950	100.0	44.8	0.7	44.3	5.1	1.6	3.4
Trinidad	38,465	100.0	32.6	0.9	40.6	17.6	5.0	3.3
Haiti	26,755	100.0	0.7	41.2	50.8	0.1	1.9	5.3
Guyana	37,975	100.0	32.7	0.4	26.9	25.8	11.1	3.0
Eastern ¹	20,150	100.0	51.1	0.7	41.5	0.8	2.6	3.3
Other								
Caribbean	9,910	100.0	38.5	4.8	25.8	1.5	24.1	5.3
Quebec								
Total	45,990	100.0	24.6	24.3	40.5	3.0	3.5	4.1
Jamaica	6,235	100.0	61.1	1.2	31.5	2.5	1.5	2.2
Trinidad	5,620	100.0	51.6	1.0	25.7	14.1	4.4	3.3
Haiti	25,775	100.0	0.6	41.2	51.1	0.1	1.8	5.2
Guyana	2,220	100.0	55.7	2.0	14.5	18.4	6.8	2.5
Eastern ¹	4,260	100.0	61.2	0.9	31.6	0.5	3.3	2.6
Other								
Caribbean	1,895	100.0	32.2	19.3	19.5	0.3	26.6	2.1
Ontario								
Total	142,805	100.0	38.6	0.9	40.2	11.7	5.4	3.2
Jamaica	64,075	100.0	44.0	0.7	45.0	5.5	1.5	3.3
Trinidad	26,300	100.0	29.8	0.9	44.1	17.2	5.1	2.9
Haiti	790	100.0	4.4	43.7	41.8	1.3	4.4	5.1
Guyana	31,990	100.0	31.5	0.4	27.7	26.2	11.4	2.9
Eastern ¹	13,565	100.0	49.2	0.6	44.0	0.8	2.3	3.1
Other								
Caribbean	6,085	100.0	38.7	1.7	30.2	1.2	22.4	5.8
Rest of Canada								
Total	22,410	100.0	34.7	0.9	39.6	12.7	7.0	5.1
Jamaica	7,645	100.0	38.5	0.9	49.0	4.2	2.7	4.7
Trinidad	6,545	100.0	27.8	0.7	39.6	21.9	5.0	5.0
Haiti	190	100.0	5.3	28.9	42.1	0.0	5.3	15.8
Guyana	3,780	100.0	29.6	0.0	27.6	26.6	11.8	4.4
Eastern ¹	2,325	100.0	43.7	1.1	45.4	1.1	3.0	5.8
Other								
Caribbean	1,930	100.0	44.6	0.3	18.1	3.4	26.9	7.0

¹ Eastern: Barbados, St. Vincent, St. Lucia and Grenada.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1981 Census of Canada, special tabulations.

Table 2. Caribbean Immigrant Population¹ by Sex and Mother Tongue, Canada, Quebec, Ontario and Other Provinces, 1981

Place of residence	Mother Tongue				
	Number	French	English	Other	Total
		Percent			
Males					
Canada	96,080	10.8	85.3	3.9	100.0
Quebec	20,615	47.6	41.0	11.4	100.0
Ontario	64,365	0.6	97.8	1.6	100.0
Other provinces	11,105	1.0	95.1	3.8	100.0
Females					
Canada	115,125	10.5	85.4	4.0	100.0
Quebec	25,375	45.1	42.6	12.3	100.0
Ontario	78,440	0.7	97.9	1.4	100.0
Other provinces	11,305	0.8	95.3	3.8	100.0
Total					
Canada	211,205	10.6	85.4	4.0	100.0
Quebec	45,985	46.2	41.9	11.9	100.0
Ontario	142,805	0.7	97.8	1.5	100.0
Other provinces	22,410	1.0	95.2	3.8	100.0

¹ Includes persons born in Guyana.

Source: Statistics Canada, *1981 Census of Canada*, special tabulations.

Language

In terms of mother tongue, Table 2 shows that **85% of Caribbean immigrants were anglophone, and that 11% were francophone**. The remaining 4 percent were probably Dutch or Spanish. Forty-six percent of the Caribbean immigrants resident in Quebec reported French as their mother tongue, while 42% reported English, and 12% indicated another language. **In Ontario, 98% were of English mother tongue**. There were very few francophones outside of Quebec. Most Caribbean immigrants also used their mother tongue as their home language, although 2.7% of the francophones spoke English at home. Altogether, 43% of all Caribbeans in Quebec reported speaking French at home.

Table 3 indicates the distribution by mother tongue, and the degree of concentration of Caribbean immigrants in census metropolitan areas — particularly Montreal and Toronto. **Only 5% of the men and 4% of the women lived**

Table 3. Caribbean Immigrant Population¹ by Sex and Mother Tongue, Canada, Montreal CMA, Toronto CMA, Other CMAs and Other Regions, 1981

Place of residence	Mother Tongue				
	Number	French	English	Other	Total
		Percent			
Males					
Canada	96,085	10.8	85.3	4.0	100.0
Montreal CMA	19,525	46.4	42.3	11.4	100.0
Toronto CMA	53,585	0.3	98.4	1.3	100.0
Other CMAs	17,990	4.0	92.5	3.5	100.0
Other regions	4,975	8.3	86.4	5.2	100.0
Females					
Canada	115,125	10.5	85.5	4.0	100.0
Montreal CMA	24,415	44.2	43.7	12.1	100.0
Toronto CMA	66,230	0.3	98.5	1.2	100.0
Other CMAs	19,645	3.8	92.9	3.3	100.0
Other regions	4,830	8.0	87.0	5.0	100.0
Total					
Canada	211,205	10.6	85.4	4.0	100.0
Montreal CMA	43,495	45.1	43.0	11.8	100.0
Toronto CMA	119,815	0.3	98.5	1.2	100.0
Other CMAs	37,640	3.9	92.7	3.4	100.0
Other regions	9,810	8.2	86.6	5.2	100.0

¹ Includes persons born in Guyana.

Source: Statistics Canada, *1981 Census of Canada*, special tabulations.

outside a Census Metropolitan Area (CMA). The largest concentration (56%) was in Toronto, where 98.5% reported English as their mother tongue. This is compared with the Montreal CMA, where 24% of Caribbean males and 21% of Caribbean females resided, and in which more than four out of ten were francophone. In Quebec, official bilingualism (the ability to conduct a conversation in both French and English) was reported by one in three Caribbean men, but by only one in five women. In comparison, among Caribbean immigrants in Ontario, only 4% were bilingual. For the rest of Canada, 8% of men and 6% of women (see Table 4) reported being officially bilingual in 1981.

Religion

Religion is another source of ethnocultural heterogeneity, as shown in Table 5. Overall, one in three of the Caribbean immigrants was Catholic, and

Table 4. Caribbean Immigrant Population¹ by Sex and Official Language, Canada, Quebec, Ontario and Other Provinces, 1981

Place of residence	Official Language					
	Number	Total	French only	English only	Both	Neither
		Percent				
Males						
Canada	96,080	100.0	7.6	81.6	10.5	0.2
Quebec	20,615	100.0	35.1	31.0	33.4	0.5
Ontario	64,365	100.0	0.1	96.1	3.7	0.1
Other provinces	11,105	100.0	0.1	91.8	7.6	0.5
Females						
Canada	115,125	100.0	9.6	82.3	7.6	0.5
Quebec	25,375	100.0	42.8	35.9	19.7	1.7
Ontario	78,440	100.0	0.3	95.7	3.9	0.1
Other provinces	11,305	100.0	-	93.6	6.0	0.4
Total						
Canada	211,205	100.0	8.7	82.0	8.9	0.4
Quebec	45,985	100.0	39.3	33.7	25.8	1.1
Ontario	142,810	100.0	0.2	95.9	3.8	0.1
Other provinces	22,410	100.0	0.1	92.7	6.8	0.4

¹ Includes persons born in Guyana.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1981 Census of Canada, special tabulations.

a quarter belonged to one of the “mainstream” Protestant denominations (Anglican, United Church or Presbyterian). Almost 11 percent of all Caribbean immigrants, (but 42% of Jamaicans) belonged to an “other Protestant” group, reflecting the popularity of various smaller Protestant denominations and sects. A third of the Guyanese belonged to an Asian (Eastern non-Christian) religion, as did 16% of those from Trinidad and Tobago. The majority (83%) of such immigrants resided in Ontario in 1981. Of the Haitians, 62% were Catholic, but 21% reported belonging to an “other Protestant” religion, while less than 2% reported a “mainstream” Protestant denomination.

Age

Age on arrival is influential in determining modes of adaptation to a receiving society, and the lower the age, the greater the propensity for adaptation. In this context, there were 25,785 immigrant children under age 15 in Canada in 1981 but,

Table 5. Caribbean Immigrant Population by Birthplace and Religion, Canada, Quebec and Ontario, 1981

Birthplace	Religion						
	Number	All	Catholic	Main-stream ¹ Protestant	Other ² Protestant	Eastern Non- Christian	Other ³
Canada							
Total	211,200	100.0	33.3	25.9	26.1	9.2	5.5
Jamaica	77,955	100.0	20.7	29.2	42.4	0.9	6.8
Trinidad	38,470	100.0	38.6	27.5	12.9	15.8	5.3
Haiti	26,755	100.0	74.4	1.6	21.0	0.2	2.8
Guyana	37,975	100.0	31.2	19.8	11.7	32.5	4.8
Eastern ⁴	20,145	100.0	18.2	52.1	23.8	1.2	4.7
Other Caribbean	9,910	100.0	39.2	30.1	21.7	1.5	7.5
Quebec							
Total	45,985	100.0	54.0	18.4	21.3	2.9	3.4
Jamaica	6,235	100.0	16.4	40.9	36.6	1.4	4.7
Trinidad	5,625	100.0	38.8	33.5	11.6	12.0	3.8
Haiti	25,775	100.0	74.4	1.5	21.2	0.2	2.7
Guyana	2,195	100.0	36.0	32.6	7.1	21.2	3.4
Eastern ⁴	4,260	100.0	14.9	59.3	21.9	0.5	3.3
Other Caribbean	1,895	100.0	54.6	21.1	15.3	2.1	7.1
Ontario							
Total	142,805	100.0	27.5	27.6	27.8	11.4	5.7
Jamaica	64,070	100.0	21.3	27.8	43.5	0.7	6.8
Trinidad	26,300	100.0	39.2	26.0	12.5	17.3	4.9
Haiti	790	100.0	79.1	3.2	13.9	0.6	3.2
Guyana	31,990	100.0	30.8	18.6	11.6	34.3	4.7
Eastern ⁴	13,565	100.0	18.9	50.8	24.1	1.4	4.7
Other Caribbean	6,085	100.0	36.4	32.7	24.0	1.2	5.7

¹ Includes Presbyterians.

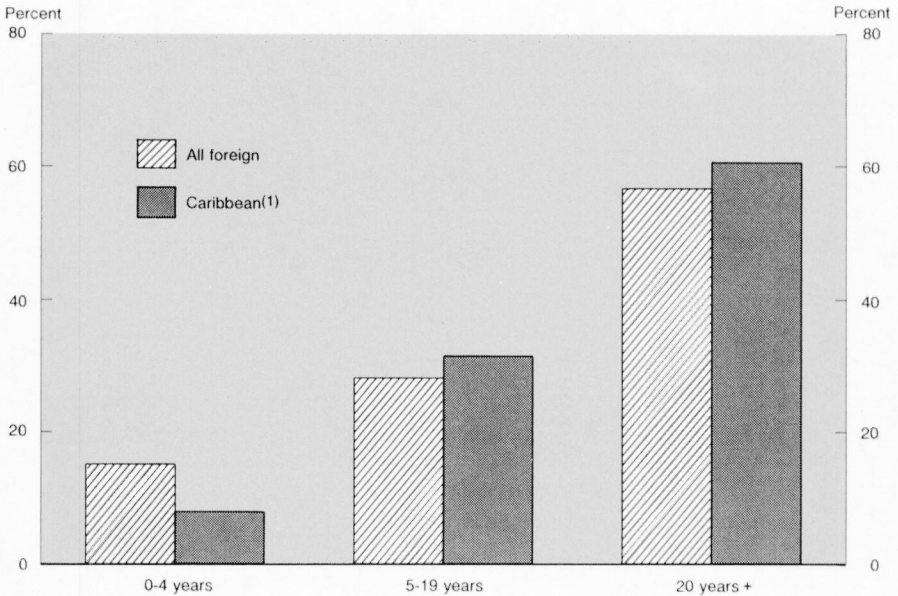
² Includes Baptists.

³ Includes persons not declaring any religious affiliation.

⁴ Eastern: Barbados, St. Vincent, St. Lucia and Grenada.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1981 Census of Canada, special tabulations.

Figure 4
Population Born Outside Canada by Age at Immigration,
Total Foreign Born and Caribbean-Born, 1981



(1) Including Guyana.

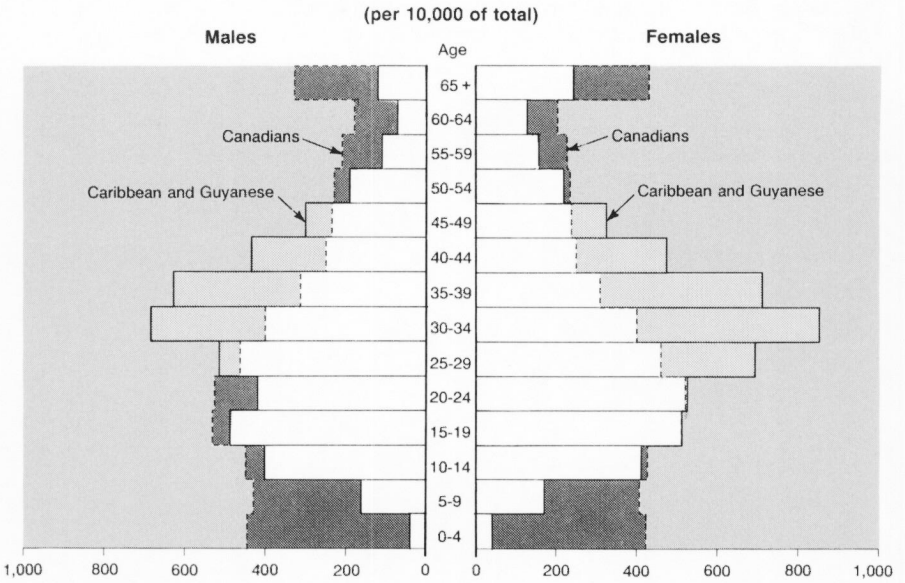
Source: Statistics Canada, 1981 Census of Canada, Population, Cat. 92-913, Table 3.

reflecting a tendency for Caribbean immigrants to leave their small children in the care of relatives when they emigrate, a smaller proportion of Caribbean immigrants than of all immigrants arrived in Canada under the age of five years. Figure 4 shows that there was a greater probability for Caribbean children to arrive at school-age or later. This may explain some problems that have been reported with regard to the integration of young Caribbean immigrants into the school system, and subsequent problems of youth unemployment.

A significant feature of Caribbean immigration, in comparison with that from other regions of the world, has been the above-average proportion of women who immigrate alone. This is in contrast to the established pattern of male numerical dominance in the early years of an immigration movement. In 1981, the ratio of males per hundred females was 83.

The overall sex and age distribution of the Caribbean immigrant population, compared with the Canadian-born and the total foreign-born populations, is shown in Table 6 and in Figures 5 and 6. **Recent Caribbean immigrants are evidently clustered in the young, working-age groups (25-45 years), resulting in a dependency ratio of only 19% (compared with 31% for the total foreign-born, and 50% for the Canadian-born, population).** Unlike the total of foreign-born immigrants, the 1981 Census shows that Caribbean

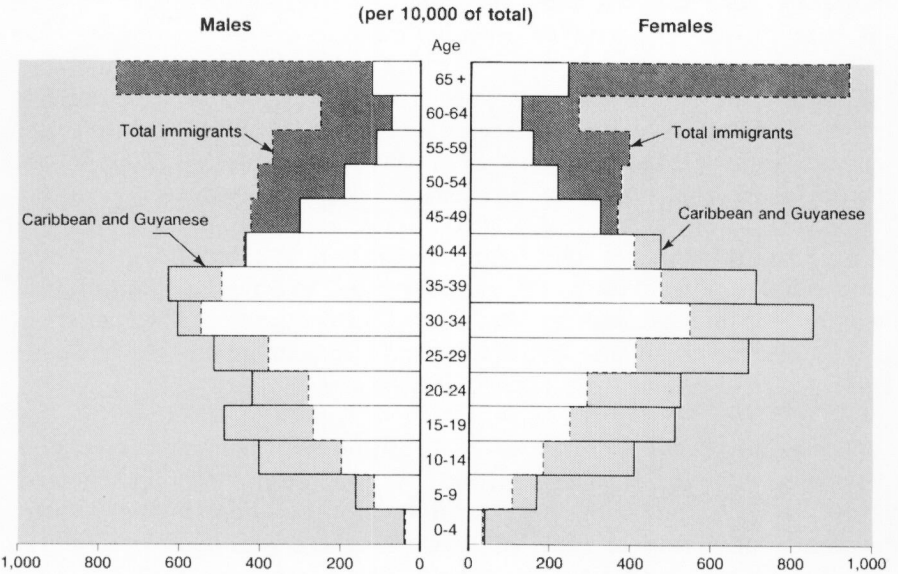
Figure 5
Age-Sex Pyramid of Caribbean⁽¹⁾ Immigrants and Canadian-Born, Canada, 1981



(1) Including Guyana.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1981 Census of Canada, special tabulations.

Figure 6
Age-Sex Pyramid of Caribbean⁽¹⁾ Immigrants and Total Immigrants, Canada, 1981



(1) Including Guyana.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1981 Census of Canada, special tabulations.

