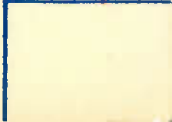
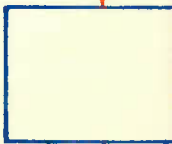
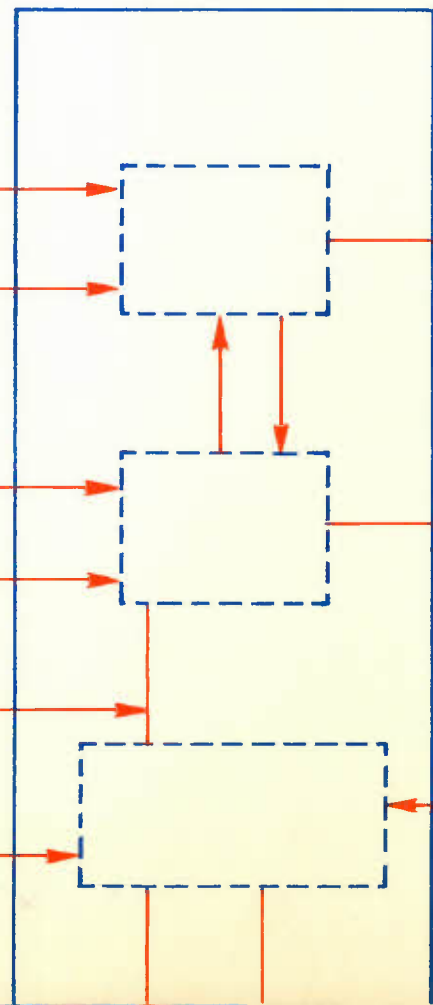
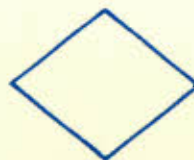
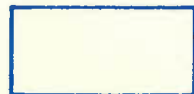
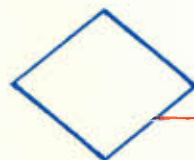
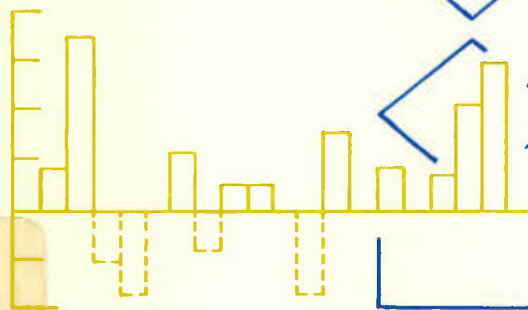


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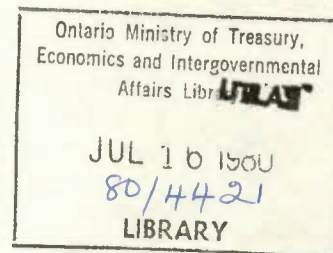
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DISCUSSION PAPER NO. 144  
A Study of Third-World Immigrants  
by C. Michael Lanphier



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## RÉSUMÉ

Le présent document étudie les caractéristiques démographiques et sociales des immigrants du Tiers Monde venant habiter au Canada, ainsi que les répercussions de cette immigration sur la société canadienne. L'étude comprend trois parties.

La première partie présente les données sur les caractéristiques des immigrants fournies dans les rapports officiels du ministère fédéral de l'Emploi et de l'immigration (anciennement, Main-d'oeuvre et immigration Canada), ainsi que du recensement de 1971. Ces données fournissent les grandes lignes des caractéristiques individuelles et de certaines caractéristiques familiales des immigrants venus des diverses régions du Tiers Monde en les comparant à celles d'autres immigrants arrivés au Canada au cours des mêmes années de la période d'après-guerre. Ces deux sources se complètent l'une l'autre : les rapports officiels d'Emploi et immigration Canada offrent des données, pour chaque année, sur les immigrants au point d'arrivée, alors que le recensement présente un profil transversal des immigrants à un moment précis.

La deuxième partie aborde la question de l'adaptation sociale des immigrants du Tiers Monde en utilisant le modèle d'assimilation suivant, tel qu'il est présenté dans les travaux de Richmond et coll.:

ACCULTURATION --- SATISFACTION --- IDENTIFICATION.

Le modèle suppose que certaines conditions, telles que l'obtention d'un emploi et de certains biens et services, doivent être remplies avant que les immigrants ne deviennent satisfaits de la vie au Canada. Un certain niveau minimal doit être atteint avant qu'ils

puissent reconnaître le Canada comme le pays où se jouera leur avenir.

La présente étude présuppose que l'on peut soumettre les immigrants au même type d'analyse socio-démographique que celle dont on se sert pour tout autre groupe de la population résidant au Canada. Par conséquent, les normes utilisées pour juger des niveaux de service ou de disparité des résultats devraient être identiques à celles dont on se sert dans toute autre analyse de profil sociologique. En d'autres termes, le caractère particulier des immigrants du Tiers Monde est mesuré de la même manière que celui des immigrants venus de toutes les autres régions du monde.

La troisième partie du document résume les résultats du modèle et les projette au delà du contexte actuel pour les appliquer à des considérations de politique sociale pour le Canada. Les conclusions se fondent sur les hypothèses suivantes :

- 1) La politique sociale devrait considérer les immigrants du Tiers Monde comme une grande catégorie, du point de vue quantitatif, qui ne se distingue des autres catégories d'immigrants que par un nombre limité de caractéristiques.
- 2) Les caractéristiques qui sont plus particulières aux immigrants du Tiers Monde comprennent les caractéristiques identifiables visuellement, ainsi que des niveaux de formation spécialisée plus élevés. Aux autres points de vue, ces immigrants peuvent ressembler fortement aux autres. Quel que soit leur nombre, les problèmes d'ajustement, tant de



la part de ces immigrants que de celle de la société canadienne, sont semblables à ceux qui surviennent dans le cas d'autres immigrants. Le processus de l'adaptation structurale, c'est-à-dire de l'acculturation, est commun à tous, bien que chaque groupe d'origine différente connaisse des difficultés particulières.