Table 6. Distribution by Age Group and Sex of the Canadian-born Population¹, and of the Caribbean Immigrant² and the Total Immigrant Populations by Period of Immigration, 1981

Period of Immigration	Immigrant Group	Total Population				
		Number	Total	Youth (0-14)	Adult (15-64)	Senior (65+)
			Percent			
Males						
Total	Caribbean	96,080	100.0	13.2	84.1	2.7
	All immigrants	1,890,510	100.0	7.0	77.7	15.3
Before 1960	Caribbean	5,360	100.0	0.0	83.8	16.2
	All immigrants	836,345	100.0	0.0	69.6	30.4
1960-1969	Caribbean	22,270	100.0	1.7	96.6	1.7
	All immigrants	436,890	100.0	2.4	94.2	3.4
1970-1974	Caribbean	35,225	100.0	12.7	86.2	1.1
	All immigrants	285,900	100.0	15.2	82.2	2.6
1975-1979	Caribbean	27,705	100.0	23.0	74.2	2.8
	All immigrants	246,430	100.0	23.1	72.8	4.0
1980-1981	Caribbean	5,520	100.0	27.1	70.7	2.4
	All immigrants	84,945	100.0	25.5	70.9	3.7
	Canadian-born	10,067,850	100.0	26.6	66.8	6.6
Females						
Total	Caribbean	115,120	100.0	11.4	84.2	4.4
	All immigrants	1,937,005	100.0	6.5	74.9	18.6
Before 1960	Caribbean	6,070	100.0	0.0	80.7	19.3
	All immigrants	852,820	100.0	0.0	64.9	35.1
1960-1969	Caribbean	27,390	100.0	1.5	95.3	3.2
	All immigrants	442,540	100.0	2.2	91.7	6.1
1970-1974	Caribbean	41,865	100.0	10.3	87.2	2.5
	All immigrants	289,040	100.0	14.0	81.3	4.7
1975-1979	Caribbean	33,100	100.0	20.8	74.2	5.1
	All immigrants	265,810	100.0	20.9	73.5	5.6
1980-1981	Caribbean	6,700	100.0	21.9	72.9	5.2
	All immigrants	86,800	100.0	22.9	71.5	5.6
	Canadian-born	10,188,135	100.0	24.9	66.5	8.5

¹ A small number of persons (20,620 males and 19,020 females) born to Canadian diplomatic, military and other personnel while in foreign countries is included in the Canadian-born population.

² Includes persons born in Guyana.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1981 Census of Canada, special tabulations.

Table 7. Distribution by Marital Status among those Aged 15 and over for the Canadian-born Population, and for the Caribbean Immigrant¹ and the Total Immigrant Populations by Period of Immigration, 1981

Period of Immigration	Immigrant Group	Marital Status					
		Number	Total	Single	Married	Widowed	Separated or Divorced
Males							
Total ²	Caribbean	83,375	100.0	28.9	63.5	0.7	6.8
	All immigrants	1,757,970	100.0	18.2	74.4	3.0	4.5
1960-1969	Caribbean	21,895	100.0	22.1	69.5	0.6	7.8
	All immigrants	426,495	100.0	25.6	69.5	0.9	4.1
1970-1974	Caribbean	30,755	100.0	27.6	64.5	0.4	7.4
	All immigrants	242,435	100.0	25.2	69.9	0.8	4.1
1975-1979	Caribbean	21,335	100.0	38.5	55.4	0.8	5.3
	All immigrants	189,385	100.0	30.0	65.4	1.2	3.3
	Canadian-born	7,393,630	100.0	34.2	59.8	1.7	4.4
Females							
Total ²	Caribbean	102,040	100.0	32.8	51.6	5.2	10.4
	All immigrants	1,811,165	100.0	13.7	66.7	14.1	5.6
1960-1969	Caribbean	26,970	100.0	31.2	52.9	3.5	12.4
	All immigrants	432,610	100.0	20.5	68.1	5.7	5.7
1970-1974	Caribbean	37,545	100.0	32.3	52.9	3.4	11.3
	All immigrants	248,560	100.0	20.9	67.8	5.5	5.8
1975-1979	Caribbean	26,220	100.0	36.8	48.7	6.9	7.6
	All immigrants	210,265	100.0	20.9	67.2	7.8	4.1
	Canadian-born	7,646,525	100.0	27.1	58.9	8.0	6.0

¹ Includes persons born in Guyana.

² Includes also immigrants who arrived before 1960 and during 1980-81.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1981 Census of Canada, special tabulations.

immigrants were proportionally underrepresented in the retirement category. In contrast, even though appropriate data have been difficult to obtain since 1981, an analysis shows that there is a growing and significant second generation of Caribbeans in Canada. Table 6 indicates the variations in age distribution by period of immigration.

In 1981, the median age of the Caribbean-born population was 32 years, compared with 27 years for those born in Canada, and 42 years for the total of all immigrants. Recent Caribbean immigrants were slightly less likely than were others who arrived between 1975 and 1981 to have been over 65 years of age in 1981.

Marital Status

The legacy of slavery and subsequent economic and social changes in the Caribbean region have left a mark upon the institutions of marriage and the family. Formal marriage ceremonies are still seen as a mark of social status. Common-law marriage, "visiting" relationships and single parenthood have long been more socially accepted in the Caribbean than they have been in Europe or North America.¹² These mores are maintained even in the host society, as is reflected in the marital status distribution shown in Table 7. An average of 52% of women born in the Caribbean reported themselves as "married" in 1981, compared with 67% of all immigrant women, and 59% of Canadian-born women. In all periods of immigration, a higher proportion of Caribbean women than of the total female immigrant population reported themselves as "single". Although a higher proportion of Caribbean men than women reported themselves as married, the prevalence of separation and divorce was high for both.

Family

At 3.5 persons, the average family size¹³ among post-1959 Caribbean immigrants was the same as that for the total of all post-1959 immigrants (Table 8), but was slightly above that for families with a Canadian-born

Table 8. Average Family Size¹ of the Caribbean² and the Total Immigrant Populations by Period of Immigration, Canada, 1981

Period of Immigration	Average Family Size	
	Caribbean Immigrants	Total Immigrants
Before 1960	3.3	3.0
1960-1969	3.6	3.6
1970-1974	3.6	3.6
1975-1979	3.4	3.4
1960-1979	3.5	3.5
Total	3.5	3.3

¹ The term "family" refers here to "Census Family", which is defined as consisting of a husband and a wife, with or without one or more non-married children regardless of their age, or a lone-parent with or without unmarried children regardless of their age. The immigrant status of families is decided on the basis of the birthplace of the reference person.

² Includes persons born in Guyana.

Source: Statistics Canada, *1981 Census of Canada*, special tabulations.

¹² See, Clark, Edith, *My Mother who Fathered Me*, London: George Allen and Unwin, 1957; Blake, Judith, *Family Structure in Jamaica: The Social Context of Reproduction*, New York: Free Press, 1961.

¹³ An "immigrant family" is defined as a family whose "reference person" is an immigrant. No consideration is given to the immigrant status of the other members of the family, who may or may not have been born in Canada.

reference person (3.3 persons). Although not shown in tabular form, a high prevalence of single-parent, female-reference-person families was also evident among Caribbeans. Altogether, 19.2% of all Caribbean families had a female lone-parent, compared with an average of 9.3% of all families in Canada. A further 2.4% had a male lone-parent, compared with 1.5% in the population as a whole.

Education

Following the introduction, in 1967, of immigrant selection according to “units of assessment” (which were heavily weighted toward educational achievement), immigration from the Caribbean initially took on the characteristics of a “brain drain” — although there was also a continuing flow of female domestic workers. The possibility of visitors to Canada applying for landed immigrant status between 1968 and 1972 encouraged many less-qualified immigrants to apply. Many such applications were made between 1972 and 1974. From 1975 on, immigrants who qualified under “family reunion” provisions, as well as nominated immigrants and political refugees, were admitted without the stringent qualifications required of independent immigrants.

Table 9 shows the educational attainment distribution, and indicates that **more than half of the Caribbean males, and 45% of Caribbean females, had received some post-secondary education by 1981**. This figure was considerably above the average for all other immigrants combined, as well as being higher than that for the Canadian-born population. Later arrivals, however, were less well-educated than were those who came in the 1960 to 1969 decade. Among those who arrived in the 1960s, 24.5% of males and 14.4% of females had some university training. The proportion fell, however, to 10.9% of males and 6.2% of females among those who arrived during the period from 1975 to 1979. There was a concomitant rise in the proportion having had only elementary education over the same period. **In the case of males, the average educational level (even among those who arrived toward the end of the decade) remained above the average level for Canadian-born males**, whereas the proportion of Caribbean women with only elementary education approximated that of Canadian-born women. This confirms the above discussion about changes that occurred in the selection process.¹⁴

A more detailed examination of educational achievement by age group reveals that Caribbean-born persons who immigrated to Canada before 1969, and who were under 24 years of age at the time of the Census, had particularly high levels of attainment. Since this cohort would have arrived in Canada at ages ranging from infancy to 12 years of age, some or all of their education would have been obtained in this country.

¹⁴ Regulations were changed in 1981 to permit the awarding of Landed Immigrant Status to foreign domestic workers who had resided in Canada for several years and who could show that they had taken education and training to up-grade their qualifications.

Table 9. Distribution by Level of Education and by Sex of Persons Aged 15 and over for the Canadian-born Population, and for the Caribbean Immigrant¹ and the Total Immigrant Populations by Period of Immigration, 1981

Period of Immigration	Immigrant Group	Level of Education					
		Number	All Levels	Primary	Secondary	Post-secondary	
						Non university ¹	University
Percent							
Males							
Total ³	Caribbean	83,375	100.0	9.0	39.1	34.8	17.2
	All immigrants	1,757,970	100.0	24.2	31.0	25.2	19.7
1960-1969	Caribbean	21,895	100.0	5.3	31.3	38.9	24.5
	All immigrants	426,495	100.0	18.6	32.9	27.0	21.5
1970-1974	Caribbean	30,755	100.0	8.4	40.2	37.8	13.6
	All immigrants	242,430	100.0	14.5	31.9	26.7	26.9
1975-1979	Caribbean	21,335	100.0	11.2	46.2	31.7	10.9
	All immigrants	189,380	100.0	13.3	33.2	27.3	26.3
	Canadian-born	7,393,625	100.0	20.0	44.4	21.1	14.5
Females							
Total ³	Caribbean	102,040	100.0	13.0	41.9	35.6	9.5
	All immigrants	1,811,165	100.0	29.2	36.5	21.4	12.9
1960-1969	Caribbean	26,975	100.0	7.4	37.7	40.4	14.4
	All immigrants	432,615	100.0	25.1	37.0	23.5	14.4
1970-1974	Caribbean	37,545	100.0	11.8	42.9	37.6	7.7
	All immigrants	248,560	100.0	20.9	35.6	24.7	18.7
1975-1979	Caribbean	26,220	100.0	17.6	44.9	31.3	6.2
	All immigrants	210,265	100.0	20.7	36.6	23.5	19.2
	Canadian-born	7,646,525	100.0	18.6	47.5	22.8	11.0

¹ Includes persons born in Guyana.

² Includes persons with college diplomas, trade certificates, etc.

³ Includes also immigrants who arrived before 1960 and during 1980-81.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1981 Census of Canada, special tabulations.

Tables 10 and 11 show that, of the small number of males who arrived before 1960, 42.9% had had some university education, compared with 22.2% of this cohort of Caribbean women. In the next cohort (those who arrived between 1960 and 1969), the proportions were 18.0% males and 16.3% females; for the 1970 to 1974 arrivals, the proportions (8.9 and 10.1 for males and females, respectively) were closer to the national average for the Canadian-born population. The post-1974 arrivals had an above-average proportion (in comparison to the Canadian-born population) with only elementary education.

Table 10. Distribution by Level of Education among Males Aged 15 to 24 Years for the Canadian-born Population and for the Caribbean-born Population¹ by Period of Immigration, 1981

	Level of Education					
	Number	All Levels	Primary	Secondary	Post-secondary	
					Non-university ²	University
Percent						
Canadian-born	2,133,675	100.0	6.3	65.1	19.3	9.4
Caribbean-born	19,090	100.0	6.7	63.5	20.2	9.7
Immigrated: Before 1960	105	100.0	-	33.3	23.8	42.9
1960-1969	3,415	100.0	2.6	58.9	20.5	18.0
1970-1974	6,385	100.0	4.9	66.6	19.6	8.9
1975-1979	7,470	100.0	8.3	63.2	20.9	7.5
1980	1,715	100.0	14.0	64.1	18.1	3.5

¹ Includes persons born in Guyana.

² Includes persons with college diplomas, trade certificates, etc.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1981 Census of Canada, special tabulations.

Table 11. Distribution by Level of Education among Females Aged 15 to 24 Years for the Canadian-born Population and for the Caribbean Immigrant Population¹ by Period of Immigration, Canada, 1981

	Level of Education					
	Number	Total	Primary	Secondary	Post-secondary	
					Non university ²	University
Percent						
Canadian-born	2,088,195	100.0	4.4	64.2	21.9	9.6
Caribbean-born	21,890	100.0	5.7	60.3	24.9	9.0
Immigrated: Before 1960	90	100.0	-	33.3	44.4	22.2
1960-1969	3,415	100.0	1.5	59.0	23.3	16.3
1970-1974	9,020	100.0	4.2	62.4	23.1	10.1
1975-1979	7,440	100.0	7.4	59.1	27.2	6.3
1980	1,925	100.0	11.4	61.6	22.9	4.4

¹ Includes persons born in Guyana.

² Includes persons with college diplomas, trade certificates, etc.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1981 Census of Canada, special tabulations.

In part, these levels of education reflect the concentration of Caribbean-born immigrants in the metropolitan centres of Canada. Urban living provides ready access to secondary and post-secondary educational opportunities for child and young-adult immigrants alike, and many Caribbean immigrants who arrived in Canada while still of school-age did take advantage of the available opportunities. Indeed, some of them may have come originally as students, and subsequently obtained landed immigrant status — a process which was legally possible prior to 1973.

Overall, 11% of the Caribbean immigrants had an elementary education only. There were, however, differences in educational attainment in 1981 between Caribbean immigrants who resided in Quebec and those living in Ontario. As shown in Table 12, on average, Caribbeans in Quebec were more likely to have had university degrees, or to have had some university training, than were their counterparts in Ontario. In Quebec, twenty-one percent of men, compared with 10% of women, had some university education (with or without a degree) and there was no difference by language. In Ontario, 14% of Caribbean men, compared with only 8% of women, had some university training.

The association between language and education, by province of residence, is shown in Tables 13a and 13b. In the case of males whose mother tongue was French, there was some overrepresentation in the lowest (15.1% elementary) and highest (13.9% university) levels. The same was true of Caribbean women, although the relative concentration of francophones in the elementary levels was greater in Quebec. In contrast, anglophone men and women were relatively

Table 12. Percent with some University Education among those Aged 15 and over in 1981, by Sex, for the Canadian-born and the Total Immigrant Populations, and for the Caribbean-born Population¹ by Period of Immigration, Quebec and Ontario, 1981

	Males		Females	
	Quebec	Ontario	Quebec	Ontario
Canadian-born	12.0	16.8	8.0	12.2
All Immigrants	23.4	18.1	14.6	11.7
Caribbean Immigrants	20.9	13.9	10.4	8.2
Immigrated: Before 1960	38.4	31.4	18.7	13.2
1960-1969	34.5	19.8	19.6	12.0
1970-1974	18.9	10.6	8.3	6.8
1975-1979	12.2	9.5	5.7	5.5
1980-1981	9.4	9.9	5.2	4.8

¹ Includes persons born in Guyana.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1981 Census of Canada, special tabulations.

**Table 13A. Male Caribbean Immigrant Population¹ by
Mother Tongue and Level of Education, Canada,
Quebec, Ontario and the Rest of Canada, 1980**

Level of Education	Mother Tongue				
	Number	French	English	Other	Total
		Percent			
Canada					
All levels	83,375	10.8	85.2	4.0	100.0
Primary	7,460	15.1	76.9	8.0	100.0
Secondary	32,555	9.0	87.9	3.1	100.0
Post-secondary					
Non-university ²	28,990	10.1	86.2	3.7	100.0
University	14,365	13.9	81.2	4.9	100.0
Quebec					
All levels	18,270	46.5	41.8	11.7	100.0
Primary	2,350	46.8	34.0	18.7	100.0
Secondary	6,315	44.3	46.2	9.3	100.0
Post-secondary					
Non-university ²	5,790	47.5	40.5	12.1	100.0
University	3,815	48.2	41.0	10.7	100.0
Ontario					
All levels	55,245	0.7	97.8	1.5	100.0
Primary	4,605	0.3	97.4	2.2	100.0
Secondary	23,265	0.5	98.3	1.2	100.0
Post-secondary					
Non-university ²	19,675	0.8	98.1	1.2	100.0
University	7,705	1.4	95.7	2.9	100.0
Rest of Canada					
All levels	9,860	1.0	95.1	3.9	100.0
Primary	515	1.0	86.4	11.6	100.0
Secondary	2,975	0.7	95.5	3.8	100.0
Post-secondary					
Non-university ²	3,520	0.9	95.3	3.8	100.0
University	2,850	1.6	96.1	2.5	100.0

¹ Includes persons born in Guyana.

² Includes persons with college diplomas, trade certificates, etc.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1981 Census of Canada, special tabulations.

**Table 13B. Female Caribbean Immigrant Population¹ by
Mother Tongue and Level of Education, Canada,
Quebec, Ontario and the Rest of Canada, 1980**

Level of Education	Mother Tongue				
	Number	French	English	Other	Total
		Percent			
Canada					
All levels	102,040	10.3	85.6	4.1	100.0
Primary	13,265	16.5	72.4	11.0	100.0
Secondary	42,745	8.6	88.6	2.8	100.0
Post-secondary					
Non-university ²	36,370	9.8	87.3	2.9	100.0
University	9,665	11.4	83.4	5.1	100.0
Quebec					
All levels	22,780	43.6	43.9	12.5	100.0
Primary	4,730	45.1	29.6	25.3	100.0
Secondary	8,395	41.5	50.3	8.2	100.0
Post-secondary					
Non-university ²	7,275	45.6	44.5	9.9	100.0
University	2,385	42.1	47.2	10.5	100.0
Ontario					
All levels	69,185	0.7	97.9	1.4	100.0
Primary	7,865	0.7	96.6	2.6	100.0
Secondary	30,590	0.6	98.2	1.2	100.0
Post-secondary					
Non-university ²	25,075	0.8	98.4	0.8	100.0
University	5,660	1.3	95.6	3.1	100.0
Rest of Canada					
All levels	10,065	0.9	95.3	3.8	100.0
Primary	670	-	91.0	8.2	100.0
Secondary	3,760	0.8	96.0	3.3	100.0
Post-secondary					
Non-university ²	4,015	0.9	95.5	3.6	100.0
University	1,625	1.5	94.2	3.7	100.0

¹ Includes persons born in Guyana.

² Includes persons with college diplomas, trade certificates, etc.

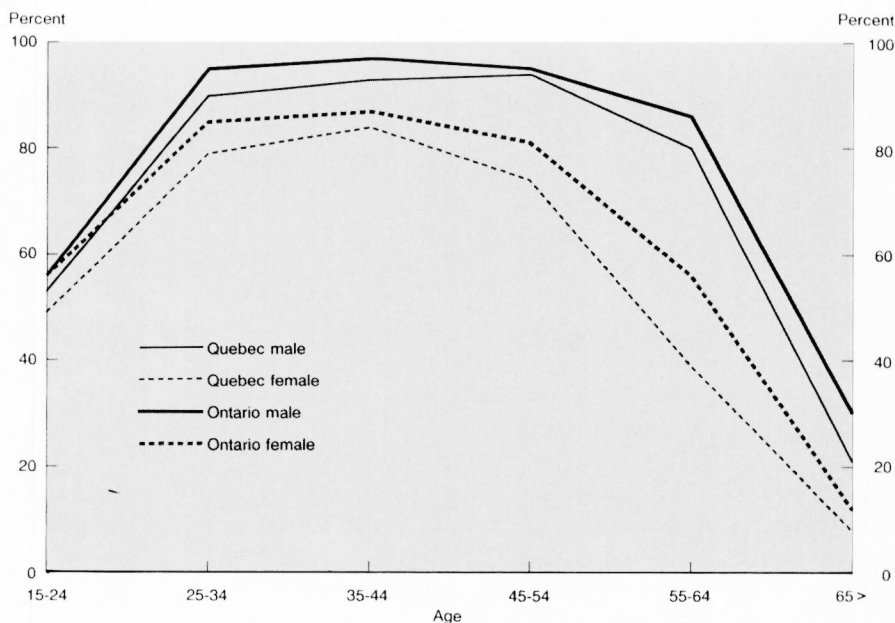
Source: Statistics Canada, 1981 Census of Canada, special tabulations.

concentrated in the secondary and post-secondary (non-university) levels and, particularly in Quebec, underrepresented at the elementary level. As has been noted, the Caribbean immigrant population as a whole was relatively well educated, having had a higher proportion with some university education than did either the Canadian-born population, or all foreign-born persons considered together.

Labour Force Characteristics

The age distribution of a population exerts a strong influence on labour force participation rates, and it has been noted that a majority of Caribbean immigrants were in their "active years" (i.e. working age) in this respect. Table 14 shows that, overall, the crude participation rates for Caribbean men and women were considerably higher than were those for the Canadian-born population, but period of immigration was influential. Crude participation rates for Caribbean immigrants who arrived in the 1970's were lower than were those for earlier cohorts, although the rates for women remained higher than did those for either other female immigrants, or for native-born women. Age-adjusted rates showed that Caribbean men had lower participation rates than did other immigrants in the same arrival cohort, whereas Caribbean women were more likely than were other women to have been in the labour force.

Figure 7
Age-Specific Labour Force Participation of Caribbean-Born,
Ontario and Quebec, 1981



(1) Caribbean-born includes Guyana.

Table 14. Labour Force Participation Rate and Percent Distribution in Three Class-of-Worker¹ Categories for the Canadian-born Population, and for the Caribbean Immigrant² and Total Immigrant Populations by Period of Immigration, 1981

Period of Immigration	Characteristics											
	Labour Force Participation Rate				Class-of-Worker ⁴							
	Crude		Age-adjusted ³		Wage earner and unpaid family worker		Employer		Self-employed			
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females		
				Number				Percentage				
Canadian-born Population	78	52	78	52	6,155,200	4,511,300	91.4	97.1	2.8	0.8	5.7	2.1
1960-1969												
Caribbean immigrants	90	79	79	68	20,400	22,700	95.7	98.5	1.9	0.4	2.3	1.1
Total immigrants	88	63	81	58	391,300	300,700	92.2	96.3	3.5	1.2	4.2	2.4
1970-1974												
Caribbean immigrants	86	76	77	65	27,500	30,600	97.2	99.0	0.9	0.4	2.0	0.7
Total immigrants	87	65	79	57	221,100	178,100	93.5	96.8	2.9	1.2	3.6	2.0
1975-1979												
Caribbean immigrants	79	65	76	60	17,600	18,100	97.8	98.8	0.9	0.2	1.4	0.9
Total immigrants	83	58	78	53	165,200	137,800	94.8	97.3	2.0	0.8	3.3	1.9

¹ Includes all persons aged 15 and over who worked in 1980.

² Includes persons born in Guyana.

³ Using the Canadian-born population as standard. See Appendix A for method.

⁴ Persons who worked in 1980.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1981 Census of Canada, special tabulations.

Table 14 also shows the distribution of wage earners, by sex and period of immigration, compared with employers and the self-employed. Few Caribbean immigrants had previous entrepreneurial experience, although some may have been self-employed before emigrating to Canada. Starting a business in a new country requires access to capital and credit, and studies in Britain and the United States have suggested that, given these requirements, it was difficult for Blacks to obtain entrepreneurial status.¹⁵

Age-specific participation rates for men and women revealed some variations between Quebec and Ontario, as shown in Table 15. Rates were generally higher among Caribbean immigrants in Ontario, and this was particularly true (for reasons that are not readily apparent) among older women.

The 1981 Census confirms that a large majority of Caribbean men and women in Ontario and Quebec were employed workers, and that the proportion reporting self-employment, or reporting that they were employing others in unincorporated businesses, was below the average for both the Canadian-born population, and that for other immigrant groups. Even Caribbean males who had immigrated to Canada between 1960 and 1969 and, therefore, had had time

Table 15. Labour Force Participation Rate¹ by Age and Sex for the Caribbean Immigrant Population² in Ontario and Quebec, 1981

Age Group	Quebec		Ontario	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
15 - 24	53	49	56	56
25 - 34	90	79	95	85
35 - 44	93	84	97	87
45 - 54	94	74	95	81
55 - 64	80	39	86	56
65 +	21	8	30	12

¹ Includes all persons aged 15 years and over who worked in 1980.

² Includes persons born in Guyana.

Source: Statistics Canada, *1981 Census of Canada*, special tabulations.

¹⁵ Light, Ivan, *Ethnic Enterprise in America*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1972; Foner, Nancy, "West Indians in New City and London: A Comparative Analysis", *International Migration Review*, 13:2, (1979), pp. 284-297; "Race and Colour: Jamaican Migrants in London and New York City", *International Migration Review*, 19:4, (1985), pp 708-727; U.K., House of Commons, Home Affairs Committee, *Racial Disadvantage: West Indians in Business in Britain: Research commissioned from the SSRC Research unit on Ethnic Relations*, 1980; Ward, Robin and Darla Rhyne, *Visible Minority Business in Metropolitan Toronto*, Toronto: Ontario Human Rights Commission, 1982.

to establish themselves, were much less likely to have been employers, or to have been self-employed, than were corresponding immigrants from elsewhere (4.2% compared with 7.7%). Among Caribbean women, the probability was even lower (1.5% versus 3.6%).

Unemployment

According to the Census definition, the unemployed includes those persons who, during the week prior to enumeration: (a) were without work, had actively looked for work in the past four weeks and were available for work, or; (b) had been on lay-off for 26 weeks or less and expected to return to their job, or; (c) had definite arrangements to start a new job in four weeks or less. The estimated percentage unemployed resulting from calculations using census data are not directly comparable to those obtained from Statistics Canada's monthly Labour Force Survey. Nevertheless, they provide a basis for comparing immigrants, by birthplace and period of immigration, with the Canadian-born population. As measured by the Census in June, 1981, unemployment in Canada among Canadian-born men and women was 7.1% and 9.2%, respectively. The rates for Caribbean immigrants, separately by sex and before and after age standardization, are summarized below.

Observed and Age-Standardized Unemployment Rates Among Caribbean Immigrants¹ by Sex and Period of Immigration, Canada, 1981

	Period of Immigration			
	1960-1969	1970-1974	1975-1979	Total
Males				
Observed	4.0	7.2	8.3	6.7
Age standardized ²	6.7	9.2	8.3	8.2
Females				
Observed	4.7	8.4	10.8	8.2
Age standardized ²	7.1	9.5	10.9	9.6

¹ Includes persons born in Guyana.

² See Appendix A for method.

The unstandardized unemployment rates among Caribbean immigrants were below those of the Canadian-born population, and were only slightly higher when age was adjusted (8.2% for Caribbean men, and 9.6% for women). Unemployment rates in Canada varied considerably by region however, and

were generally lower in metropolitan areas. It is therefore also important, in examining unemployment levels, to consider the question of locality of residence in Canada. As the majority of Caribbean immigrants lived in Montreal and Toronto, comparisons have been limited to these areas. The results are in Tables 16 and 17, for males and females, respectively.

Unemployment levels among males were twice as high in Montreal when compared with Toronto, in June, 1981. An average of 8% of Canadian-born males and of immigrant males, in Montreal, reported that they were unemployed, compared with only 4% in Toronto. However, Caribbean-born males had a much higher prevalence of unemployment, with reported rates of 13% in Montreal and 5% in Toronto. After adjusting for the age distribution of the population, the proportions were even higher (16% and 6%, respectively). In other words, **the standardized rates among Caribbean males were twice those of Canadian-born males in Montreal, and fifty percent higher in Toronto.**

Not surprisingly, length of residence was an important determinant of unemployment. For those who had arrived during the previous twelve months, unemployment in Montreal among Caribbean-born males was 27%, (compared with 14% among all immigrants who arrived in the same year). In Toronto, comparable figures were 9% and 7%, respectively. Age-adjusted unemployment levels are generally higher for immigrants, but as Tables 16 and 17 show, adjustment for age had little effect on the rates among the Canadian-born population of Montreal or Toronto. Even Caribbean immigrants who had been in Canada for a decade or more had higher unemployment rates than did either other immigrants, or the Canadian-born population.

Youth unemployment was particularly acute among Caribbean-born males who were between the ages of 15 and 24 in 1981. **More than one in four such young men in Montreal, and almost one in eight in Toronto, was unemployed at that time. In both cases, these rates were roughly fifty percent higher than were those for Canadian-born males of the same age living in the same city.**

Unemployment among women in Montreal (10.4%) and Toronto (4.7%) was higher than that for men. The patterns for immigrants in general, and Caribbean-born immigrants in particular, were similar to those for men in Montreal, but Caribbean women in Toronto fared somewhat better. Although the level of unemployment among recent arrivals was above the average, Caribbean women in Toronto were less likely to have been unemployed than were those

Table 16. Age-specific and Age-standardized Unemployment Rates (in Percent) for Males in the Labour Force in Montreal and Toronto for the Canadian-born Population, and for the Caribbean Immigrant¹ and Total Immigrant Populations by Period of Immigration, 1981

Age Group	Canadian-born	Caribbean immigrants	All immigrants	Period of Immigration									
				Before 1959		1960-1969		1970-1974		1975-1979		1980-1981	
				Caribbean	All immigrants	Caribbean	All immigrants	Caribbean	All immigrants	Caribbean	All immigrants	Caribbean	All immigrants
MONTREAL													
15-24	15.86	26.60	16.10	20.00	12.16	28.81	15.03	25.00	15.69	25.77	18.30	30.00	17.29
25-34	6.78	12.97	6.93	8.33	5.31	7.09	5.15	12.11	7.99	13.86	8.23	24.66	10.96
35-44	4.00	9.12	4.41	8.00	2.96	5.24	3.36	10.65	6.94	10.06	5.97	23.33	11.80
45-54	4.39	8.53	3.71	3.45	3.08	4.51	3.55	14.29	6.59	6.67	3.96	40.00	21.74
55-64	5.37	8.46	4.22	4.88	3.62	2.50	4.38	27.78	8.07	4.17	9.09	28.57	13.89
65 +	3.47	15.38	3.46	14.29	2.52	-	1.52	-	1.85	10.00	18.03	-	33.33
Total	7.85	12.85	5.93	7.50	3.62	7.62	5.19	13.13	8.19	14.94	9.46	27.01	13.90
Age-Adjusted ²	8.23	15.50	8.19	11.21	6.22	11.63	7.12	16.46	9.33	14.44	11.23	27.75	16.60
TORONTO													
15-24	7.65	11.99	7.63	9.09	4.34	8.78	7.91	15.60	8.33	10.56	7.73	10.53	5.93
25-34	3.04	3.84	2.90	9.09	2.82	3.72	2.61	3.79	2.85	3.18	2.72	9.30	6.01
35-44	1.61	3.09	1.83	3.28	1.42	1.95	1.46	3.57	2.28	4.58	2.37	7.89	6.65
45-54	1.73	2.37	1.81	2.67	1.36	1.96	1.77	2.50	2.80	3.38	3.84	7.69	7.24
55-64	2.08	3.86	2.60	2.74	2.23	4.35	2.84	3.90	3.32	1.32	4.18	9.32	12.43
65 +	2.35	7.04	2.41	-	2.09	7.14	2.60	5.88	4.24	7.41	2.62	-	6.67
Total	3.83	4.76	2.84	2.87	1.92	3.15	2.81	5.29	3.38	5.50	3.82	9.23	6.61
Age-Adjusted ²	3.82	6.19	3.89	5.65	2.73	5.06	3.88	7.21	4.52	5.74	4.40	8.42	6.98

¹ Includes persons born in Guyana.

² Standardized using the age distribution of the Canadian-born population. See Appendix A for method. Source: Statistics Canada, 1981 Census of Canada, special tabulations.

Table 17. Age-specific and Age-standardized Unemployment Rates (in Percent) for Females in the Labour Force in Montreal and Toronto for the Canadian-born Population, and for the Caribbean Immigrant¹ and Total Immigrant Populations by Period of Immigration, 1981

Age Group	Canadian-born	Caribbean immigrants	All immigrants	Period of Immigration									
				Before 1959		1960-1969		1970-1974		1975-1979		1980-1981	
				Caribbean	All immigrants	Caribbean	All immigrants	Caribbean	All immigrants	Caribbean	All immigrants	Caribbean	All immigrants
MONTREAL													
15-24	15.37	31.74	17.23	9.77	27.78	14.24	26.92	17.91	34.67	21.29	35.00	23.61	
25-34	9.31	17.97	11.35	6.80	3.70	8.29	17.50	12.39	19.41	14.64	44.74	24.44	
35-44	7.40	11.54	8.93	7.08	4.84	7.76	17.12	11.78	12.31	11.00	41.67	23.96	
45-54	7.60	10.21	8.36	7.25	6.99	8.01	11.11	10.77	20.51	11.84	68.00	37.21	
55-64	7.66	20.49	9.25	7.77	15.00	8.59	14.29	7.69	37.04	25.21	50.00	42.86	
65 +	4.92	21.74	6.73	4.89	-	4.29	25.00	20.00	33.33	24.00	100.00	100.00	
Total	10.37	17.30	10.56	7.22	6.96	9.04	17.85	12.60	22.58	15.73	42.68	25.42	
Age-Adjusted ²	9.78	20.52	11.46	7.60	11.71	9.38	19.71	13.94	26.24	17.83	48.17	26.17	
TORONTO													
15-24	7.00	9.93	7.57	3.53	7.17	7.27	10.62	8.57	9.20	7.40	17.02	8.50	
25-34	3.91	4.82	4.54	3.65	3.54	4.68	4.99	4.37	4.27	4.66	14.77	9.46	
35-44	3.49	3.16	3.74	2.27	2.27	3.51	4.36	3.81	2.44	5.36	3.57	7.62	
45-54	3.31	4.14	3.51	2.90	3.93	3.77	5.51	4.41	5.30	4.83	-	9.76	
55-64	2.91	5.87	3.83	3.38	2.68	3.30	8.33	4.69	7.79	8.05	6.25	12.12	
65 +	3.47	8.06	4.88	3.71	14.29	7.69	8.70	3.66	10.53	10.81	-	20.00	
Total	4.72	5.20	4.50	3.24	3.38	4.46	5.77	4.88	5.91	5.69	11.67	9.05	
Age-Adjusted ²	4.45	6.37	5.08	3.43	5.52	5.27	7.30	5.39	6.59	12.05	9.23	10.47	

¹ Includes persons born in Guyana.

² Standardized using the age distribution of the Canadian-born population. See Appendix A for method. Source: Statistics Canada, 1981 Census of Canada, special tabulations.

who had immigrated from other countries since 1974. As was the case for men, after adjusting for age, unemployment among Caribbean women in Montreal was twice that of those born in Canada, whereas in Toronto, the rate was fifty percent higher. Youth unemployment was serious for women as well as for men, but was most acute **among Caribbean women in Montreal, where almost one in three such women between the ages of 15 and 24 was unemployed in June, 1981. This can be compared to the average of only slightly more than 17% unemployed in that age group among immigrants as a whole.** In Toronto, the comparable figures were 9.9% and 7.6%, respectively.