Des recommandations portant sur l'intensification possible des efforts sont présentées relativement aux domaines suivants :

- 1) commercialisation des produits de régions particulières du Tiers Monde, laquelle est facilitée lorsqu'on identifie ces produits comme étant des marchandises ou des oeuvres d'artisanat ayant une origine bien déterminée;
- 2) politiques prévoyant un éventail et une disponibilité plus grande de cours de formation sur certains aspects généraux de la vie au Canada -- langue, structure sociale -- ainsi que sur des domaines professionnels particuliers;
- 3) attention particulière à l'égard des forces qui assurent actuellement un équilibre entre les immigrants en provenance du Tiers Monde et l'immigration totale, dans le sens suivant :
  - (a) Il faudrait maintenir la distinction entre

le volume total de l'immigration et le taux d'immigrants du Tiers Monde, en en faisant des variables indépendantes;

- (b) distinction entre la politique générale et les mesures d'urgence (par exemple, dans le cas des réfugiés politiques) devrait être maintenue : un taux plus élevé d'immigration en périodes d'urgence précises ne devrait pas servir à abaisser les taux normaux d'entrée au pays.

## ABSTRACT

This discussion paper examines demographic and social characteristics of Third-world immigrants to Canada and effects on Canadian society in three parts:

Part I introduces data on characteristics of immigrants from official reports of the federal Department of Employment and Immigration (formerly Manpower and Immigration) and of the 1971 Census. These data outline individual and some family characteristics of immigrants from Third-world regions compared with other immigrants who arrived during the same post World War II years. The two sources are complementary: the official reports from Employment and Immigration offer year-by-year data on immigrants at the point of arrival; the Census presents a cross-section profile on immigrants at a given point in time.

Part II approaches the question of social adaptation of Third-world immigrants with a model of assimilation:

ACCULTURATION → SATISFACTION → IDENTIFICATION,

developed in the work of Richmond, et al. The model implies that certain accommodations in terms of securing employment and other goods and services are prerequisite to development of satisfaction with life in Canada. A certain minimal level must be reached before immigrants will come to identify with Canada as a place where their own futures will be situated.

It is assumed in this discussion that immigrants may be subjected to the same type of socio-demographic analysis as any other segment of the population resident in Canada. Correspondingly, standards used to judge levels of service or disparities in outcome should be identical to those employed in any other social profile analysis. That is, distinctiveness of immigrants from Third-world origins is measured along the same axes as that of all the immigrants from other regions.



Part III summarizes the data in terms of the model and projects findings beyond the immediate context to considerations of social policy for Canada.

The following assumptions have informed the conclusions:

- 1) Social policy considerations should treat Third-world immigrants as a quantitatively large category which is distinguished from other immigrant categories in only a very limited number of characteristics.
- 2) The characteristics which designate Third-world immigrants as distinctive include visual identifiability and higher-than-average skill level. In other respects Third-world immigrants have appeared very similar. Problems or adjustment are also similar to those encountered by other immigrants. The patterns of structural accommodation (i.e., "acculturation") is common as well, despite the fact that each group from a different origin experiences some unique complexities.

Recommendations for possible increased activity are made in the following areas of policy:

- 1) Marketing products of specific Third-world areas more identifiably as merchandise or art with a particular origin.
- 2) Policies which provide a greater range and wider availability of training both in general aspects of Canadian life: language, social structure and specific occupational areas.
- 3) Attention to the forces which at present balance policy of immigration from Third-world origins as part of total immigration, along the following lines:

ABSTRACT, page 3

- a) Distinction between total volume of immigration and rates of immigration from Third-world origins should be maintained as independent variables.
- b) Distinction between general policy and emergency measures (e.g., political refugees) should be maintained: a higher intake during specific emergencies should not be "charged against" normal rates of intake.

## PREFACE

This discussion paper was commissioned as part of the Economic Council's major study on Canada's relations with developing countries (Economic Council of Canada, 1978). The concern of the present work is much more specific, however. It addresses the phenomenon of immigration to Canada from the developing countries, hereafter designated as "Third-world". Within that descriptive frame, this paper proceeds to discuss the socio-economic situation of immigrants by comparison, both as among major categories of Third-world immigrants and between them and other immigrants to Canada.

In order to cast the socio-economic adjustment of immigrants within the temporal perspective of the immigrants themselves, the paper has adopted a model of social adaptation which projects three general stages of experience of immigrants: acculturation, satisfaction and identification. These three stages are portrayed as sequential but not necessarily accomplished within any given time frame. In most respects of this model, Third-world immigrants appear identical to other immigrants in Canada. They are distinctive with regard to the two attributes of above average skill level and skin colour. As a result, the massive inflow of immigrants from Third-world countries within the past decade has brought forward as a matter of social concern the experience of discrimination in employment and access to social services. These experiences are treated as obstacles to acculturation. By implication, therefore, the process of adaptation of Third-world immigrants is slower and more complex than that of other immigrants to Canada.

The writer was asked to project the findings into possible issues for social and economic policy for Canada. The final section of the paper, "Summary and Conclusions", departs from the data base and speculates on possible interventions to be considered in policy formulation. Thus the conclusions, while consistent with the findings reported in earlier sections, cannot be attributed

directly to any single configuration of data. Yet without the compilation of the data which preceded the conclusions, policy implications would appear both out of context and unwarranted.

As these lines are being written, however, the federal government is revising its projected intake of Third-world immigrants in light of the refugee situation from Vietnam and other parts of Indo-China. Despite the immediate crisis nature of the matter, general problems are raised of an organizational as well as a humanitarian nature. A brief "Postscript" is added to highlight a few of these principal issues. Obviously, more consideration must be devoted to them in the coming months.

A discussion paper must be related to issues that are more fully developed elsewhere. Therefore, the paper includes a bibliography which is more expansive than that to which explicit reference has been made in the text. All references have been consulted during the process of preparation of the paper and have indirectly informed this work.

The writer gratefully acknowledges the generous collaboration of Mr. Lawrence Lam and Dr. Ravi Verma in the writing, data preparation and analysis. The advice of Professor Anthony Richmond has been especially strong in the conceptual areas. Anonymous critics likewise contributed generously of their views, only a portion of which could be accommodated in revisions. None of these scholars is responsible for the errors and defects which remain in the paper. Elaine Alexandroff and Secretarial Services of York University have faithfully provided most valuable typing assistance.

C. Michael Lanphier  
Department of Sociology  
York University  
November, 1979



## INTRODUCTION

This discussion paper treats the demographic and social characteristics of immigrants from Third-world regions in three parts: Part I introduces data on characteristics of immigrants from two sources: the **federal** Department of Manpower and Immigration and the 1971 Census. These data outline the dramatic rise in immigration from Third-world regions within the past decade. Individual and some family characteristics are compared against those of others who immigrated during the same periods during post-World War II years. These two sources offer complementary information. The official reports offer year-by-year data on immigrants who were admitted as landed immigrants. The Census presents a cross-section profile of immigrants at a given point in time. However valuable the profile (and it should be noted that the Census of Canada contains a more complete file of socio-economic characteristics than almost any other official census in the world), it is by now quite dated. Thus it has been necessary to supplement these records with more up-to-date information which is less comprehensive in terms of coverage and more specifically focused. Thus the supplementary material presented in order to round out a socio-economic profile is drawn from a variety of sources, mostly from materials gathered in the Toronto area.