Occupation

Given the educational level of Caribbean immigrants, it would be expected to find them disproportionately in managerial, professional and technical occupations. This is true, in fact, for those who arrived before 1969. This cohort was older and had had more time during which to adjust to Canadian conditions. Among those who arrived during the decade before the 1981 Census however, Caribbean males were underrepresented in such occupations compared with the average for all immigrants who arrived during the same period. Caribbean women were also underrepresented in managerial positions, but were more successful in achieving professional status (see Table 18).

It is evident that Caribbean immigrant women who arrived during the period from 1971 to 1981 were heavily overrepresented in the processing and fabricating industries — their proportion being three times higher than that of Canadian-born women. Caribbean men who arrived in that period were also relatively concentrated in processing and, to a lesser degree, in service occupations. The overall differences, as measured by the indices of dissimilarity,¹⁶ however, were greater for Caribbean males compared with Canadian-born males, than they were for Caribbean females compared with Canadian-born females. Overall, differences between Quebec and Ontario were not large, although 23.1% of Caribbean males in Quebec, compared with 19.8% in Ontario, were in professional, technical and managerial occupations in 1981 (see Table 20). Among women, the proportion in these higher status occupations was 22.6 in Ontario, compared with 26.9 in Quebec.

¹⁶ In Tables 19a and 19b, the index of relative concentration measures the proportion of the Caribbean immigrant population in a given occupational category, relative to the proportion of the Canadian-born population of the same sex in that occupation. An index of 100 indicates that the Caribbean immigrant population had the same proportion in this category as did the Canadian-born population.

Table 18. Occupational Distribution of the Canadian-born Population and of the Caribbean Immigrant¹ and Total Immigrant Populations by Period of Immigration, 1981²

Occupation	Canadian-born population	Period of Immigration						
		1960-1969		1970-1974		1975-1979		
		Caribbean immigrants	All immigrants	Caribbean immigrants	All immigrants	Caribbean immigrants	All immigrants	
Males	Number ('000)							
	6,155.2	20.4	391.3	27.5	221.1	17.6	165.2	
	Percent							
	Managerial	10.7	10.0	10.4	5.8	9.4	5.1	8.6
	Professional and Technical	11.5	21.2	17.1	11.4	17.3	8.0	16.1
	Clerical	7.4	10.6	5.8	12.2	7.1	13.2	7.0
	Sales	9.0	6.7	7.2	5.8	6.6	5.5	6.3
	Service	9.6	7.9	11.5	10.0	12.0	16.4	15.4
	Processing³	18.3	27.5	23.6	36.2	26.7	36.3	28.7
	Construction	10.9	6.0	12.9	5.0	9.5	3.9	7.4
Transport	6.8	3.7	3.4	5.2	3.5	3.3	2.6	
All other	15.9	6.3	8.0	8.2	8.0	8.5	8.0	
All occupations	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Females	Number ('000)							
	4,511.3	22.7	300.7	30.6	178.1	18.1	137.8	
	Percent							
	Managerial	5.1	4.0	5.1	2.6	4.4	1.7	3.5
	Professional and Technical	19.7	32.4	18.8	18.2	17.6	13.3	15.9
	Clerical	36.8	35.5	29.6	35.1	29.6	33.1	28.7
	Sales	9.9	4.7	8.5	3.8	6.7	4.4	6.4
	Service	16.6	12.3	17.7	15.2	18.1	21.1	20.8
	Processing³	6.1	7.7	14.8	18.3	17.4	20.0	18.1
	Construction	0.4	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.3
Transport	0.7	0.1	0.3	0.2	0.3	-	0.2	
All other	4.9	3.1	5.0	6.4	5.5	6.3	6.1	
All occupations	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	

¹ Includes persons born in Guyana.

² Includes all persons aged 15 years and over who worked in 1980.

³ Includes also machinery and fabricating.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1981 Census of Canada, special tabulations.

Table 19A. Relative Occupational Concentration¹ and Index of Dissimilarity² for the Male Caribbean Immigrant Population³ by Period of Immigration, 1981

Trade or Profession	Total	Period of Immigration				
		Before 1960	1960-1969	1970-1974	1975-1979	1980-1981
Index of relative occupational concentration						
Management	71	191	94	54	48	36
Professional and Technical	127	248	184	99	70	90
Clerical	110	109	106	110	81	104
Service	116	81	82	104	171	187
Processing, etc.	177	72	150	198	198	188
Construction	45	39	55	46	36	29
Transport	60	50	54	77	49	31
Primary Sector	10	13	9	9	10	20
Other	7	4	6	7	8	10
Index of dissimilarity	20	28	20	21	28	28

¹ Ratio of the number in the group concerned to the number for the corresponding Canadian-born group.

² Compared with the Canadian-born population.

³ Includes persons born in Guyana.

Source: Statistics Canada, *1981 Census of Canada*, special tabulations.

There were also some notable differences between the occupational distributions of Caribbean immigrants classified by mother tongue in Quebec and Ontario, as shown in Table 20. A somewhat higher proportion of anglophones in Quebec were in the combined "managerial, professional and technical" category, and the difference was most marked in the case of women. One in three anglophone women, compared with one in five francophones, were in this category. In Ontario, the proportion of men and women in the higher status occupations was lower, but it is notable that 43.5% of Caribbean women in Ontario, compared with only 21.9% in Quebec, were classed as being in "clerical and sales" occupations. In Quebec, there was a marked concentration of

Table 19B. Relative Occupational Concentration¹ and Index of Dissimilarity² for the Female Caribbean Immigrant Population³ by Period of Immigration, 1981

Trade or Profession	Total	Period of Immigration				
		Before 1960	1960-1969	1970-1974	1975-1979	1980-1981
	Index of relative occupational concentration					
Management	59	155	78	51	33	29
Professional and Technical	110	163	165	92	68	61
Clerical	84	90	86	83	80	75
Service	96	69	74	92	127	153
Processing, etc.	244	70	126	300	328	307
Construction	50	125	50	50	50	100
Transport	14	0	14	29	0	86
Primary Sector	7	15	7	0	11	15
Other	227	77	131	291	272	227
Index of dissimilarity	14	15	15	17	22	25

¹ Ratio of the number in the group concerned to the number for the corresponding Canadian-born group.

² Compared with the Canadian-born population.

³ Includes persons born in Guyana.

Source: Statistics Canada, *1981 Census of Canada*, special tabulations.

francophone Caribbean men and women in the "other" category (mainly processing occupations), but the contrast in Ontario is greater for women than for men.

In general it would seem that, by the time of the 1981 Census, Caribbean immigrants who had arrived before 1970 had achieved a level of occupational status more or less commensurate with their education and training. Those who arrived later, however, were more likely to have been in manual and service occupations. In part, this reflected the lower educational levels of the later immigrants. It also reflected, however, the state of the Canadian economy — an economy which was not as conducive to rapid economic integration, recovery of status and upward mobility, as it had been in the preceding decade.

Table 20. Number and Percent Distribution in Selected Occupational Categories¹ among the Caribbean Immigrant Population² by Sex and Mother Tongue, in Quebec and Ontario, 1981

	Number	Professional and Managerial	Clerical and Sales	Service	Other	Total
		Percent				
Males						
Ontario Total ³	48,680	19.8	19.4	10.7	50.1	100.0
Quebec Total ³	15,125	23.1	15.7	12.4	48.8	100.0
Francophones	7,015	21.5	13.2	10.8	54.5	100.0
Anglophones	6,400	25.8	20.1	13.0	41.1	100.0
Females						
Ontario Total ³	54,775	22.6	43.5	15.3	18.7	100.0
Quebec Total ³	15,400	26.9	21.9	16.9	34.3	100.0
Francophones	6,540	22.2	15.4	14.1	48.2	100.0
Anglophones	7,240	33.6	29.6	18.9	18.0	100.0

¹ Includes persons aged 15 years and over but excludes "occupation not applicable".

² Includes persons born in Guyana.

³ Includes those who speak other than English or French.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1981 Census of Canada, special tabulations.

DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL INCOME

Income data derived from the 1981 Census represent the calendar year 1980, and exclude income earned or received outside of Canada. Total income includes all sources, such as transfer payments, rent and investment income as well as income from employment, including self-employment. In calculating mean incomes, individuals who reported no income from any source were excluded. Nevertheless, more people reported income from some source other than reported employment income alone. Therefore, since income from other sources (transfer payments such as welfare, etc.) is generally smaller than employment income, the means for total income are generally lower than those for employment income.

A study by Beaujot et al.¹⁷ shows that the average total income for all males in Canada in 1980 was \$16,918, but that foreign-born persons earned more than did those born in Canada by a margin of about \$2,000 (\$18,553 compared with \$16,577). It was further shown that the immigrant income advantage was due to a combination of factors, among which age, education, occupational distribution and location and length of residence were the most important. After having removed the advantageous effects of the age and educational profile of immigrants however, the authors show that only those from the United Kingdom and Europe (excluding southern Europe) had higher incomes than did equivalent Canadian-born males. Recent immigrant cohorts, particularly those from "non-traditional" source countries in the Third World, were disadvantaged despite their relative concentration in the high-income Census Metropolitan Areas. The following more detailed analysis of the Caribbean-born population confirms that conclusion.

Using the same data and methods as used by Beaujot et al., Table 21a shows the average total income for Caribbean-born males, by mother tongue, education and province of residence in 1981. **The overall average total income for Caribbean males was \$15,393, which was below the average for Canadian-born males, and substantially below that of immigrant men as a whole.** Francophone Caribbean immigrant males living in Quebec received lower incomes than did Caribbean immigrants in other provinces, irrespective of mother tongue, and **there was an income differential of \$2,734 between anglophone and francophone Caribbeans in Quebec. The disadvantage experienced by francophones was evident at all levels of education, but was greatest among those with post-secondary, non-university education (\$3,576).** The comparatively few Caribbean immigrants who

¹⁷ Beaujot, Roderic, K.G. Basavarajappa and Ravi B.P. Verma, *Income of Immigrants in Canada, 1980*. Statistics Canada (Catalogue 91-527E, 1988).

Table 21A. Average Total Income¹ for Caribbean Male Immigrants² Aged 15 Years and over, by Mother Tongue and Level of Education, Canada, Quebec, Ontario and the Rest of Canada, 1980

Region and Mother Tongue	All levels of education	Primary	Secondary	Post-secondary	
				Non-university ³	University
	(in dollars)				
Canada					
Total	15,393	11,781	12,564	15,637	21,853
French	12,639	8,794	9,694	10,927	20,218
English	15,776	12,396	12,843	16,353	22,014
Other	14,019	10,564	11,931	10,787	23,644
Quebec					
Total	13,543	9,968	10,901	12,062	21,008
French	12,425	8,926	9,686	10,706	19,883
English	15,159	11,233	12,240	14,282	22,665
Other	11,762	9,934	9,416	9,537	19,430
Ontario					
Total	15,334	12,380	12,954	16,117	20,865
French	17,566	-	10,763	14,182	27,153
English	15,264	12,426	12,927	16,153	20,478
Other	18,695	11,279	15,207	14,448	30,927
Rest of Canada					
Total	18,805	13,608	12,804	18,523	25,591
French	12,466	-	8,051	12,621	16,991
English	19,063	14,090	12,777	18,927	25,741
Other	14,438	12,198	14,440	10,248	24,612

¹ Average is based only on individuals having declared any income.

² Includes persons born in Guyana.

³ Includes persons with college diplomas, trade certificates, etc.

Source: Statistics Canada, *1981 Census of Canada*, special tabulations.

lived outside Quebec and Ontario tended to have higher incomes — incomes that exceeded the national average for immigrants as a whole, as well as that for the Canadian-born population.

According to the results of Beaujot et al., the average total income for all females in Canada in 1980 was \$8,414. As was the case for males, immigrant women received more than did those who were born in Canada (\$8,872 compared with \$8,322). Their results further showed that, while female immigrants had an age advantage, they did not have an education advantage over their Canadian-born counterparts. In terms of average total income, immigrant women were slightly better off than were Canadian-born women, after adjusting

Table 21B. Average Total Income¹ for Caribbean Female Immigrants² Aged 15 Years and over, by Mother Tongue and Level of Education, Canada, Quebec, Ontario and the Rest of Canada, 1980

Region and Mother Tongue	All levels of education	Primary	Secondary	Post-secondary	
				Non-university ³	University
	(in dollars)				
Canada					
Total	9,327	6,864	7,976	10,265	13,256
French	8,158	5,716	6,202	8,150	16,500
English	9,518	7,213	8,153	10,539	12,966
Other	7,538	5,480	7,086	8,209	10,849
Quebec					
Total	8,611	5,996	7,296	9,061	14,484
French	8,086	5,734	6,224	8,051	16,642
English	9,397	6,678	8,233	10,245	13,349
Other	7,068	5,259	6,133	7,966	11,378
Ontario					
Total	9,445	7,288	8,133	10,527	12,852
French	9,210	5,204	5,212	9,618	16,272
English	9,464	7,317	8,151	10,555	12,878
Other	8,060	6,776	7,834	7,644	10,246
Rest of Canada					
Total	9,993	6,886	8,138	10,640	12,891
French	9,685	-	10,601	8,291	11,014
English	10,024	7,180	8,077	10,676	12,988
Other	9,158	3,134	9,629	10,120	10,291

¹ Average is based only on individuals having declared any income.

² Includes persons born in Guyana.

³ Includes persons with college diplomas, trade certificates, etc.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1981 Census of Canada, special tabulations.

for age and education. There was, however, no income advantage for some recent cohorts from Asia and Latin America.

Table 21b shows the average total income for Caribbean-born women, by education, mother tongue and province of residence in 1981. It is notable that the income of anglophone Caribbean women exceeded the national average income for all women, whether immigrant or native-born. Although their total incomes were below those of Caribbean men, the ratio of female to male incomes was more favourable than was that for men and women as a whole. Anglophone Caribbean women received incomes amounting to 60% of those of their male counterparts, whereas the national average was 50%. Although francophone

Table 22. Average Total Income¹ by Sex, Mother Tongue and Level of Education, and Index of Relative Income² Comparing the Caribbean Immigrant Population³ with the Canadian-born Population, 1980

Birthplace, sex and mother tongue	Primary	Secondary	Post-secondary	
			Non-university ⁴	University
	Income (in dollars)			
MALES				
Canadian-born	12,234	13,395	18,361	25,407
Caribbean-born				
All Languages	10,348	12,107	13,805	19,741
French	7,845	8,385	9,435	17,600
English	10,767	12,408	14,380	20,146
Other	9,867	11,636	9,890	18,569
FEMALES				
Canadian-born	5,758	7,247	9,615	13,282
Caribbean-born				
All Languages	6,347	7,532	9,453	11,928
French	5,208	5,805	6,928	12,748
English	6,744	7,694	9,702	11,925
Other	4,738	6,801	7,975	9,819
	Index			
MALES				
Canadian-born	100	100	100	100
Caribbean-born				
All Languages	85	90	75	78
French	64	63	51	69
English	88	93	78	79
Other	81	87	54	73
FEMALES				
Canadian-born	100	100	100	100
Caribbean-born				
All Languages	110	104	98	90
French	90	80	72	96
English	117	106	101	90
Other	82	94	83	74

¹ Standardized by age. See Appendix A for method.

² Caribbean-born population compared with Canadian-born population. Ratio of the figure for the group concerned to the figure for the corresponding Canadian-born group.

³ Includes persons born in Guyana.

⁴ Includes persons with college diplomas, trade certificates, etc.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1981 Census of Canada, special tabulations.

Caribbean women had lower incomes than did their anglophone counterparts, the relatively low income of francophone male Caribbean immigrants meant that French-speaking Caribbean women received incomes that were almost two-thirds those of men. Income differentials between anglophone and francophone Caribbean women were lower than in the case of males, and, in the case of those with a university education, actually favoured the francophones.

It is also necessary to take into account the effects of age and education on average total income. Table 22 shows the age-standardized income levels for Canada as a whole, by sex, education and mother tongue.¹⁸ The table also shows an index measuring the degree of deviation of immigrant incomes from the average income of same-sex persons of equivalent education, who were born in Canada. **It is evident that Caribbean immigrant males received average total incomes that were below the level that would be expected had they been determined by the same factors that influenced the incomes of Canadian-born males of similar age and education. The index ranged from a low of 51% for those whose mother tongue was French and who had some non-university education, to a high of 93% for anglophone males having a secondary-school education.** In the case of anglophones with less than university education, Caribbean women had average total incomes which actually exceeded those of Canadian-born women. In fact, the benefit which anglophone West Indian women appeared to have, relative to Canadian-born women, declined in direct proportion to their level of education. This suggests that the higher total incomes were more a function of number of weeks and hours worked than of qualifications. However, Caribbean women with a university education received wages that were 90% of those of equivalent Canadian-born women. In comparison, Caribbean-born men made only 78% as much as did their Canadian-born male counterparts with similar qualifications.

Average Age- and Education-Standardized Incomes,¹ and Index of Relative Income² by Sex and Mother Tongue, for the Caribbean-born³ and the Canadian-born Population, Canada, 1981

	Males		Females	
	\$	Index	\$	Index
Canadian-born	16,250	100	8,395	100
Caribbean-born	13,140	81	8,146	97
French	9,674	60	6,694	80
English	13,578	84	8,335	99
Other	11,680	72	6,946	83

¹ See Appendix A for method.

² Ratio of the figure for the group concerned to the figure for the corresponding Canadian-born group.

³ Includes persons born in Guyana.

¹⁸ Base-line figures for calculation of the indices were derived from Table 18 in Beaujot, R.P., et al. Any difference between the figures in this report and the ones in that table are probably due to the inclusion of data for immigrants from Guyana in this report.

The combined effects of controlling for mother tongue, age and education are shown above, together with an index based on the standardized average of total incomes for Canadian-born males and females, respectively.

It is evident that anglophone Caribbean women were the most successful in maintaining incomes comparable with Canadian-born women. Francophone males were the least successful, relative to the overall average for Canadian-born males. **In other words, Haitian males suffered a double disadvantage because of nationality and language, even after the effects of age and education were taken into account.** These data do not, however, take the effect of 'place of residence' into account. Given the higher average incomes of populations resident in the Census Metropolitan Areas of Montreal and Toronto, the relative disadvantage of Caribbean immigrants was actually greater than appears here.

Period of Immigration

It has been noted that Caribbean immigrants, on the whole, are comparatively recent arrivals to Canada. Many were still experiencing initial adjustment problems at the time of the 1981 Census, having been in the country only a few years. Therefore, it is important to consider the effects of 'length of residence' on total income. In the following analysis, the influences of age and education are also taken into account, together with comparisons between Quebec and Ontario.

Table 23, for Canada as a whole, shows the average total income for males who arrived in the decade from 1960 to 1969, and during the two following quinquennial periods (1970 to 1974 and 1975 to 1979), compared with Canadian-born males, by education. Table 23 also includes the income levels after adjustment for differences in age composition, together with a total figure that has been standardized in terms of age and educational attainment. Overall, Caribbean-born males who had been in the country for a decade or more earned above the average for Canadian-born males, but below the average for the total foreign-born population who immigrated in the same (1960 to 1969) period. When educational levels were taken into account, the differences were comparatively small. More-recent arrivals did not fare as well, and the discrepancies were greatest among those with a university education. **On average, university-educated immigrants who arrived between 1970 and 1974 received total incomes that were only 91 % as high as those of the average for university-educated Canadians, while those from the Caribbean received only 70 % as much. Comparable figures for the 1975 to 1979 cohort were 79 % and 57 %, respectively.**

The adjusted totals in Table 23 show that, when both age and education were taken into account, even the Caribbean males who had been in the country for

Table 23. Unadjusted and Adjusted Average Total Income¹ for Males by Level of Education, for the Canadian-born Population, and for the Caribbean Immigrant² and the Total Immigrant Populations by Period of Immigration, Canada, 1980

Level of Education	Canadian-born	Period of Immigration					
		1960-1969		1970-1974		1975-1979	
		Caribbean	All immigrants	Caribbean	All immigrants	Caribbean	All immigrants
in dollars (before adjustment)							
Total	16,577	18,602	19,068	14,370	17,478	11,738	15,382
Primary	12,645	13,498	15,539	12,722	14,101	10,000	11,265
Secondary	14,811	14,802	14,866	12,573	13,761	10,284	11,962
Post-secondary	17,712	18,076	19,976	15,257	17,859	13,108	16,496
Non-university ³	24,900	24,911	26,685	17,317	22,668	14,166	19,716
University							
in dollars (after adjustment) ⁴							
Total	16,468	14,229	15,720	12,453	14,189	11,118	13,196
Primary	11,730	11,032	13,219	10,975	12,670	9,293	11,074
Secondary	15,709	13,377	14,616	11,734	13,117	10,583	12,151
Post-secondary	17,608	14,317	16,922	13,221	15,366	12,061	14,848
Non-university ³	24,421	19,898	21,837	16,447	19,003	13,578	17,622
University							

¹ Average is based only on individuals having declared any income.

² Includes persons born in Guyana.

³ Includes persons with college diplomas, trade certificates, etc.

⁴ Standardized using the age distribution of the Canadian-born population. See Appendix A for method.

Source: Statistics Canada. *1981 Census of Canada*, special tabulations.

more than a decade were at some disadvantage relative to other immigrants — and were even more so when compared with Canadian-born males. The adjusted total income for those who arrived in Canada between 1960 and 1969 was 86.4% of the adjusted income of Canadian-born males. Comparable proportions for the more recent arrivals were 75.6% (1970-74) and 67.5% (1975-79).

Tables 24 and 25 provide similar comparisons for the residents of Quebec and Ontario. **In Quebec, university-educated, male immigrants who arrived in Canada between 1970 and 1974, received incomes averaging 86% of those of their similarly-educated, Canadian-born counterparts. Those**

Table 24. Unadjusted and Adjusted Average Total Income¹ for Males by Level of Education, for the Canadian-born Population, and for the Caribbean Immigrant² and the Total Immigrant Populations by Period of Immigration, Quebec, 1980

Level of Education	Canadian-born	Period of Immigration					
		1960-1969		1970-1974		1975-1979	
		Caribbean	All immigrants	Caribbean	All immigrants	Caribbean	All immigrants
in dollars (before adjustment)							
Total	15,666	18,483	18,048	12,328	16,080	9,440	13,070
Primary	12,371	10,356	13,675	11,389	11,963	9,058	9,986
Secondary	14,169	13,276	14,521	11,071	12,436	9,133	10,419
Post-secondary							
Non-university ³	15,615	14,903	16,611	11,885	13,828	9,157	12,132
University	26,801	26,689	27,685	15,601	22,915	11,354	17,778
in dollars (after adjustment) ⁴							
Total	15,313	11,869	14,205	9,544	12,363	8,898	11,255
Primary	11,458	6,772	11,877	7,994	10,916	8,788	9,847
Secondary	14,680	11,405	13,383	9,553	11,423	8,637	10,418
Post-secondary							
Non-university ³	16,250	11,451	14,798	9,512	12,341	7,875	11,842
University	23,876	19,262	21,325	12,761	19,940	9,678	16,032

¹ Average is based only on individuals having declared any income.

² Includes persons born in Guyana.

³ Includes persons with college diplomas, trade certificates, etc.

⁴ Standardized using the age distribution of the Canadian-born population. See Appendix A for method.

Source: Statistics Canada. *1981 Census of Canada*, special tabulations.

from the Caribbean, however, received only 58% as much. The proportions for the 1975 to 1979 cohort were 66% and 42% for immigrants as a whole, and Caribbean immigrants, respectively. **In Ontario, university-educated male immigrants who arrived between 1970 and 1974 averaged 86% of the income of their Canadian-born counterparts, compared with 67% for those from the Caribbean.** The proportions for the 1975 to 1979 cohort were 77% and 53%, respectively. The age and education-adjusted totals show that, in Quebec, Caribbean males who had been in Canada for more than a decade received incomes amounting to 78% of the adjusted average income of Canadian-born males. In Ontario, the gradient was 84%, suggesting the existence of some persisting disadvantage — but not as severe as that

Table 25. Unadjusted and Adjusted Average Total Income¹ for Males by Level of Education, for the Canadian-born Population, and for the Caribbean Immigrant² and the Total Immigrant Populations by Period of Immigration, Ontario, 1980

Level of Education	Canadian-born	Period of Immigration					
		1960-1969		1970-1974		1975-1979	
		Caribbean	All immigrants	Caribbean	All immigrants	Caribbean	All immigrants
in dollars (before adjustment)							
Total	17,166	18,221	18,535	14,632	16,956	11,890	15,173
Primary	13,606	14,117	15,898	12,734	14,322	10,740	11,675
Secondary	14,747	15,082	14,734	12,887	13,622	10,556	11,778
Post-secondary							
Non-university ³	18,272	18,348	20,068	15,984	17,846	13,405	16,518
University	25,319	23,963	25,635	17,025	21,859	13,323	19,456
in dollars (after adjustment) ⁴							
Total	17,286	14,251	15,862	12,582	14,123	11,620	13,221
Primary	12,437	9,964	13,681	10,921	12,841	9,976	1,367
Secondary	16,129	13,487	14,563	12,311	13,107	11,095	12,006
Post-secondary							
Non-university ³	18,238	14,609	16,932	13,589	15,376	12,460	15,048
University	25,972	19,750	22,028	15,217	18,164	13,707	17,224

¹ Average is based only on individuals having declared any income.

² Includes persons born in Guyana.

³ Includes persons with college diplomas, trade certificates, etc.

⁴ Standardized using the age distribution of the Canadian-born population. See Appendix A for method.

Source: Statistics Canada. *1981 Census of Canada*, special tabulations.

observed in Quebec. This is especially important in light of the fact that the majority of Caribbean immigrants spoke one or both of the official languages of Canada.

It is evident that Caribbean immigrant males who arrived in the decade before 1980 were worse-off, relative both to other immigrant groups and to the Canadian-born population, and that this income shortfall was particularly evident in terms of the return on education and qualifications. Whereas university-educated Canadians received almost double the income of those with only elementary education, recently-arrived male immigrants with university education received only 75% more than did their counterparts with only an

elementary education. In contrast, the best-educated, Caribbean-born males received incomes that amounted to only 42% more than those of their compatriots who arrived in the same period but who had only an elementary education. This suggests that many were employed in occupations, and at levels, that were not commensurate with their education and training, and/or that Canadian employers did not consider their education, training and experience to be of comparable value to that obtained domestically. This result is in keeping with the findings of many other studies which have shown that Canadian employers demand "Canadian experience".¹⁹

Table 26. Unadjusted and Adjusted Average Total Income¹ for Females by Level of Education, for the Canadian-born Population, and for the Caribbean Immigrant² and the Total Immigrant Populations by Period of Immigration, Canada, 1980

Level of Education	Canadian-born	Period of Immigration					
		1960-1969		1970-1974		1975-1979	
		Caribbean	All immigrants	Caribbean	All immigrants	Caribbean	All immigrants
in dollars (before adjustment)							
Total	8,323	11,445	9,394	8,998	9,083	7,169	7,664
Primary	5,723	7,847	7,413	7,555	6,922	5,884	6,052
Secondary	7,266	9,444	7,926	7,990	7,581	6,382	6,533
Post-secondary							
Non-university ³	9,485	12,234	10,372	9,806	9,789	8,328	8,302
University	12,968	15,712	13,787	11,807	12,477	7,942	9,830
in dollars (after adjustment) ⁴							
Total	8,170	9,077	8,493	7,866	7,793	6,983	6,967
Primary	5,404	8,565	7,041	6,813	6,661	5,879	5,964
Secondary	7,538	8,293	7,791	7,235	7,163	6,680	6,562
Post-secondary							
Non-university ³	9,556	10,229	9,503	8,767	8,915	7,929	7,991
University	13,181	12,808	12,649	10,754	10,846	7,245	9,282

¹ Average is based only on individuals having declared any income.

² Includes persons born in Guyana.

³ Includes persons with college diplomas, trade certificates, etc.

⁴ Standardized using the age distribution of the Canadian-born population. See Appendix A for method.

Source: Statistics Canada. *1981 Census of Canada*, special tabulations.

¹⁹ Abella, Rosalie, *Equality in Employment: A Royal Commission Report: Research Studies*, Ottawa: Supply and Services, 1985; Bilingsley, Brenda and L. Muszynski, *No Discrimination Here?*, Toronto: Urban Alliance on Race Relations, 1985.

The situation of Caribbean-born women was somewhat different from that of men, although recent arrivals experienced the same difficulty in converting university education into an income level commensurate with their formal qualifications. Table 26 shows that **Caribbean women who arrived before 1970 were able to achieve incomes that exceeded the average for all immigrants with comparable education in the same arrival cohorts, as well as having had higher average total incomes than did Canadian-born women.** Immigrant women who arrived during the 1960 to 1969 period had higher average incomes than did Canadian-born women at all levels of education — and Caribbean women did even better. Later arrivals were not so successful, although those with less than a university education (and particularly those with post-secondary, non-university training) compared favourably not only with other immigrants, but with Canadian-born women as well. In

Table 27. Unadjusted and Adjusted Average Total Income¹ for Females by Level of Education, for the Canadian-born Population, and for the Caribbean Immigrant² and the Total Immigrant Populations by Period of Immigration, Quebec, 1980

Level of Education	Canadian-born	Period of Immigration					
		1960-1969		1970-1974		1975-1979	
		Caribbean	All immigrants	Caribbean	All immigrants	Caribbean	All immigrants
in dollars (before adjustment)							
Total	8,319	11,684	9,836	8,111	8,996	6,174	7,277
Primary	5,627	7,540	7,333	6,889	6,492	5,269	5,637
Secondary	7,651	9,283	8,549	7,090	7,274	5,883	6,215
Post-secondary							
Non-university ³	9,301	11,519	10,149	8,430	8,693	6,952	7,261
University	15,407	17,527	16,187	12,625	14,313	6,960	10,298
in dollars (after adjustment) ⁴							
Total	8,127	8,922	8,703	6,801	7,372	5,952	6,398
Primary	5,587	9,215	7,300	6,094	6,486	5,094	5,514
Secondary	7,762	7,857	8,287	6,209	6,944	6,128	6,315
Post-secondary							
Non-university ³	9,713	9,421	9,969	7,635	8,100	6,652	7,117
University	14,197	13,582	13,673	10,790	12,767	7,377	8,907

¹ Average is based only on individuals having declared any income.

² Includes persons born in Guyana.

³ Includes persons with college diplomas, trade certificates, etc.

⁴ Standardized using the age distribution of the Canadian-born population. See Appendix A for method.

Source: Statistics Canada. 1981 Census of Canada, special tabulations.

contrast, university-educated, Caribbean-born women who arrived between 1975 and 1979 earned only 61% as much as did similarly-educated, Canadian-born women, and only 34% more than did Caribbean-born women who came to Canada about the same time, but with only elementary education.

Tables 27 and 28 give details for the provinces of Quebec and Ontario, respectively. These data confirm that **Caribbean-born women who had been in Canada for more than a decade were relatively well off. Apart from the ubiquitous gender differential, such women received incomes that were not only fully commensurate with their education, but were, on average, higher than those of both the same cohort of other immigrant women, and of Canadian-born women with a similar level of education.** Later arrivals

Table 28. Unadjusted and Adjusted Average Total Income¹ for Females by Level of Education, for the Canadian-born Population, and for the Caribbean Immigrant² and the Total Immigrant Populations by Period of Immigration, Ontario, 1980

Level of Education	Canadian-born	Period of Immigration					
		1960-1969		1970-1974		1975-1979	
		Caribbean	All immigrants	Caribbean	All immigrants	Caribbean	All immigrants
in dollars (before adjustment)							
Total	8,537	11,402	9,273	9,080	9,036	7,380	7,472
Primary	6,174	8,069	7,450	7,693	7,069	6,307	6,009
Secondary	7,287	9,553	7,948	8,136	7,559	6,446	6,508
Post-secondary							
Non-university ³	9,711	12,448	10,535	10,042	9,915	8,555	8,223
University	12,780	15,217	13,683	11,224	12,749	8,494	9,295
in dollars (after adjustment) ⁴							
Total	8,415	9,159	8,574	7,953	7,867	7,366	6,883
Primary	5,565	6,203	7,096	7,007	6,789	6,518	5,924
Secondary	7,707	8,454	7,812	7,387	7,091	6,893	6,578
Post-secondary							
Non-university ³	9,734	10,632	9,522	8,688	9,116	7,851	7,790
University	13,682	11,639	12,896	10,621	10,785	7,480	9,161

¹ Average is based only on individuals having declared any income.

² Includes persons born in Guyana.

³ Includes persons with college diplomas, trade certificates, etc.

⁴ Standardized using the age distribution of the Canadian-born population. See Appendix A for method.

Source: Statistics Canada. 1981 Census of Canada, special tabulations.

were not so well off, and the least successful were Caribbean women who had recently arrived in Quebec, where, after adjusting for age, those with a university education received only 52% as much income as did university-educated, Canadian-born women. Recent arrivals to Ontario were somewhat better off than were their counterparts in Quebec, although the reverse was the case for the earlier cohort (1960 to 1969), where university-educated Caribbean women in Quebec raised the overall average.

When income was adjusted for age and education, it became clear that Caribbean-born women in Ontario were relatively better off than their Quebec counterparts. Although there was only a difference of \$288 favouring Canadian-born women in Ontario, larger differentials were evident — particularly among recently-arrived, Caribbean-born women. In Ontario, the 1975 to 1979 cohort earned \$7,366, or 87.5% of the wage earned by Canadian-born women in that province, compared with only \$5,952, or 73% that of Canadian-born women in Quebec.

Given that all recently-arrived immigrants are likely to experience some difficulty in initial adjustment, it is pertinent to consider the degree of income

Table 29. Average Total Income and Index of Average Income¹ by Birthplace and Level of Education Among 1970-1979 Immigrant Males Aged 15 Years and over in 1980, Canada

Birthplace	Primary	Secondary	Post-secondary		Total
			Non-university	University	
Average Income (in dollars)					
Caribbean ²	11,535	11,604	14,491	16,222	13,348
Europe	14,182	14,861	19,998	26,329	18,333
Asia	10,655	11,782	15,404	18,267	15,058
Other regions	11,962	12,040	15,521	23,251	17,449
Total immigrants	13,007	12,972	17,260	21,409	16,580
Index					
Caribbean ²	91	78	82	65	81
Europe	112	100	113	106	111
Asia	84	80	87	73	91
Other regions	95	81	88	93	105
Total immigrants	103	88	97	86	100

¹ Ratio of the figure for the group concerned to the figure for the corresponding Canadian-born group.

² Includes persons born in Guyana.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1981 Census of Canada, special tabulations.

disadvantage experienced by Caribbean immigrants in relation to other immigrants who arrived in the decade before the 1981 Census. Tables 29 and 30 provide a comparison of the total incomes of immigrants who arrived in Canada between 1970 and 1979 by region of birth, and also include an index based on the average income of same sex and educational level, Canadian-born persons. The index of average income shows that male immigrants, as a whole, had average total incomes that were the same as those of Canadian-born males, but this overall equality was the result of those with only elementary education compensating for the somewhat lower relative incomes of those with secondary and higher education. Only those from Europe (which here includes the United Kingdom) had consistently received above-average incomes. Immigrants from other regions obtained average or below-average incomes. This was most evident in the case of those from the Caribbean, whose income amounted to only 81% of the mean total income of Canadian-born persons.