Part II approaches the question of social adaptation of Third-world immigrants, with particular reference to assimilation of immigrants in the metropolitan Toronto area who are identifiable by skin colour. The model "ACCULTURATION → SATISFACTION → IDENTIFICATION", developed in the work of Richmond, et al., appears to serve as the best overall model for adaptation of Third-world immigrants. This model implies that certain accommodations in terms of securing employment which is remunerative at competitive rates, and in housing and social services, are prerequisite to development of satisfaction with life in Canada. While there is no single state of satisfaction



achievable at any particular time, it is assumed that a certain minimal level must be reached before immigrants will come to identify Canada as a place where their own futures and those of their families will be situated.

An implicit value position in this work has been that immigrants may be subjected to the same type of socio-demographic analysis as any other segment of the population resident in Canada. Correspondingly, standards used to judge levels or disparities should be identical to those employed in any other exercise in social profile analysis. It is admitted that this position blurs the distinctive characteristics of immigrants of each particular origin. That is, distinctiveness of immigrants from the West Indies is measured along the same axes as that of immigrants from Asia: e.g., income levels, type of occupation, age, conversational ability in English.

Part III summarizes the data in terms of the model and projects findings beyond their immediate context to considerations of social policy for Canada.

The following assumptions have informed the conclusion:

- 1) Social policy considerations should consider Third-world immigrants as a quantitatively large category which is distinguished from other immigrants in only a very limited number of characteristics.
- 2) The characteristics which designate Third-world immigrants as unique include language ability and skin colour. In other respects, immigrants from Third-world countries resemble other immigrants. Whatever the quantity of immigrants, the problems of adjustment both on their part and on the part of Canadian society are similar. The pattern of structural accommodation, i.e., "acculturation," is common, even though each immigrant group experiences some unique complexities.

Policy formulation on immigrant adjustment requires a balance between recognition of discrimination on the basis of language and colour as an obstacle requiring certain formal and informal prohibition and accommodations on the one hand, and the encouragement for immigrants to compete in the labour market and in their social milieux as equal with other Canadians. The resultant paradox of such dual treatment may be resolved temporally: programmes which favour Third-world immigrants in employment and social services should be temporary and designed to allow them to adjust as rapidly as possible to the modified free-competition mode of the Canadian workplace. Yet it is recognized that discrimination may continue. Thus special attention to the assurance of equality in competition for employment, housing and social services remains necessary.

## I. Socio-demographic Features

### 1. Characteristics of Third-world immigrants upon entering Canada.

The following analysis utilizes data on characteristics of immigrants as available from annual reports of the Department of Employment and Immigration since 1962: i.e., the years since the beginning of the influx of immigrants from Third-world countries.

#### A. Number of immigrants:

The number of immigrants to Canada who were born in Third-world countries has increased yearly until a peak in 1974. Over the period, some 799,000 immigrants born in Asia, the West Indies, Africa, and Central and South America landed in Canada.\* This number represents some 32 percent of all immigrants received in Canada since 1961. Of all immigrants to Canada since 1973, about half were born in Third-world countries.

Overall, the largest number of immigrants of Third-world birthplace were born in Asia, principally in Hong Kong/China and India. In clear second position numerically are immigrants from the West Indies, principally Jamaica, Trinidad/Tobago and Haiti. Immigration from Africa and Central/South America has been more recent, although the increase in numbers from Central/South America has been remarkable since 1973. These features are detailed in Table 1, which presents the birthplace of immigrants landed in Canada between 1961 and 1977.

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\*The definition of Third-world countries follows the listing of countries as they appeared in the 1975 list supplied by the (then) Department of Manpower and Immigration. Changes in political boundaries are taken into account insofar as the birthplace recorded at the time of official registration of an immigrant corresponded with the country found on the 1975 list. As certain countries have divided, it is likely that the "old" name would have been used on the registration form. Whatever errors in classification appeared on that form are inevitably carried over into the present calculations. The full listing of countries appears in Appendix A.

#### B. Immigrants by destination:

Immigrants who arrived from Third-world countries are distributed unevenly throughout regions of Canada. Table 2 indicates that the distribution of intended residence roughly follows size of the five major regions of Canada: most planned to land in Ontario, followed by Québec, British Columbia, the Prairies, and Atlantic provinces in that order.

For all regions, among Third-world immigrants by far the largest immigration stream comes from Asia, although the proportions of immigrants from other countries varies regionally. Ontario has received the largest number of West Indian immigrants. Québec has continued to receive small but consistent numbers of immigrants from African countries, especially north of the Sahara. British Columbia has principally received immigrants from Asia, especially from Hong Kong/China, with far small numbers of others. The picture is similar for the Prairie provinces and Atlantic provinces, although the numbers are successively smaller for each of these regions.

#### C. Age/sex distribution:

About one-third of all immigrants entering Canada could be classified as dependants: i.e., under age 15 or over 64 years. The age profiles have their largest "bulge" in the young worker years, between 20 and 34 years at the time of immigration. Third-world immigrant "dependency ratios" (persons aged 0-14 and 65+ as a fraction of persons in the other "employable" years) are lower than the average for those of other immigrant groups during the period. These data are indicated in Table 3. Although the differences are slight and do not vary consistently by sex, it is clear that Third-world immigrants are preponderantly persons in the economically productive years--more so than other immigrants.



There is some male dominance in the number of Third-world immigrants, as indicated in Table 4. Yet the difference between number of males and females is far less than most earlier studies of immigration have assumed as "typical." While immigrants from Africa and Asia have a male dominance in numbers, those from the Western Hemisphere have more of a female dominance.

D. Intended occupation:

The profile of intended occupations of Third-world immigrants shifted upward to white-collar occupations during the late 'sixties and then downwards slightly toward mid-range occupations in the 'seventies. Table 5 indicates that from the period 1962-75 the intended occupational profiles of immigrants from Third-world origins were quite similar to those from other origins. The similarity in overall profile masks some important differences by region.