It should be noted that, despite the fact that the majority of Caribbean males had one or the other of the official languages of Canada as their mother tongue, at all levels of education except elementary, Caribbean males who arrived

Table 30. Average Total Income and Index of Average Income¹ by Birthplace and Level of Education Among 1970-1979 Immigrant Females Aged 15 Years and over in 1980, Canada

Birthplace	Primary	Secondary	Post-secondary		Total
			Non-university	University	
Average Income (in dollars)					
Caribbean ²	6,876	7,379	9,287	10,487	8,324
Europe	6,925	7,301	9,039	12,000	8,230
Asia	5,937	7,033	9,499	10,946	8,625
Other regions	6,263	6,559	8,775	11,489	8,787
Total immigrants	16,577	7,115	9,150	11,293	8,469
Index					
Caribbean ²	120	102	98	81	100
Europe	121	100	95	93	99
Asia	104	97	100	84	104
Other regions	109	90	93	89	106
Total immigrants	115	98	96	87	102

¹ Ratio of the figure for the group concerned to the figure for the corresponding Canadian-born group.

² Includes persons born in Guyana.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1981 Census of Canada, special tabulations.

between 1970 and 1979 were relatively worse off than were those from any other region presented in the comparison. Caribbean immigrant males with a university education were the most disadvantaged of all when educational level was controlled, having received less than two-thirds the total income reported by otherwise-equivalent, Canadian-born males.

Table 30 shows the same comparison for women. It indicates that female income differentials were not as great as were those for men, and further that most Caribbean women who arrived during the 1970-1979 period were not disadvantaged, in terms of income, when compared with Canadian-born women. Those with university education, however, were not yet able to obtain incomes commensurate with their education. In contrast, immigrant women who were less well-educated were nonetheless more successful relative to equivalently-educated, Canadian-born women. **These data suggest that, in relative terms, the income earning capacity of Caribbean women was superior to that of their male counterparts, and to that of non-English speaking women from other countries.**

Age-, sex- and education-specific comparisons of total income by period of immigration are shown in Appendix C, and indicate that for Caribbean-born males who arrived after 1969, there was a consistent pattern of relative shortfall at all ages and education levels. Only the very small number who entered Canada before 1960 (some of whom will have received their education in Canada), were better off. For Caribbean women, the relative shortfall was most evident for those who arrived after 1974. This suggests that such women required at least five years of "Canadian experience", compared with ten or more years for Caribbean men, in order to approximate the total income of Canadian-born persons of similar age and education.

Low Income²⁰

The concept of "low income", as used in the 1981 Census of Canada, can be seen simply as having income (from any source) which is below a certain level. This level is set independently for individuals and for families, and varies by population size of residence.²¹ Overall, in 1980, it was estimated that 13.0% of all families, and 38.5% of all unattached individuals, fell below the low-income line. The proportions in Quebec and Ontario were slightly above and below the

²⁰ Statistics Canada's low income cut-offs were based on the national expenditure survey of 1978 updated to 1980 by changes in the Consumer Price Index. Strictly speaking, they are not a "poverty line", but they do identify the lowest income groups, taking into account family size, area of residence and the cost of living. On a national basis, the figures exclude persons on Indian Reserves, and residents of the Yukon and Northwest Territories. For further information see 1981 Census of Canada, *Economic Families in Private Households*, (Cat. 92-937).

²¹ Care must be taken in interpreting the data for Caribbean immigrants living outside of Toronto and Montreal due to the small numbers and possibility of sampling error in data based on the "long form", which is distributed to one in five households.

national average, respectively, as shown in Tables 31 and 32. These tables also provide a comparison of Caribbean-born immigrants with other immigrants, by birthplace and period of immigration. **At the Canada level, an above-average prevalence of low income was evident among families with a Caribbean-born reference person among the total of all immigrant families, while unattached Caribbean-born individuals were slightly less likely to have fallen below the low-income line in comparison with all foreign-born individuals.** There was considerable variation by birthplace and period of immigration.

Table 31. Prevalence Rate of Low Income in Economic Families by Selected Birthplaces and Period of Immigration, Quebec, Ontario and Canada, 1980

Region of observation and birthplace	Total	Period of Immigration			
		Before 1960	1960-1969	1970-1974	1975-1979
Canada	13.0	...	...	...	...
Canadian-born	13.1	...	...	...	...
Caribbean ¹	23.8	10.0	15.2	27.7	29.1
Europe	10.8	9.3	11.6	12.9	13.2
Asia	19.6	11.7	9.0	12.3	22.6
Other regions	14.3	9.8	12.1	15.7	18.2
Total Immigrant Families	12.8	9.4	11.6	15.5	19.0
Quebec	15.8	...	...	...	...
Canadian-born	15.5	...	...	...	...
Caribbean ¹	34.2	18.5	19.5	37.8	45.5
Europe	15.6	13.0	16.4	21.2	21.3
Asia	27.8	15.0	13.1	16.5	34.3
Other regions	17.7	13.3	10.9	20.5	25.8
Total Immigrant Families	18.6	27.1	19.5	20.0	26.1
Ontario	11.4	...	...	...	...
Canadian-born	11.2	...	...	...	...
Caribbean ¹	21.8	8.0	14.9	25.3	24.5
Europe	10.1	8.6	11.0	12.4	12.9
Asia	19.0	11.8	8.3	12.6	22.0
Other regions	13.8	8.0	11.3	16.0	17.2
Total Immigrant Families	12.0	8.6	11.1	15.3	18.1

¹ Includes persons born in Guyana.

Source: Statistique Canada, *Statistics Canada, 1981 Census of Canada*, special tabulations.

Table 31 shows that immigrant families from Europe were the least likely to have reported a low income (10.8%), while families with a Caribbean reference person were the most likely to have done so (23.8%). Among those who arrived in Canada before 1960, the differences were small. Those from Asia had the highest prevalence of low income, but among later arrivals (i.e. after 1960 when most Caribbean immigrants came to Canada), Caribbean families exhibited the highest prevalence of low income — averaging 29.1% of the 1975-79 cohort, compared with 19.0% of all immigrants who arrived during that period. The comparisons between Quebec and Ontario show that the situation was acute for many Caribbean families who entered Canada in the decade of the 1970's

Table 32. Prevalence Rate of Low Income Among Unattached Individuals by Selected Birthplaces and Period of Immigration, Quebec, Ontario and Canada, 1980

Region of observation and birthplace	Total	Period of Immigration			
		Before 1960	1960-1969	1970-1974	1975-1979
Canada	38.5	...	...	...	...
Canadian-born	37.3	...	...	...	...
Caribbean ¹	38.3	35.1	25.8	32.7	52.4
Europe	43.9	47.5	30.7	31.1	32.0
Asia	46.8	47.8	32.5	28.1	42.2
Other regions	40.5	46.7	31.4	28.2	34.4
Total Immigrant Families	43.4	47.3	30.6	30.1	38.6
Quebec	45.9	...	...	...	...
Canadian-born	45.8	...	...	...	...
Caribbean ¹	50.0	39.4	32.3	42.9	63.4
Europe	44.9	48.7	33.1	40.9	35.3
Asia	49.6	52.4	37.0	32.5	45.1
Other regions	47.4	53.7	37.4	40.2	43.0
Total Immigrant Families	46.3	49.5	34.2	39.8	46.0
Ontario	35.5	...	...	...	...
Canadian-born	33.5	...	...	...	...
Caribbean ¹	34.6	32.1	23.7	31.0	49.2
Europe	42.2	45.2	31.2	29.3	35.5
Asia	44.8	40.8	31.0	26.9	43.7
Other regions	35.1	38.7	30.9	25.2	32.8
Total Immigrant Families	41.2	44.5	30.3	28.6	40.1

¹ Includes persons born in Guyana.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1981 Census of Canada, special tabulations.

and who were living in Quebec in 1981. Among the 1970-74 cohort, 37.8% had low incomes, whereas 45.5% of the 1975-79 cohort of such families were in this situation. In contrast, only one-in-four Caribbean families who arrived after 1969, and who settled in Ontario, were below the low-income level.

Unattached individuals were at higher risk of falling below the line, as shown in Table 32. There was, however, less variation by birthplace, and **unattached Caribbean immigrants resident in Ontario were less likely to have fallen below the line than were other foreign-born individuals**. The most recent arrivals (1975-1979), however, had a higher prevalence than did other unattached immigrants. Again, the problem of low income was slightly more acute among Caribbean immigrants in Quebec, where half were below the line, compared with an average of 46.3% for all immigrants. Comparable figures for Ontario were 34.6% and 41.2%, respectively. Although the Ontario data are more encouraging, it should be noted that immigrants in both provinces were more vulnerable to low income status than were Canadian-born persons.

EMPLOYMENT INCOME

It is likely that the members of recent immigrant groups, such as those from the Caribbean, are more dependent on employment income than is the case for the Canadian-born population. In addition, this dependency on employment income among recent cohorts probably exceeds that for earlier cohorts, who are more likely to have other sources of income, such as investments, rental income and various transfer payments. Whereas total income is a measure of actual available resources, employment income provides a more effective measure of labour market performance, and thus, of the return on human capital. In assessing the employment income of immigrants, it is also necessary to take into account the number of weeks and hours worked. The following analysis of employment income is, therefore, limited to persons aged 15 years and over who worked mostly full-time for forty or more weeks in 1980. By this definition, the average employment income of Canadian-born males was \$20,802. In contrast, immigrant males who arrived before 1980 earned \$21,830, or 4.9% more than did their Canadian-born counterparts. The employment income of immigrant women, however, was 1.8% lower than that of Canadian-born women, with a mean of \$13,007 as opposed to \$13,248 (Beaujot et al., *op cit*, Table 23).

The average employment income of Caribbean males is shown in Table 33a, along with the variations by mother tongue and education in Ontario, Quebec and the rest of Canada considered together. Overall, the small minority of Caribbean immigrants who lived outside of Ontario and Quebec had the highest average earnings (some care must be taken in the interpretation of means for non-anglophones outside of Quebec due to rather small numbers). It is evident that, with an overall average of \$18,224, Caribbean immigrant males did not earn as much as did either other male immigrants, or Canadian-born males. Within Quebec, anglophones earned more than did francophones at all levels of education. The small minority of francophone and allophone Caribbeans in Ontario earned more than did the anglophones, but anglophones in Ontario reported more employment income than did anglophones in Quebec at every educational level except university.

Table 33b provides a similar breakdown for females. Again, the overall mean (\$12,142) is lower than that for other immigrants, as well as that for Canadian-born women. The distributions by mother tongue and province of residence, however, were somewhat different from those of men. Caribbean women not residing in Quebec or Ontario generally had higher employment incomes, but anglophones in Quebec, and francophones in Ontario, had a slight advantage — although gender differences remained substantial.

Table 33A. Average 1980 Employment Income¹ for the Caribbean Male Immigrant Population² Aged 15 Years and over, by Mother Tongue and Level of Education, Canada, Quebec, Ontario and the Rest of Canada

Region and Mother Tongue	All levels of education	Primary	Secondary	Post-secondary	
				Non-university ³	University
Average Income (in dollars)					
Canada					
Total	18,224	13,824	15,405	17,630	26,137
French	15,906	10,940	11,968	13,417	25,457
English	18,434	14,356	15,667	18,068	26,027
Other	18,813	12,758	16,079	14,709	30,153
Quebec					
Total	16,521	11,960	13,181	14,477	25,350
French	15,602	11,078	11,959	13,133	24,883
English	17,550	12,819	14,286	15,979	26,021
Other	15,496	12,292	12,087	13,049	24,286
Ontario					
Total	17,987	14,292	15,763	17,802	25,759
French	21,270	-	12,538	16,489	34,579
English	17,872	14,381	15,710	17,806	25,233
Other	24,856	12,195	21,210	18,509	39,570
Rest of Canada					
Total	22,098	16,823	16,912	20,769	27,938
French	18,023	-	11,523	17,191	24,242
English	22,190	17,032	16,818	20,945	27,894
Other	20,280	15,659	20,484	14,805	31,461

¹ Includes persons who worked mostly full-time for at least 40 weeks in 1980.

² Includes persons born in Guyana.

³ Includes persons with college diplomas and trade certificates, etc.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1981 Census of Canada, special tabulations.

The age-standardized mean employment incomes for Caribbean immigrants, specific for sex, mother tongue and educational level, are shown in Table 34, together with an index indicating the relative deviation from the mean income for Canadian-born persons of the same sex and educational level. **At all educational levels, anglophone Caribbean males earned between 80% and 85% of the income earned by comparable Canadian-born males, but francophone males only achieved such a ratio if they had a university education. Francophone Caribbean males at other levels of education earned only a little over 60% as much as did their Canadian-born**

Table 33B. Average 1980 Employment Income¹ for the Caribbean Female Immigrant Population² Aged 15 Years and over, by Mother Tongue and Level of Education, Canada, Quebec, Ontario and the Rest of Canada

Region and Mother Tongue	All levels of education	Primary	Secondary	Post-secondary	
				Non-university ³	University
Average Income (in dollars)					
Canada					
Total	12,142	8,597	10,594	12,776	18,270
French	11,629	8,059	8,439	11,667	20,092
English	12,222	8,727	10,767	12,889	18,121
Other	10,824	7,783	9,551	11,193	15,620
Quebec					
Total	11,746	8,022	9,504	12,190	19,613
French	11,511	8,076	8,342	11,628	19,971
English	12,185	8,310	10,331	12,821	19,987
Other	10,088	6,996	8,584	10,612	16,003
Ontario					
Total	12,083	8,793	10,797	12,776	17,692
French	13,430	7,660	9,798	12,501	22,563
English	12,079	8,777	10,803	12,787	17,677
Other	11,700	9,727	10,282	10,899	15,836
Rest of Canada					
Total	13,451	9,123	11,025	13,767	18,310
French	13,226	-	14,376	9,464	17,451
English	13,464	9,171	10,971	13,783	18,479
Other	13,038	7,200	12,292	14,230	12,137

¹ Includes persons who worked mostly full-time for at least 40 weeks in 1980.

² Includes persons born in Guyana.

³ Includes persons with college diplomas and trade certificates, etc.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1981 Census of Canada, special tabulations.

counterparts. Those Caribbeans whose mother tongue was neither English nor French appeared to do slightly better than did the francophone Caribbeans, although their employment income fell short of that earned by Canadian-born males at all levels of education. Caribbean women, relative to Canadian-born women, did better than did men if their mother tongue was English, but only francophone women with university education come close to their anglophone counterparts, and neither earned as much as did similarly-educated, Canadian-born women.

Table 34. Average 1980 Employment Income¹ and Relative Income Index Comparing the Canadian-born Population with the Caribbean-born Population, by Sex, Level of Education and Mother Tongue Among Immigrants

Sex, Birthplace and Mother Tongue	Primary	Secondary	Post-secondary	
			Non university ²	University
	Average Income (in dollars)			
MALES				
Canadian-born	16,232	19,470	21,097	29,157
Caribbean-born ³				
All Languages	13,284	15,318	17,281	24,924
French	10,844	11,636	12,885	24,235
English	13,733	15,547	17,662	24,802
Other	12,154	16,739	14,517	25,217
FEMALES				
Canadian-born	9,210	11,757	13,788	18,627
Caribbean-born ³				
All Languages	8,290	10,351	12,400	16,770
French	7,823	8,338	10,977	16,361
English	8,476	10,509	12,492	16,871
Other	7,060	9,562	11,294	12,577
	Index ⁴			
MALES				
Canadian-born	100	100	100	100
Caribbean-born ³				
All Languages	82	79	82	85
French	67	60	61	83
English	85	80	84	85
Other	75	86	69	86
FEMALES				
Canadian-born	100	100	100	100
Caribbean-born ³				
All Languages	90	88	90	90
French	85	71	80	88
English	92	89	91	91
Other	77	81	82	68

¹ Adjusted using the age distribution of the Canadian-born population. See Appendix A for method.

² Includes persons with college diplomas, trade certificates, etc.

³ Includes persons born in Guyana.

⁴ Ratios of the figures for the group concerned to the figure for the corresponding Canadian-born group.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1981 Census of Canada, special tabulations.

The combined effects of age and education are taken into account in the following summary of the standardized distributions.

Age and Education Standardized Average Employment Income¹, and Index of Income Variation, Canadian-born and Caribbean-born Population, by Sex, Canada, 1981

	Males		Females	
	\$	Index ³	\$	Index ³
Canadian-born	21,116	100	13,280	100
Caribbean-born ²				
Total	17,338	82	11,813	89
French	14,143	67	10,527	79
English	17,589	83	11,923	90
Other	17,124	81	10,536	79

¹ Employment income refers to income earned in 1980 in Canada.

² Includes persons born in Guyana.

³ Ratio of the figure for the group concerned to the figure for the corresponding Canadian-born group.

Source: 1981 Census of Canada, Special tabulations.

When standardized by age and education, the employment income figures were quite similar to those obtained for total income in terms of the relative disadvantage of Caribbean men and women. The exception was that the situation of anglophone Caribbean-born females was less favourable when, as in this chapter, only the employment income of women who worked mostly full-time for 40 weeks or more in 1980 is considered. The absolute and relative disadvantage of francophone Caribbean men (mainly Haitians in Montreal) was slightly reduced when only employment income was considered (with an employment income index of 67 compared with a total income index of 60). Nevertheless, such men earned only two-thirds of the amount that would have been expected when their employment income was gauged against that of comparable Canadian-born persons.

The above comparison of incomes does not take into account the effect produced by residing in a metropolitan area — an effect which further exacerbates the degree of relative difference in income. This is evident from Tables 35 and 36, which show the average employment income of men and women, respectively, by location of residence. For the Canadian-born population, living in a metropolitan area (particularly Toronto) was associated with having had a standardized employment income that was an average of between one and eight percent higher than the overall average (Table 37). The total immigrant

population did not benefit from living in Metropolitan Montreal or Toronto when period of immigration was taken into account. On the contrary, immigrants who came to Canada after 1960 had higher employment incomes if they lived outside these large centres of immigrant settlement, even after standardizing for the effects of age and education.

The degree of disadvantage in employment income was greater in Montreal than it was in Toronto. Table 37 shows that Caribbean males who arrived between 1975 and 1979 earned only 56% as much as did the average Canadian-born male in Montreal. The same cohort in the Toronto CMA earned 68% as much income as did Canadian-born males. The proportions for Caribbean women were 69% and 75%, respectively, after adjusting for age and education (as shown in Table 35). There was less discrepancy among those who had lived longer in Canada. Even so, Caribbean-born males who arrived

Table 35. Unadjusted and Adjusted Average 1980 Employment Income¹ Among Males for the Canadian-born Population, and for the Caribbean Immigrant² and the Total Immigrant Populations by Period of Immigration and Selected Places of Residence, 1980

Place of residence	Canadian-born	Period of Immigration					
		1960-1969		1970-1974		1975-1979	
		Caribbean Immigrants	All Immigrants	Caribbean Immigrants	All Immigrants	Caribbean Immigrants	All Immigrants
Average Income Before Adjustment (in dollars)							
Total	20,802	21,004	22,144	16,684	20,154	14,477	18,470
Montreal	21,351	20,984	20,446	13,706	18,408	11,626	16,136
Toronto	23,707	19,648	21,026	16,585	18,726	14,236	17,538
Other CMAs	22,222	22,799	23,741	19,150	21,452	16,908	19,453
Other Regions	19,008	26,147	22,742	23,139	22,294	21,606	20,098
Average Income After Adjustment ³ (in dollars)							
Total	21,140	18,627	20,356	16,227	18,550	14,757	17,378
Montreal	21,324	16,411	18,703	12,622	16,698	11,877	15,335
Toronto	22,910	18,153	19,991	16,032	17,608	14,333	16,689
Other CMAs	22,057	18,920	21,243	16,681	19,512	16,727	18,259
Other Regions	19,798	18,305	20,572	17,770	19,947	17,613	18,636

¹ Average is based only on these persons having declared any income.

² Includes persons born in Guyana.

³ Standardized using the age distribution of the Canadian-born population. See Appendix A for method.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1981 Census of Canada, special tabulations.

Table 36. Unadjusted and Adjusted Average 1980 Employment Income¹ Among Females for the Canadian-born Population, and for the Caribbean Immigrant² and the Total Immigrant Populations by Period of Immigration and Selected Places of Residence, 1980

Place of residence	Canadian-born	Period of Immigration					
		1960-1969		1970-1974		1975-1979	
		Caribbean Immigrants	All Immigrants	Caribbean Immigrants	All Immigrants	Caribbean Immigrants	All Immigrants
Average Income Before Adjustment (in dollars)							
Total	13,248	14,212	13,316	11,355	12,401	9,698	10,934
Montreal	13,978	14,229	13,343	10,628	12,429	8,700	10,425
Toronto	14,205	13,806	13,069	11,322	12,027	9,877	10,578
Other CMAs	13,708	15,252	13,670	12,269	12,816	10,116	11,373
Other Regions	12,200	16,187	13,184	11,921	12,808	11,394	11,406
Average Income After Adjustment ³ (in dollars)							
Total	13,299	12,975	13,022	11,364	11,870	9,959	10,639
Montreal	14,076	12,167	13,143	10,237	11,633	9,204	10,144
Toronto	14,060	12,842	13,063	11,245	11,679	9,938	10,310
Other CMAs	13,629	12,461	13,091	12,064	12,144	9,754	11,084
Other Regions	12,472	9,885	12,397	10,887	11,871	7,842	10,793

¹ Average is based only on these persons having declared any income.

² Includes persons born in Guyana.

³ Standardized using the age distribution of the Canadian-born population. See Appendix A for method.

Source: Statistics Canada, *1981 Census of Canada*, special tabulations.

in Canada between 1960 and 1969 (i.e. had resided in Canada for 11 or more years at the time of the 1981 Census) were lagging behind the average for all immigrants by as much as ten percentage points in Montreal, and by nine in Toronto. Caribbean-born females in Toronto came closer to achieving the same employment incomes as were earned by other immigrant women, but, when allowance was made for age and education, such women still experienced some disadvantage compared with women born in Canada. (See also the tables in Appendix C.)

Given the residential concentration of the Caribbean-born population in the Montreal and Toronto CMAs, these findings suggest that Caribbean immigrants did not immediately receive employment incomes commensurate with their education. This disadvantage occurred in spite of the fact that the majority of Caribbean immigrants spoke one of the official languages of Canada.

Table 37. Comparative Indices¹ of 1980 Employment Income² by Sex and Selected Places of Residence for the Canadian-born Population, and for the Caribbean³ and Total Immigrant Populations by Period of Immigration

Place of residence	Canadian-born	Period of immigration					
		1960-1969		1970-1974		1975-1979	
		Caribbean Immigrants	All Immigrants	Caribbean Immigrants	All Immigrants	Caribbean Immigrants	All Immigrants
Males							
Total	100	88	96	77	88	70	82
Montreal	101	78	88	60	79	56	73
Toronto	108	86	95	76	83	68	79
Other CMAs	104	89	100	79	92	79	86
Other regions	94	87	97	84	94	83	88
Females							
Total	100	98	98	85	89	75	80
Montreal	106	91	99	78	87	69	76
Toronto	106	97	98	85	88	75	78
Other CMAs	102	94	98	91	91	73	83
Other regions	94	74	93	82	89	59	81

¹ Base for Canadian-born males is total Canada (\$21,140 = 100).

Base for Canadian-born females is total Canada (\$13,299 = 100).

Ratio of the figure for the group concerned to the figure for the corresponding Canadian-born group.

² Standardized for age and education. See Appendix A for method.

³ Includes persons born in Guyana.

Source: Statistics Canada, *1981 Census of Canada*, special tabulations.

CONCLUSION

The Census enumerated 211,205 people born in the Caribbean and Guyana in 1981. This represented a little under one percent of the total Canadian population. Moreover, Caribbean immigrants were not an homogeneous group, but rather they reflected the linguistic and cultural diversity of the particular region from which they came. Caribbean immigrants were highly urbanized, the two largest single communities were the Jamaicans in Toronto, and the Haitians in Montreal. The large majority were recent immigrants, having arrived in the previous decade. They were generally young adults, and there was a slight predominance of women, some of whom were single parents.

The educational level of Caribbean immigrants was high, although among the later arrivals there were fewer university graduates than there were among those who came in the 1960's. These earlier cohorts, on average, appeared to have achieved an occupational level that was commensurate with their qualifications by 1981, but their incomes still fell short of those earned by similarly-qualified Canadians. Those who arrived in the decade preceding the census were less successful than were earlier cohorts in terms of occupational status and income. Although unemployment levels compared favourably with those for the Canadian-born population, unemployment was high — relative to the average level in Montreal and Toronto at that time. When age and education were taken into account, Caribbean males who had arrived in the decade from 1970 to 1979 were found to have been earning less than were other immigrants who arrived at that time — even though, unlike many other immigrants, Caribbeans faced no linguistic barrier. Low income was more often reported by more recent Caribbean immigrants, and particularly by those in Quebec. In fact, employment incomes for Caribbean males were substantially below those of Canadians of similar age and level of education, and this disadvantage was most marked among francophone males. Other recent Caribbean immigrants were also earning less than were comparable Canadian-born persons, and less than were other foreign-born persons who arrived in Canada during the same period. It is reasonable to infer that West Indian males experienced particular difficulties.

There were, in addition, some compelling sex differences. Although Caribbean women, on average, had lower incomes than did men, and furthermore experienced the same overall disadvantage as did other women in the labour force, the degree of relative income difference among females was less than was that among men. In terms of equality with same-sex, Canadian-born persons, Caribbean immigrant women required fewer years in Canada than did their male counterparts in order to reach comparable levels of income. In fact, the average total income of Caribbean women exceeded that of Canadian-born women — but this was due to higher labour force participation rates among Caribbean women.

The evidence from this study supports the conclusion that some Caribbean immigrants experienced a consistent disadvantage in employment and income relative to both the Canadian-born population, and to other immigrants with similar educational, and other characteristics. Further research is needed, possibly using more refined methods and more recent data (such as that from the 1986 Census) to determine whether the difficulties experienced by the Caribbean immigrants in Canada in 1981 have been exacerbated, or attenuated, with the passage of time.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

CALCULATION OF STANDARDIZED AVERAGE INCOME

Whenever two or more groups are compared with respect to income, as in this study, it is necessary to hold constant the effects of differences in composition by age and educational attainment, or other relevant factors, among the groups compared. In this way, the comparisons become more valid. This is achieved by calculating the directly standardized average income. A description of this procedure may be found in text books that deal with demographic techniques¹.

The procedure is briefly described below:

Let d_{ij}^k represent the average income of k^{th} immigrant group of age group i and educational category j

Let P_{ij} represent the population in age group i and educational category j of the standard population.

Then the standardized income for differences in age and educational attainment D^k . (each dot indicating the summation over a given variable) is given by

$$D^k. = \frac{\sum_i \sum_j [P_{ij} \times d_{ij}^k]}{\sum_i \sum_j P_{ij}};$$

and the age or education standardized incomes $D^k_{.j}$ by

$$D^k_{.j} = \frac{\sum_i [P_{ij} \times d_{ij}^k]}{\sum_i P_{ij}};$$

Similar formulae can be used for other characteristics.

The standard populations by age and education are presented in the following table.

¹ U. S. Bureau of the Census, *The Methods and Materials of Demography*, by Henry S. Shryock, Jacob S. Siegel and Associates, Vols. I and II. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973.

STANDARD POPULATION

Age	Educational Attainment				
	Elementary	Secondary	Post-secondary		
			Non-University	University	Total
	Males				
15-24 years	29,515	398,855	173,255	45,430	647,055
25-34 years	86,155	578,745	521,910	392,520	1,579,330
35-44 years	178,915	414,835	333,725	285,775	1,213,250
45-54 years	266,430	345,940	209,655	154,425	976,450
55-64 years	214,035	226,070	115,255	90,865	646,225
65-74 years	34,510	29,785	12,565	13,550	90,410
75 years & over	4,585	2,765	1,040	1,705	10,095
Total	814,140	1,996,990	1,367,405	984,280	5,162,810
	Females				
15-24 years	11,735	296,400	71,095	46,230	525,460
25-34 years	34,590	307,085	273,570	200,950	816,195
35-44 years	68,630	207,890	157,700	97,255	531,475
45-54 years	85,695	164,155	105,945	52,975	408,770
55-64 years	58,450	95,880	59,480	27,525	241,335
65-74 years	8,780	11,015	6,140	3,290	29,225
75 years & over	2,295	1,760	1,215	720	5,990
Total	270,170	1,084,180	775,145	428,955	2,558,450

APPENDIX B

INDEX OF DISSIMILARITY

The index of dissimilarity is often used to compare two proportional distributions. The index is defined as one-half of the sum of the absolute differences between two proportional distributions. Its value can range from 0 to 100.

Let P_{1i} represent the proportion in the i^{th} category of population 1 and P_{2i} the corresponding proportion in population 2.

Then ID , the index of dissimilarity, is given by:

$$ID = \frac{1}{2} \sum_{i=1}^n \left| P_{1i} - P_{2i} \right| \quad \text{where } 0 \leq ID \leq 100$$

The smaller the value of ID , the greater is the similarity in the distributions compared, and vice versa.

APPENDIX C

Table 1. Average Total 1980 Income and Comparative Income Index by Period of Immigration and Sex for the Caribbean-born and the Total Immigrant Populations in Canada — Males Aged 15 Years and Over

Birthplace and Period of Immigration	Total	Primary	Secondary	Post-secondary	
				Non-university	University
Average Income (in dollars)					
Canada	16,577	12,644	14,812	17,713	24,900
Total Immigrants	18,320	13,787	15,924	19,759	25,544
Caribbean Immigrants	15,393	11,781	12,564	15,637	21,858
Immigrated: Before 1960	23,986	14,641	18,748	19,996	32,681
1960-1969	18,602	13,498	14,802	18,076	24,911
1970-1974	14,370	12,722	12,573	15,257	17,317
1975-1979	11,738	10,000	10,284	13,108	14,166
1980-1981	5,228	4,887	4,668	5,106	7,879
Relative Income Index					
Canada	100	100	100	100	100
Total Immigrants	111	109	108	112	103
Caribbean Immigrants	93	93	85	88	88
Immigrated: Before 1960	145	116	127	113	131
1960-1969	112	107	100	102	100
1970-1974	87	101	85	86	70
1975-1979	71	79	69	74	57
1980-1981	32	39	32	29	32
Counts					
Canada	7,393,625	1,475,430	3,281,200	1,562,835	1,074,165
Total Immigrants	1,757,970	425,060	545,300	442,130	345,480
Caribbean Immigrants	83,375	7,465	32,560	28,990	14,365
Immigrated: Before 1960	5,360	505	1,575	1,235	2,045
1960-1969	21,895	1,160	6,860	8,510	5,365
1970-1974	30,755	2,585	12,355	11,625	4,190
1975-1979	21,335	2,385	9,850	6,765	2,335
1980-1981	4,030	820	1,915	860	430

Table 2. Average Total 1980 Income and Comparative Income Index by Period of Immigration and Sex for the Caribbean-born and the Total Immigrant Populations in Canada — Males Aged 15-24 Years

Birthplace and Period of Immigration	Total	Primary	Secondary	Post-secondary	
				Non-university	University
	Average Income (in dollars)				
Canada	7,803	6,522	7,491	9,220	7,170
Total Immigrants	7,120	8,207	6,503	8,762	6,541
Caribbean Immigrants	5,834	6,053	5,251	7,220	5,293
Immigrated: Before 1960	9,281	-	10,291	14,683	5,192
1960-1969	6,230	4,662	6,115	7,129	5,610
1970-1974	5,482	7,483	4,640	7,382	4,754
1975-1979	6,114	6,197	5,569	7,443	5,400
1980-1981	3,860	5,164	3,349	3,853	8,128
	Relative Income Index				
Canada	100	100	100	100	100
Total Immigrants	91	126	87	95	91
Caribbean Immigrants	75	93	70	78	74
Immigrated: Before 1960	119	-	137	159	72
1960-1969	80	71	82	77	78
1970-1974	70	115	62	80	66
1975-1979	78	95	74	81	75
1980-1981	49	79	45	42	113
	Counts				
Canada	2,133,675	134,185	1,388,100	411,235	200,155
Total Immigrants	208,295	14,420	126,335	38,585	28,960
Caribbean Immigrants	19,090	1,270	12,125	3,850	1,850
Immigrated: Before 1960	105	-	35	25	45
1960-1969	3,415	90	2,010	700	615
1970-1974	6,385	315	4,250	1,250	570
1975-1979	7,470	620	4,720	1,560	560
1980-1981	1,715	240	1,100	310	60

Table 3. Average Total 1980 Income and Comparative Income Index by Period of Immigration and Sex for the Caribbean-born and the Total Immigrant Populations in Canada — Males Aged 25-34 Years

Birthplace and Period of Immigration	Total	Primary	Secondary	Post-secondary	
				Non-university	University
Average Income (in dollars)					
Canada	18,055	12,579	16,719	18,496	21,419
Total Immigrants	18,167	14,989	16,777	18,268	20,209
Caribbean Immigrants	14,742	11,035	13,676	15,199	16,378
Immigrated: Before 1960	18,896	12,310	15,491	19,503	20,605
1960-1969	17,493	11,703	16,414	17,177	19,387
1970-1974	15,029	12,323	14,284	15,484	15,819
1975-1979	13,250	10,013	12,432	14,048	14,377
1980-1981	5,718	3,992	6,102	4,946	6,759
Relative Income Index					
Canada	100	100	100	100	100
Total Immigrants	101	119	100	99	94
Caribbean Immigrants	82	88	82	82	76
Immigrated: Before 1960	105	98	93	105	96
1960-1969	97	93	98	93	91
1970-1974	83	98	85	84	74
1975-1979	73	80	74	76	67
1980-1981	32	32	36	27	32
Counts					
Canada	1,741,575	126,575	678,195	541,070	395,735
Total Immigrants	352,660	31,905	95,805	116,085	108,860
Caribbean Immigrants	25,260	1,375	7,780	11,440	4,670
Immigrated: Before 1960	590	20	140	135	305
1960-1969	3,985	70	995	1,820	1,095
1970-1974	12,075	615	3,575	5,880	2,005
1975-1979	7,400	520	2,605	3,250	1,030
1980-1981	1,200	145	460	360	240

Table 4. Average Total 1980 Income and Comparative Income Index by Period of Immigration and Sex for the Caribbean-born and the Total Immigrant Populations in Canada — Males Aged 35-44 Years

Birthplace and Period of Immigration	Total	Primary	Secondary	Post-secondary	
				Non-university	University
Average Income (in dollars)					
Canada	23,018	15,842	20,867	22,947	33,860
Total Immigrants	23,053	17,781	20,315	22,444	29,631
Caribbean Immigrants	18,637	13,457	15,964	18,191	25,943
Immigrated: Before 1960	25,828	21,020	20,554	20,583	32,507
1960-1969	21,284	14,872	18,257	19,874	27,652
1970-1974	16,794	13,295	15,166	17,156	22,852
1975-1979	15,633	12,666	13,820	16,308	21,525
1980-1981	6,990	6,176	6,412	6,672	9,560
Relative Income Index					
Canada	100	100	100	100	100
Total Immigrants	100	112	97	98	88
Caribbean Immigrants	81	85	77	79	77
Immigrated: Before 1960	112	133	99	90	96
1960-1969	92	94	87	87	82
1970-1974	73	84	73	75	67
1975-1979	68	80	66	71	64
1980-1981	30	39	31	29	28
Counts					
Canada	1,133,470	212,535	418,270	280,380	222,290
Total Immigrants	356,170	60,785	88,510	111,025	95,855
Caribbean Immigrants	22,365	2,065	6,805	9,030	4,470
Immigrated: Before 1960	870	45	205	230	385
1960-1969	8,825	430	2,115	3,955	2,325
1970-1974	8,600	1,010	3,005	3,385	1,200
1975-1979	3,545	445	1,315	1,315	470
1980-1981	520	135	160	140	85