Of particular interest is the large number of Asian immigrants who until very recently intended to pursue occupations in natural science or medical fields. While immigrants from the West Indies and Africa also showed orientation to these white-collar fields, their intentions were more widely spread throughout the white-collar and mid-range administrative/sales fields. These latter fields were designated as well by immigrants from Central/South America in large numbers. As for blue-collar positions, most of these fell in the "processing" and "machining" categories, with few Third-world immigrants opting for primary-type occupations or those in construction.



## 2. Demographic characteristics of Third-world immigrants in 1971.

This section draws upon data available both in publications and in special tabulations of the 1971 Census of Canada to provide a cross-sectional view of Third-world immigrants who were enumerated at that time. These persons were "survivors," for they did not include those "arrivals" who re-migrated either back home or elsewhere outside of Canada before census time nor the (relatively few) persons who died after immigration. Thus the magnitude of numbers is smaller than that of the corresponding totals in data from official "arrivals" statistics from the Department of Manpower and Immigration.

### A. Birthplace of immigrants:

By 1971 immigrants born in Third-world countries amounted to just under ten percent of all foreign-born, or 1.5 percent of the total population. Of the Third-world immigrants, nearly half resided in Ontario, with the remainder distributed in Québec, British Columbia (each having about one-fifth) the Prairies and the Atlantic provinces (one-tenth between them).

There are differences in measuring the importance of this immigration depending on whether the number of Third-world immigrants is considered in relation to the total population, the total foreign born, or the fraction which a "Third-world origin" represents of the population in a particular province or region. Each method of calculation indicates a different region as a principal "receiver," as indicated in Table 6. In proportion of their total population, Ontario and British Columbia have relatively larger proportions of Third-world as well as of all immigrants; Québec and British Columbia's Third-world immigrants count proportionally for more of the complement of foreign born residing in those provinces. Regardless of

region, well over 90 percent of Third-world immigrants inhabit urban centres, even in regions which are less heavily urbanized--e.g., Prairies, Atlantic provinces.

B. Period of immigration and family size:

Not only did the sheer quantity of immigrants from Third-world countries increase in the latter five-year period of the 'sixties, but the proportion that those of Third-world origin represented relative to total immigrants counted in the Census rose from 15 percent in 1966 to 25 percent in 1971. Yet the ranking of numbers from the principal sending regions did not change: Asian immigration increased disproportionately throughout the decade, so that by 1971 one out of every eight immigrants who arrived within the previous five-year period was born somewhere in Asia.

Third-world immigrant families\* were slightly larger than those of other immigrant groups. Table 7 indicates that the average number of persons in West Indian families is the largest of all Third-world origins. As that group is also the youngest of the immigrant groups yet with no unusual dependency ratios, the higher figure may be due to larger numbers of unmarried older teenagers in West Indian families.

C. Education and occupational training:

Third-world immigrants had slightly more completed education than did other immigrants. Yet, as indicated in Table 8, there were small but persistent proportions across Third-world regions of immigrants with no formal schooling. This feature was particularly notable among females. On the other end of the educational continuum, notably high proportions of Third-world immigrants with university training are observed.

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\*A family according to the Census definition is "...a husband and wife (with or without children who have never been married, regardless of age) or a parent with one or more children never married, living in the same dwelling."

While most societies have school systems which correspond generally to categories of elementary, secondary, and university, it cannot be assumed that a category corresponds other than roughly with the number of years of education, still less with any measures of quality. Yet level of schooling does indicate the order of experience with formal educational systems which form part and parcel of the society in which the person was socialized.

Some of the formal educational experience might have been obtained after the immigrant's arrival in Canada. Despite the fact that the amount of formal education obtained in this country would be small for immigrants having landed within a decade prior, the Census data revealed that rates of school attendance in 1971 were higher for Third-world immigrants than for others: a small proportion of adult immigrants was enrolled in full-time programmes, and a higher-than-average proportion was enrolled in part-time programmes.

As regards occupational training, the level of completion of Third-world immigrants resembled that of other immigrants: between 15 and 20 per cent of the males and slightly fewer females had undertaken specific occupational training.

#### E. Conversational abilities in official languages.

In the overall, conversational abilities of persons from Third-world origins did not markedly differ from those of other immigrants, in 1971. The profiles, classified by regions, Québec, Ontario, and elsewhere in Canada in Table 9, indicate that the modal type of facility in each region is English only, although nearly as great a proportion in Québec speak both official languages. Speakers of French only as an official language facility were in a distinct minority in Québec and virtually



nonexistent in the rest of Canada, both among Third-world immigrants in particular and among immigrants in general.

Yet a closer examination of type of language facility by specific Third-world origin reveals different profiles of language abilities. Persons of Asian origin share with those from immigrants from the Western Hemisphere preponderantly exclusive English-speaking abilities. A certain small proportion were reported as having facility in neither English nor French, especially those living outside Ontario and Québec. These were most likely immigrants from China or Hong Kong living in British Columbia. Doubtless certain numbers of them were older persons who had immigrated under vastly different circumstances from those at present governing immigration intake from the Far East.\*

The profiles of immigrants from Africa indicated considerably greater proportions of persons with facility in both English and French than characteristic of other Third-world immigrants. Most of these persons were concentrated in Québec. Yet only the smaller numbers of African immigrants in Ontario and still smaller numbers elsewhere in Canada indicated the bilingual facility. Without their contribution to the totals, the proportions of persons from Third-world origins with bilingual facility would be virtually nil.

### 3. Selected socio-economic characteristics of Third-world immigrants, 1971.

The following section provides various socio-economic characteristics for Third-world immigrants, as available in the 1971 Census. Although it is indicative of immigrants of that period, one must remember that both the

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\*Data classified by age and birthplace for language facility were not available to verify this speculation. Yet data generated in another study of immigration by Professor Warren Kalbach led to this suggestion on his part in a personal communication.

number of immigrants and economic conditions have changed since 1971, so that direct application to any present situation must be undertaken with caution.

A. Median earnings:

Earnings differentials are a function and consequence of sex, period of immigration, ethnicity, age, and education. They are not easily accommodated in a single linear model, however. Earnings levels of immigrants reflect a low entrance threshold, in that earnings from first jobs are likely to fall considerably below levels which the immigrants had obtained in the country of origin (comparatively) and, more especially, below levels which they might have obtained within a decade afterward. Likewise, earnings levels for Third-world immigrants from different regions (Asia, Africa, etc.) do not show any characteristic progression over the number of years since arrival, as Table 10 indicates. For males born in Asia, for example, the earnings of the 1961-65 arrivals exceeded in 1970 the levels of Asian immigrants who arrived earlier or later. Contrastingly, the earnings of immigrants born in Africa were considerably higher than average, but with no progression over cohorts of arrivals.

The differences between earnings levels of immigrant males and females is gaping--both as a result of the low entrance level and different proportions of males and females gainfully employed. These differences, evident among immigrants from developed as well as less developed countries, form the most striking comparison in Table 10. For both males and females, the levels show considerable variation by period of immigration. On average, immigrants from Central and South America and Asia have the lowest median earnings among males; Central and South Americans and Continental Europeans exhibit the lowest earnings among the females.



Regionally, earnings for both males and females were highest in Ontario. The earnings levels in Québec were lower and variable by origin and period of immigration. There, higher earnings levels were notable among immigrants from Africa and among those who arrived in pre-war years. Earnings of Third-world immigrants residing elsewhere in Canada were in the middle, with less fluctuation than those levels noted in Ontario and Québec, although earnings levels of females were particularly low, especially those of more recent immigrants.

In order to investigate whether levels of earnings were due to the relatively younger age of immigrants, an age adjustment was calculated for equalizing the age distribution of all categories for foreign born, sex and various periods of immigration and residence. In general, the levels of earnings if age-adjusted would be lower than they were in 1971. Thus the younger age profile of Third-world immigrants appears advantageous, despite the low levels of earnings--especially among females. Yet the very low levels of Central and South American immigrants' earnings would be somewhat higher if adjusted for age differences: correspondingly, those of Asian and African immigrants would be marginally lower.

B. Low income levels:

Employing the census criterion of low income level, which takes into account both size of family and urban/rural differences in residence, the total incomes of economic families\* and unattached individuals were examined.

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\*See definition, page 5, footnote.

These data are presented in Tables 11 and 12, respectively. The proportion of Third-world immigrant families scoring as "low" in Table 11 fell close to the average for foreign-born household heads, with about one-seventh of families immigrating prior to 1965 so classified. But among more recent immigrant families, the proportion is above average, especially for families from Central and South America. A similar comparison for unattached individuals in Table 12 indicated similar rankings. Although the proportion scoring in the "low income" category was markedly higher, for all groups, than in the case of families, unattached Third-world immigrants who had immigrated since 1966 were far more frequently so classified. However, the differences between the situation of these immigrants and those from developed countries was not striking--so far as the somewhat aggregated data show.

C. Labour force and other socio-economic characteristics:

Labour force participation rates for Third-world immigrant males were slightly below average for Asia and Africa but above for the West Indies (Table 13). Contrastingly, the rates of participation on the part of Third-world immigrant females were higher than average, especially for West Indies females. While the lower level for males might explain a small part of the somewhat lower earnings levels, the rates for females suggest two points: first, higher participation rates do not imply higher levels of earnings; secondly, there are often two (or more) workers per family, especially among Third-world immigrant families. Thus the somewhat lower proportion of families classified as "low income" may be reflective of the existence of more than one worker per family, rather than higher wage and salary levels paid to them.

Nearly all Third-world immigrants were classified as "employees" or "wage earners." Only a few immigrants from Asia and to a lesser extent Africa were employers or self-employed in 1971. These Third-world "employees" were predominantly employed in tertiary-type industries, with smaller-than-average numbers being involved in secondary (e.g. manufacturing) industries and still fewer in primary industries.

The 1971 occupational distribution of Third-world immigrants was more highly concentrated in the white-collar categories than was characteristic of all foreign born, with correspondingly smaller proportions of persons in blue-collar type occupations. The white-collar predominance for Asians was found in the natural science and medical categories; for Africans the distribution included managerial, natural sciences and teaching. Immigrants from the West Indies were found in the mid-range occupations more heavily, with only average proportions in the white-collar categories, including medical/health-related.

In comparison with the intended occupational profiles, there is evidence of a certain "deflection" between those and the attainments in 1971, especially in the white-collar fields of natural sciences and medical/health-related. There appear higher proportions in mid-range occupations, especially among Asian immigrants. Among immigrants from the West Indies, the deflection is less marked but represented a further "downward shift," from mid-range to blue-collar type occupations. These "deflections" occurred predominantly among immigrants of the most recent cohort.



## II. Adaptation of Third-world Immigrants in Canada

Immigration from abroad during the past two decades has resulted in the introduction into Canadian society of a great number of ethnic minorities and of the seemingly mosaic character of the population of the large Canadian cities. Recently arrived immigrants, especially those from Third-world origins, still retain many facets of their parent culture. By all accounts, the process in which immigrants, individually or collectively, become acculturated into the receiving society, particularly in an urban setting, is a complex of many factors.\* This section describes some of the features of acculturation, especially in the Toronto area.

A recent and comprehensive study of acculturation of immigrants (Richmond and Goldlust, 1974) took advantage of the large-scale techniques of survey research to investigate particularities of various immigrants and their households in Toronto in 1970. The model "ACCULTURATION → SATISFACTION → IDENTIFICATION", developed in this work, appears to serve as the best overall model for adaptation of Third-world immigrants. This model implies that certain accommodations in terms of securing employment that is remunerative at competitive rates, and in housing and social services, are prerequisite to development of satisfaction with life in Canada. While

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\*Acculturation may be defined as the acquisition of knowledge and behaviours which are characteristic of most adults in the receiving society (here, Canada). Two particular types of acculturation were explored in the Richmond-Goldlust study: cognitive acculturation and general acculturation. A scale of cognitive acculturation represented the degree to which an immigrant could identify during a social survey certain names and places which were commonly found in the mass media of the day. The second scale, "general acculturation," adds to the former the degree of proficiency in spoken English. In a behavioural sense these measures represent somewhat passive features; they do not indicate any particular degree of participation in Canadian social life.

there is no single state of satisfaction achievable at any particular time, it is assumed that a certain minimal level must be reached before immigrants will come to identify Canada as a place where their own futures and those of their families will be situated.

An implicit value position which informs this work is that the social life of immigrants may be analysed in the same manner as that of any other segment of the population resident in Canada. This position blurs certain distinctive characteristics of immigrants from each particular origin; that is, distinctiveness of immigrants from West Indies is measured along the same axis as that of immigrants from Asia: e.g., income levels, occupation, ability in conversational English. As a result, there is comparability of data among immigrants of all categories. This presentation does not delineate particular definitions of income, occupation, etc., which may be unique to any single immigrant group. Nor is there much attention to specific characteristics in social background of immigrants which may predispose them to particular occupations or requirements for a certain income level.