Table 5. Average Total 1980 Income and Comparative Income Index by Period of Immigration and Sex for the Caribbean-born and the Total Immigrant Populations in Canada — Males Aged 45-54 Years

Birthplace and Period of Immigration	Total	Primary	Secondary	Post-secondary	
				Non-university	University
Average Income (in dollars)					
Canada	22,794	16,120	22,296	24,265	39,489
Total Immigrants	23,332	18,000	21,040	23,765	35,085
Caribbean Immigrants	20,940	13,675	17,381	18,731	32,527
Immigrated: Before 1960	29,137	22,285	22,638	22,955	37,031
1960-1969	21,952	14,599	17,275	19,613	33,254
1970-1974	17,352	13,534	16,985	16,747	25,219
1975-1979	14,394	11,216	14,671	14,988	17,696
1980-1981	5,422	3,584	5,852	4,769	9,678
Relative Income Index					
Canada	100	100	100	100	100
Total Immigrants	102	112	94	98	89
Caribbean Immigrants	92	85	78	77	82
Immigrated: Before 1960	128	138	102	95	94
1960-1969	96	91	77	81	84
1970-1974	76	84	76	69	64
1975-1979	63	70	66	62	45
1980-1981	24	22	26	20	25
Counts					
Canada	933,950	312,135	342,140	160,980	118,695
Total Immigrants	315,710	88,825	85,345	88,160	53,375
Caribbean Immigrants	10,300	1,250	3,355	3,315	2,380
Immigrated: Before 1960	1,940	115	520	445	855
1960-1969	4,180	355	1,190	1,590	1,045
1970-1974	2,635	420	1,020	890	310
1975-1979	1,320	275	540	365	140
1980-1981	230	95	85	20	25

Table 7. Average Total 1980 Income and Comparative Income Index by Period of Immigration and Sex for the Caribbean-born and the Total Immigrant Populations in Canada — Males Aged 65 Years and Over

Birthplace and Period of Immigration	Total	Primary	Secondary	Post-secondary	
				Non-university	University
Average Income (in dollars)					
Canada	11,702	8,342	13,131	15,077	25,801
Total Immigrants	10,932	8,673	11,415	13,261	20,050
Caribbean Immigrants	11,309	8,201	9,513	11,027	22,091
Immigrated: Before 1960	13,394	7,969	9,163	13,360	27,273
1960-1969	10,221	7,669	11,438	8,377	12,090
1970-1974	12,074	13,632	9,736	10,947	34,599
1975-1979	8,107	6,138	8,794	7,611	11,824
1980-1981	6,845	1,977	5,093	30,000	-
Relative Income Index					
Canada	100	100	100	100	100
Total Immigrants	93	104	87	88	78
Caribbean Immigrants	97	98	72	73	86
Immigrated: Before 1960	114	96	70	89	106
1960-1969	87	92	87	56	47
1970-1974	103	163	74	73	134
1975-1979	69	74	67	50	46
1980-1981	58	24	39	199	-
Counts					
Canada	665,150	365,185	184,540	61,960	53,470
Total Immigrants	289,515	150,960	79,025	35,310	24,215
Caribbean Immigrants	2,550	760	1,045	425	330
Immigrated: Before 1960	870	220	310	160	185
1960-1969	375	75	160	75	65
1970-1974	405	110	215	60	20
1975-1979	765	285	310	115	55
1980-1981	135	65	50	20	—

Table 7. Average Total 1980 Income and Comparative Income Index by Period of Immigration and Sex for the Caribbean-born and the Total Immigrant Populations in Canada — Males Aged 65 Years and Over

Birthplace and Period of Immigration	Total	Primary	Secondary	Post-secondary	
				Non-university	University
Average Income (in dollars)					
Canada	11,702	8,342	13,131	15,077	25,801
Total Immigrants	10,932	8,673	11,415	13,261	20,050
Caribbean Immigrants	11,309	8,201	9,513	11,027	22,091
Immigrated: Before 1960	13,394	7,969	9,163	13,360	27,273
1960-1969	10,221	7,669	11,438	8,377	12,090
1970-1974	12,074	13,632	9,736	10,947	34,599
1975-1979	8,107	6,138	8,794	7,611	11,824
1980-1981	6,845	1,977	5,093	30,000	-
Relative Income Index					
Canada	100	100	100	100	100
Total Immigrants	93	104	87	88	78
Caribbean Immigrants	97	98	72	73	86
Immigrated: Before 1960	114	96	70	89	106
1960-1969	87	92	87	56	47
1970-1974	103	163	74	73	134
1975-1979	69	74	67	50	46
1980-1981	58	24	39	199	-
Counts					
Canada	665,150	365,185	184,540	61,960	53,470
Total Immigrants	289,515	150,960	79,025	35,310	24,215
Caribbean Immigrants	2,550	760	1,045	425	330
Immigrated: Before 1960	870	220	310	160	185
1960-1969	375	75	160	75	65
1970-1974	405	110	215	60	20
1975-1979	765	285	310	115	55
1980-1981	135	65	50	20	-

Table 9. Average Total 1980 Income and Comparative Income Index by Period of Immigration and Sex for the Caribbean-born and the Total Immigrant Populations in Canada — Females Aged 15-24 Years

Birthplace and Period of Immigration	Total	Primary	Secondary	Post-secondary	
				Non-university	University
Average Income (in dollars)					
Canada	5,622	3,916	5,104	6,768	5,885
Total Immigrants	5,535	5,409	5,037	6,680	5,439
Caribbean Immigrants	5,100	4,964	4,440	6,230	4,847
Immigrated: Before 1960	8,700	-	10,220	8,509	7,254
1960-1969	4,778	13,186	4,613	5,705	3,839
1970-1974	5,359	5,901	4,594	6,670	5,152
1975-1979	5,136	4,773	4,281	6,404	5,275
1980-1981	3,357	2,680	3,407	2,948	7,763
Relative Income Index					
Canada	100	100	100	100	100
Total Immigrants	98	138	99	99	92
Caribbean Immigrants	91	127	87	92	82
Immigrated: Before 1960	155	-	200	126	123
1960-1969	85	337	90	84	65
1970-1974	95	151	90	99	88
1975-1979	91	122	84	95	90
1980-1981	60	68	67	44	132
Counts					
Canada	2,088,195	91,490	1,339,805	457,470	199,440
Total Immigrants	207,830	15,390	123,240	41,805	27,390
Caribbean Immigrants	21,890	1,250	13,205	5,450	1,980
Immigrated: Before 1960	90	-	30	40	20
1960-1969	3,415	50	2,015	795	555
1970-1974	7,440	315	4,645	1,720	755
1975-1979	9,020	670	5,335	2,455	570
1980-1981	1,925	220	1,185	440	85

Table 9. Average Total 1980 Income and Comparative Income Index by Period of Immigration and Sex for the Caribbean-born and the Total Immigrant Populations in Canada — Females Aged 15-24 Years

Birthplace and Period of Immigration	Total	Primary	Secondary	Post-secondary	
				Non-university	University
Average Income (in dollars)					
Canada	5,622	3,916	5,104	6,768	5,885
Total Immigrants	5,535	5,409	5,037	6,680	5,439
Caribbean Immigrants	5,100	4,964	4,440	6,230	4,847
Immigrated: Before 1960	8,700	0	10,220	8,509	7,254
1960-1969	4,778	13,186	4,613	5,705	3,839
1970-1974	5,359	5,901	4,594	6,670	5,152
1975-1979	5,136	4,773	4,281	6,404	5,275
1980-1981	3,357	2,680	3,407	2,948	7,763
Relative Income Index					
Canada	100	100	100	100	100
Total Immigrants	98	138	99	99	92
Caribbean Immigrants	91	127	87	92	82
Immigrated: Before 1960	155	0	200	126	123
1960-1969	85	337	90	84	65
1970-1974	95	151	90	99	88
1975-1979	91	122	84	95	90
1980-1981	60	68	67	44	132
Counts					
Canada	2,088,195	91,490	1,339,805	457,470	199,440
Total Immigrants	207,830	15,390	123,240	41,805	27,390
Caribbean Immigrants	21,890	1,250	13,205	5,450	1,980
Immigrated: Before 1960	90	—	30	40	20
1960-1969	3,415	50	2,015	795	555
1970-1974	7,440	315	4,645	1,720	755
1975-1979	9,020	670	5,335	2,455	570
1980-1981	1,925	220	1,185	440	85

Table 10. Average Total 1980 Income and Comparative Income Index by Period of Immigration and Sex for the Caribbean-born and the Total Immigrant Populations in Canada — Females Aged 25-34 Years

Birthplace and Period of Immigration	Total	Primary	Secondary	Post-secondary	
				Non-university	University
Average Income (in dollars)					
Canada	10,050	5,545	8,309	10,410	13,982
Total Immigrants	9,896	7,357	8,705	10,016	13,982
Caribbean Immigrants	9,391	6,923	8,645	9,810	11,578
Immigrated: Before 1960	10,416	8,936	9,394	9,201	14,912
1960-1969	11,503	9,126	9,946	11,992	13,036
1970-1974	9,543	7,672	8,954	9,855	11,613
1975-1979	8,042	6,318	7,591	8,614	8,931
1980-1981	4,808	2,931	4,983	4,950	8,101
Relative Income Index					
Canada	100	100	100	100	100
Total Immigrants	98	133	105	96	100
Caribbean Immigrants	93	125	104	94	83
Immigrated: Before 1960	104	161	113	88	107
1960-1969	114	165	120	115	93
1970-1974	95	138	108	95	83
1975-1979	80	114	91	83	64
1980-1981	48	53	60	48	58
Counts					
Canada	1,738,345	119,880	782,710	522,095	313,665
Total Immigrants	367,400	47,405	126,250	107,035	86,705
Caribbean Immigrants	32,630	2,485	11,585	15,180	3,380
Immigrated: Before 1960	685	35	230	280	140
1960-1969	5,465	145	1,700	2,565	1,055
1970-1974	16,115	1,090	5,745	7,945	1,335
1975-1979	8,885	935	3,360	3,890	705
1980-1981	1,480	285	540	510	145

Table 11. Average Total 1980 Income and Comparative Income Index by Period of Immigration and Sex for the Caribbean-born and the Total Immigrant Populations in Canada — Females Aged 35-44 Years

Birthplace and Period of Immigration	Total	Primary	Secondary	Post-secondary	
				Non-university	University
Average Income (in dollars)					
Canada	10,208	6,399	8,841	10,618	16,531
Total Immigrants	10,597	8,173	9,224	10,819	15,151
Caribbean Immigrants	11,392	7,875	9,715	11,914	18,234
Immigrated: Before 1960	12,745	4,829	10,390	12,858	17,424
1960-1969	12,923	8,495	10,955	12,882	19,400
1970-1974	10,329	8,341	8,999	11,021	18,374
1975-1979	9,017	6,651	7,980	10,463	11,288
1980-1981	4,249	2,635	4,658	2,827	8,498
Relative Income Index					
Canada	100	100	100	100	100
Total Immigrants	104	128	104	102	92
Caribbean Immigrants	112	123	110	112	110
Immigrated: Before 1960	125	75	118	121	105
1960-1969	127	133	124	121	117
1970-1974	101	130	102	104	111
1975-1979	88	104	90	99	68
1980-1981	42	41	53	27	51
Counts					
Canada	1,129,110	193,725	487,705	302,615	145,065
Total Immigrants	338,030	76,705	108,490	94,295	58,545
Caribbean Immigrants	25,025	2,955	8,730	10,610	2,730
Immigrated: Before 1960	1,080	65	355	390	270
1960-1969	11,200	705	3,670	5,280	1,545
1970-1974	9,165	1,490	3,530	3,520	630
1975-1979	3,185	590	1,055	1,300	240
1980-1981	395	110	120	125	45

Table 13. Average Total 1980 Income and Comparative Income Index by Period of Immigration and Sex for the Caribbean-born and the Total Immigrant Populations in Canada — Females Aged 55-64 Years

Birthplace and Period of Immigration	Total	Primary	Secondary	Post-secondary	
				Non-university	University
Average Income (in dollars)					
Canada	8,352	5,501	7,968	10,691	16,678
Total Immigrants	8,786	6,667	8,252	10,338	15,525
Caribbean Immigrants	8,098	5,487	7,991	10,232	13,538
Immigrated: Before 1960	11,157	7,013	10,829	12,508	14,992
1960-1969	9,192	6,845	8,807	10,478	15,559
1970-1974	7,487	6,848	7,212	9,547	6,817
1975-1979	7,811	3,186	6,406	7,107	6,761
1980-1981	2,149	980	2,503	6,617	-
Relative Income Index					
Canada	100	100	100	100	100
Total Immigrants	105	121	104	97	93
Caribbean Immigrants	97	100	100	96	81
Immigrated: Before 1960	134	127	136	117	90
1960-1969	110	124	111	98	93
1970-1974	90	124	91	89	41
1975-1979	94	58	80	66	41
1980-1981	26	18	31	62	-
Counts					
Canada	866,530	326,685	339,840	144,625	55,390
Total Immigrants	254,525	93,455	98,420	44,440	18,220
Caribbean Immigrants	5,960	2,210	2,460	1,050	240
Immigrated: Before 1960	1,000	205	425	250	120
1960-1969	1,330	295	600	375	55
1970-1974	1,260	450	610	180	15
1975-1979	1,865	985	640	195	45
1980-1981	505	280	180	45	-

Table 14. Average Total 1980 Income and Comparative Income Index by Period of Immigration and Sex for the Caribbean-born and the Total Immigrant Populations in Canada — Females Aged 65 Years and Over

Birthplace and Period of Immigration	Total	Primary	Secondary	Post-secondary	
				Non-university	University
Average Income (in dollars)					
Canada	7,129	5,560	7,252	9,432	13,489
Total Immigrants	6,791	5,976	7,000	8,557	11,458
Caribbean Immigrants	6,523	6,078	6,341	7,735	8,769
Immigrated: Before 1960	7,146	5,516	7,048	9,714	9,669
1960-1969	6,087	5,808	5,543	7,457	10,847
1970-1974	5,276	4,724	5,537	5,551	7,176
1975-1979	7,690	9,287	7,220	4,193	1,391
1980-1981	3,722	4,751	1,511	-	-
Relative Income Index					
Canada	100	100	100	100	100
Total Immigrants	95	107	97	91	85
Caribbean Immigrants	91	109	87	82	65
Immigrated: Before 1960	100	99	97	103	72
1960-1969	85	104	76	79	80
1970-1974	74	85	76	59	53
1975-1979	108	167	100	44	10
1980-1981	52	85	21	-	-
Counts					
Canada	870,470	413,880	279,405	126,645	50,540
Total Immigrants	359,480	199,680	107,960	36,325	15,520
Caribbean Immigrants	5,100	2,190	2,235	530	140
Immigrated: Before 1960	1,170	355	570	175	70
1960-1969	865	320	390	130	30
1970-1974	1,040	435	480	105	20
1975-1979	1,675	885	640	120	20
1980-1981	355	190	150	10	5

Table 14. Average Total 1980 Income and Comparative Income Index by Period of Immigration and Sex for the Caribbean-born and the Total Immigrant Populations in Canada — Females Aged 65 Years and Over

Birthplace and Period of Immigration	Total	Primary	Second- ary	Post-secondary	
				Non- university	Univer- sity
Average Income (in dollars)					
Canada	7,129	5,560	7,252	9,432	13,489
Total Immigrants	6,791	5,976	7,000	8,557	11,458
Caribbean Immigrants	6,523	6,078	6,341	7,735	8,769
Immigrated: Before 1960	7,146	5,516	7,048	9,714	9,669
1960-1969	6,087	5,808	5,543	7,457	10,847
1970-1974	5,276	4,724	5,537	5,551	7,176
1975-1979	7,690	9,287	7,220	4,193	1,391
1980-1981	3,722	4,751	1,511	0	0
Relative Income Index					
Canada	100	100	100	100	100
Total Immigrants	95	107	97	91	85
Caribbean Immigrants	91	109	87	82	65
Immigrated: Before 1960	100	99	97	103	72
1960-1969	85	104	76	79	80
1970-1974	74	85	76	59	53
1975-1979	108	167	100	44	10
1980-1981	52	85	21	0	0
Counts					
Canada	870,470	413,880	279,405	126,645	50,540
Total Immigrants	359,480	199,680	107,960	36,325	15,520
Caribbean Immigrants	5,100	2,190	2,235	530	140
Immigrated: Before 1960	1,170	355	570	175	70
1960-1969	865	320	390	130	30
1970-1974	1,040	435	480	105	20
1975-1979	1,675	885	640	120	20
1980-1981	355	190	150	10	5



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LOWE-MARTIN No. 1137



There are more than 200,000 Caribbean-born Canadians. The majority live in Toronto and Montreal. Some have been in Canada for a fairly long time, but the largest number arrived after 1962. They are better educated, on average, than are Canadian-born residents. A sizeable proportion are bilingual. However, very few are entrepreneurs, and few hold management positions. Their average income is lower than that of the Canadian-born population, as well as that of other immigrants as a whole. A substantial number of their families fall into the low-income category.