Despite the fact that the experience of Third-world immigrants in 1970 could be based on only a few years' stay, among immigrants who would today be classified as "the early wave," the data are most revealing as to types of problems encountered by Asians and Blacks. These data have been augmented in the present discussion by more recent and more specialized reports.

A. General acculturation and satisfaction among Asians and Blacks in Toronto:

In 1970 Asian and Black immigrants in Toronto scored medium to high on certain indices of acculturation ("cognitive acculturation") compared with



other immigrants. These scores were in large measure attributable to higher educational levels attained by such Third-world immigrants. In comparison with other immigrants who arrived in recent years, they were apparently better equipped to cope with initial (and sometimes severe) adjustment problems. For Asians, however, difficulties with the English language sometimes impeded the process of acculturation that otherwise appeared somewhat average. On indices which emphasized skills but required a significant mastery of English syntax, scores (in "general acculturation") were considerably lower than average.

Despite a certain, if measured, degree of acculturation among Asians and Blacks, the general level of satisfaction with their social and economic circumstances scored below average among all immigrant groups. As a group they had arrived more recently and had a larger proportion of more highly educated persons than other ethnic minorities in Toronto. The resultant disparity between their relatively high level of education and their lower levels of income easily led to expressions of dissatisfaction. Richmond and Goldlust (1974) further explained that the relative recency of arrival contributed in a major way to dissatisfaction: they had not developed perspectives that might render the disparities understandable. Likewise, with the passage of time circumstances would change to a more satisfactory state.

This general explanation was also confirmed in a longitudinal study, "Three Years in Canada" (1974). Among the employed immigrants in that study, those working in their intended occupations were far more satisfied than those who were not. Yet the deflection from intended to actual occupa-

tion among immigrants, in general, further complicates the situation of Third-world immigrants who are visually identifiable. In a recent study of racial and other social attitudes among predominantly white householders in Toronto (Henry, 1977), the researcher found that immigrants who experienced this occupational deflection tended to score more highly on an index of racism. Visible minorities are apparently perceived as "obstacles" in the way of success of other immigrants.

In sum, satisfaction with life in Canada appears to depend upon a certain level of acculturation, but is by no means guaranteed by it. Rather, the very difficulties in the acculturation process may increase dissatisfaction in the years immediately succeeding arrival. In turn a certain level of satisfaction must be reached before a sense of identification to Canada is developed. Yet the data in the Richmond-Goldlust study pointed to the incipient stages of identification, but only among those Blacks and Asians who had resided in Canada for some time (e.g., 10 years or more).

#### B. Employment problems and discrimination:

Ever since the implementation of the "points system" of immigration to Canada, Third-world immigrants and especially Asians (mostly Chinese and Indians) have held extremely high occupational and educational qualifications. The Toronto survey (Richmond and Goldlust, 1974) found the single outstanding reason for coming to Canada was economic improvement--a reason cited by some 48 percent of Asians and Blacks. Two perspectives indicate that economic improvement has been realized only to a partial degree, however. First, from the standpoint of predicting occupational status from

social background (education, length of residence in Canada, age, etc.), the status level approximates that expected for other immigrants only if a "discount" is applied to make the levels of education and prior occupation square with those held by other immigrants in their respective homelands. Secondly, in cases where Asian immigrants did obtain employment commensurate with their qualifications and background, they were consistently underpaid.

After five years residence in Canada, while all other groups in the Toronto survey showed marked upward occupational mobility, Asians and Blacks had not recovered from their initial dislocation and even showed a slight decline. By 1970 the aggregate of Asians and Blacks showed improvement in occupation status which resembled that of other immigrants, although some disparity was still apparent. In addition to problems in language facility, it appears that additional explanation for slower occupational mobility is required.

Respondents in the 1970 survey were asked whether they perceived discrimination against their own particular ethnic group and whether they considered that discrimination in employment opportunities existed in Toronto. Some 40 per cent of the Asian and Black immigrants responded affirmatively to both these questions--a proportion well above the all-householder average of 13 per cent. At least one out of three Black and Asian respondents reported experience of some form of discrimination in securing a job (Richmond and Goldlust, 1974). More recent studies conducted in Toronto among Asians and Blacks have confirmed these findings with specific details. In 1972 Ramcharan (1974) received reports of discrimination in employment from some 58 percent of his sample of West Indian immigrants, although reports of discrimination in other sectors

(housing, personal encounters) were lower. Yet this was a year when the job market was relatively buoyant, so that lack of availability of jobs cannot be invoked to explain this high rate. Moreover, he found that Blacks whom he classified as dark-complexioned consistently reported more incidents of discrimination than did fair-complexioned Blacks or Asians. A study conducted solely among Blacks in Toronto in 1974 reported levels of perceived discrimination similar to those reported earlier, despite the fact that methodological shortcomings do not permit exact comparisons (Head, 1975).

Lest it be suspected that reports of perceived discrimination are exaggerated, evidence rather indicates that minority ethnic group members tend to underestimate the extent of discrimination against them (Daniel, 1968). There is extreme reluctance to label an incident as "discriminatory" when action is directed against oneself. Instead, there is an initial tendency to "explain away" discriminatory acts in an effort to preserve the integrity of one's self-conception. Instead, the person avoids occasions when such a discriminatory incident might recur. In particular, the use of ethnic community networks in seeking employment directs persons into channels where they are likely to receive preferential treatment, or at least a type of treatment where discrimination would not be apparent. In the early 1970's, however, the number of well placed Asians and Blacks in Toronto was small indeed. Thus the type of social buffer available to other newly arrived persons of ethnic minority origin could not exist for Blacks and Asians.

Problems of securing employment on the part of Third-world immigrants combine the effects of competition for scarce jobs at relatively high levels of skill or professional expertise with discrimination. The compounding of the two factors emerges as even more formidable than the obstacles taken



individually. It is very easy to invoke the universal requirement of "Canadian experience" as job qualification to eliminate large portions of recently arrived immigrants. A familiar dialectical process thus ensues: immigrants are eliminated from competition in their areas of competence and/or aspiration for want of such experience. Their chances of landing such employment are thus further diminished to the extent that they are excluded from candidacy. The case of Third-world immigrants in this connection is not unique: but as skill levels tend to be higher than those of immigrants in earlier years from other origins, the frequency of such instances mounts considerably.

In the early 'seventies, the sheer number of Third-world immigrants, even in Toronto where this immigrant population is greatest, was sufficiently large to allow examination of disproportionate concentration in particular areas by conventional sociological indices. Still, reports of discrimination experienced by Asians and Blacks were evident, more so in the case of Blacks. Table 14 indicates that if only "renters" are focused upon, nearly half the Blacks and one-fifth of the Asian immigrants reported some personal experience of discrimination in housing. Although the above data have presented only two instances in which discrimination has been reported -- employment and housing -- they indicate that in two areas of life common to all workers and families there is some resistance shown in the community to attempts of Third-world immigrants to adjust to conventional life in Toronto.

#### C. Participation in voluntary associations:

An important indicator of immigrant adjustment is the reestablishment of ties in a community setting--indicated herein as membership in a voluntary (and sometimes prescribed, as in labour unions and professional organ-

izations) associations. In Toronto, as indicated in Table 15, fewer Asians and Blacks than other immigrants held formal organizational memberships in 1970. On inspection of the distributions in greater subclassification, it is clear that Asians and Blacks with professional occupations held the larger share of such memberships. Even then, the rates of membership affiliation among Asian and Black professionals were lower than those held by other professionals in ethnic minorities.

Nor were Asians and Blacks in Toronto especially closely tied to their neighbourhoods in 1970--rather, their sense of neighbourhood identification ranked the lowest among all identifiable ethnolinguistic groups, as summarized in Table 16. These lower scores may be attributable in part to the relative recency of immigration of Third-world immigrants in Toronto at that time--but only partially. Differences both in background and in income levels may be associated with less interest and participation in the cultural activities offered in Toronto.

#### D. Education:

Academic progress is related both to structural characteristics of the educational system and to children's status and performance within it. During the 'sixties there were few programmes in Toronto schools especially designed for children of Third-world immigrants (who may themselves be immigrants), other than "English as a second language." In the 1970's, however, a dilemma has revolved around the provision of identifiably "special" programmes. Without such programmes of enrichment, it is unlikely that children from certain backgrounds would be able to complete the prescribed curriculum satisfactorily. Yet they can become counter-productive if they acquire the label of being somehow inferior to main-line curricular programmes.

In an analysis of a 1970 survey of students enrolled in schools under the jurisdiction of the City of Toronto Board of Education, Marr (1976) found that pupils from underdeveloped and semi-developed nations were more likely to be enrolled in special classes at the primary level (Toronto Board of Education, 1976). There were specific relationships between immigrant status and type of secondary level programme, however. Findings are salient for the children of two identifiable minorities: Chinese and West Indians.

Chinese pupils were under-represented in special programmes at the elementary level--although the reasons were not ascertained. Yet the data relating to older students in 1975 indicated that the proportion of Chinese students enrolled in 5-year academic programmes in the secondary schools had been extremely high over the decade--over 85 percent of all Chinese students, regardless of birthplace (native/foreign) or socio-economic level.

Findings were quite different for West Indian children. Although the findings on enrollment in special programmes at the elementary level were not remarkable, the proportions in 5-year academic programmes were lower than those of Chinese and varied by socio-economic status of the parent.

Other research has corroborated these findings. In a survey conducted in Ontario in 1973, Anisef (1975) found that West Indies students showed relatively low grade standings, as compared both with children of Canadian-born parents and with those of immigrants from Asia. Ramcharan (1975) reported numerous complaints on the part of West Indian parents who feared that their children would be permanently held back in their career ambitions. Many had been placed in 2-3 year vocational streams in secondary school, from which further educational opportunities were severely curtailed. As



the children held aspirations and expectations that resembled other secondary school students (Anisef, 1975), a frustrating dilemma of disparity between aspirations and accomplishments was passing from parents to child. Avenues of mobility between one generation and the next were narrowed both by structural forces of the educational system and by the weaker performance of the children within it.

E. Immigration problems in Ontario and Québec:

The effects of Third-world immigration on the labour force were small but perceptible by the mid-1970's in Ontario. Disproportionately large numbers of Third-world immigrants, arriving during the early and mid-'sixties, filled professional ranks, especially scientific and health-related fields. In recent years, the occupational mix of entrants to the labour force from Third-world origins has broadened. Two additional observations characterize the occupational life of these immigrants: 1) earnings of recently-arrived Third-world immigrants have been distinctly lower than for immigrants who arrived earlier; 2) the proportion of women among Third-world immigrants in the labour force has exceeded corresponding proportions from other immigrant groups or from Canadian-born.

Québec's Third-world immigration problems arise out of the necessity of attracting francophone immigrants who otherwise qualify as immigrants to Canada. Thus this important component of language facility renders the mix of available sources of immigrants different from that predominantly received in other provinces. Because the number of French-speaking immigrants from Africa (especially North Africa) and Haiti exceeds that of francophones entering Canada from Europe and the other principal sending countries, the ratio of Third-world immigrants to all immigrants received into Québec is high.



Although the inflow of immigrants from North African countries has continued on a modest scale for several decades, Haiti has surfaced as the "sender" of the largest numbers of francophone immigrants to Québec in recent years. Small numbers of immigrants with French-speaking capability have been received from Indo-Chinese regions, although they represent only a fraction of Asian immigration to Québec, which has been mainly Chinese in origin and English-speaking in initial official-language capability.

The occupational mix of recent Third-world immigrants to Québec, especially those from Haiti, has been wider than was typical of the 'sixties. Instead of professional and white-collar workers, there has been a shift toward workers with blue-collar job intentions, with only few of the recent immigrants expecting to enter white-collar ranks.

F. Temporary workers:

Since 1973 the issuance of temporary work visas to Third-world immigrants has markedly increased as this whole programme has grown. Thus if visa workers from Third-world origins are added to Third-world immigrants intending to enter the labour force, the numbers increase by approximately one-third each year. Despite the paucity of details on the background of these workers--e.g., students or visitors who take casual jobs vs. workers brought here under contract--the sheer number of such workers has occasioned interest.

About one-quarter of this influx is attributable to temporary agricultural work programmes which employ primarily West Indians and some Mexican workers. Yet the large number of visa workers from Asia remains unexplained in available official reports.

### III Conclusions

The following conclusions have not been based exclusively upon the data presented in the foregoing parts. Rather, the writer has projected somewhat beyond the available information to implications for the life patterns that Third-world immigrants may continue to experience in the next few years. The reader is thus advised that the conclusions are general inferences, only partly derived from the findings already described.

#### A. Degree of distinctiveness of Third-world immigrants:

Third-world immigrants as a category are in many ways similar to other immigrants to Canada, both because of the selection criteria used for admission and by virtue of cultural and social-structural background, despite the "Third-world" label. It has been demonstrated that they have for the most part received moderate to high levels of formal education prior to arrival. Relative to standards in their parent society, their level of education was probably high, regardless of its valuation in Canadian society.

Likewise, certain demographic characteristics are strikingly like those of other immigrants. With minor exception, the age and sex structure is very similar to that of other immigrants. Families appear likewise similar in size at the time of immigration. Unfortunately, detailed information on fertility, including plans for family completion, are not available in Canada. Thus one cannot estimate with any precision the degree to which young families from Third-world countries have values with respect to family growth and planning similar to others in Canada.

Virtually all immigrants from the West Indies have either English or French as mother tongue. Despite regional patois, the structure of the English and French languages spoken in Canada and in their home countries

are identical for these immigrants. In general, with the important exception of 10 to 15 percent of Third-world immigrants who know neither official language, most immigrants come linguistically fairly well equipped to commence life in Canada. This matter will receive additional attention below.

1. Distinctiveness of Third-world immigrants.

Although this research effort has used variables and categories which emphasize similarity of all immigrants, differences even with respect to these variables on the part of Third-world immigrants have become apparent. Although data are lacking on the position which immigrants, both individually and collectively, occupied in their parent country, the fairly high educational level doubtless means that the immigrant was accorded superior status in his/her parent country. Thus the "shock" of arriving in Canada is in large measure related to the sudden downshift in status which must accompany the immigration process. More has to be regained on the part of Third-world immigrants in social status of what was once accorded through parental privilege and good fortune.

It is illusory for most to reverse the process and return to the parent country. These returns are expensive and would require an even more difficult readjustment in the short run--although the immigrant might have planned to return after the passage of some years. But for most, the pattern is irreversible, and the only alternative is to come to terms with a society which often appears cold and indifferent, if not downright hostile.



From the standpoint of Canada, the receiving society, Third-world immigrants are usually immediately distinguishable by skin colour or other visually identifiable characteristics. Despite advances in legislation which proscribe discriminatory behaviour in a wide array of social situations, visual distinctiveness raises the dilemma of treatment which may oscillate from special attention on the basis of colour to treatment as almost anonymous.

The point at issue in the matter of skin colour is not the isolated racial "incidents" which by their very rarity fit into a special category demanding special treatment by civil authorities. The problem more pervasively arises as a matter of structural features that build in discriminatory practices having no necessary basis in personal prejudice--or even in attempts to exclude whole groups of people on the basis of colour. Several examples have been cited in the foregoing text; most prominently featured were the matters of employment and education. In the former, categories such as "Canadian experience" can sufficiently exclude all recently-arrived immigrants. Such a barrier appears as a thinly veiled discrimination given that half of all immigrants arriving since 1973 come from Third-world origins; the proportion of immigrants seeking work is even greater, as females from Third-world origins disproportionately contribute.

The matter of structural discrimination in education is even more complex. It has not been possible to single out particular areas of any city. But it is safe to assume that both residential segregation and classroom treatment may combine to impair chances for achievement for



children of immigrants, even though no personal discrimination has been directed toward the child. In truth, there is evidence that these children are afforded a good deal of attention, but such attention fails to remove such barriers because it addresses quite another level--that of the individual. It is an unanswered question whether replacement of children in programmes that are implicitly or explicitly labelled "Special..." may not further embed a stigma which the programmes were intended to alleviate. Yet without such attention a school system may be accused of ignoring a minority in need, in this case children of Third-world origin. The very fact that children are not expected to "fit into" similar curriculum streams may mean that the future educational currents may flow in different directions.

The number and types of instances in which structural discrimination pervades the lives of Third-world immigrants are manifold. The point underlying the various instances is that at the outset there is inequality in opportunity, where the opportunities are either not presented or exist as veritably unreachable. While many of the instances of this type of discrimination are attributable to the fact of being immigrant, there are additional occasions added on by virtue of coming from a Third-world country.

## 2. Pre-1971 and post-1971 characteristics.

The outstanding point of immigration from Third-world countries to Canada since 1971 has been its magnitude: if taken as a whole, Third-world immigration has been by far the largest inflow of newcomers from any source since 1973. There is no sign of this preponderance changing, whatever quotas may be imposed in the future. Yet there has been a slight

change in the type of immigrant mix: there have been fewer professional/white-collar types admitted and correspondingly more persons with mid-range and blue-collar occupations. As there have been declines in areas where established professional organizations have made representations about the superfluity of immigrants seeking entry into particular professions (e.g., medical), one might surmise that there may have been deliberate cutbacks in certain professional categories. Whatever the reasons, the mix of intended occupations of Third-world immigrants has been broader. Although data are not fully precise on the point, it might be expected that the downward deflection characteristic of job patterns of new immigrants would widen the distribution even further.

Yet immigrants from Third-world countries arriving in recent years have landed in a country where compatriots have established roots. Even in smaller cities it would often be possible to find either relatives or distant friends from the parent country and at least minimal services which cater to the needs of recent immigrants from a particular country if not a more local district. Third-world immigrants are now highly visible by the very fact of their numbers. They appear as a type of new "presence" in urban life. Their visibility can then make them vulnerable to treatment as a category rather than as individuals. In such circumstances the appearance of stereotyped reactions, both at the interpersonal and the structural level, follows as an inevitable consequence of accretion of numbers.

### 3. Visa workers.

The number of temporary visa immigrants has in effect resulted in two

types of working immigrants. Whatever temporary advantages accrue to the Canadian economy from this programme, it holds rather portentous implications for immigration in the late 'seventies. It is difficult to equate the temporary visas granted to Third-world workers with those granted to workers from the United States. In the latter case, the work pattern is routinized, usually as part of a "circuit" or chain of company transfers. Relatively short distances are involved. The Third-world case would appear to have none of these attributes. It is more likely that these temporary workers are brought in as a form of inexpensive temporary supply for less desirable jobs. Usually families do not follow, so that the worker's life is very much divided between the income source and his/her homelife and informal networks. Of further concern in Canada is the uncertain status which the workers occupy; they are in the true sense "marginal people", belonging partially to two societies, fully to none. The privileges of guest workers are fewer than those enjoyed by tourist-immigrants; yet they are contributing in some way to the economic life of Canada.

Rates of pay are usually low, and the obligations of the employer are strictly limited both in time and as regards the extent of relations with the employee. The exchange is money paid for work performed; fringe benefits and progress-on-the-job are not relevant components. While this form of work contract is still in existence, it is reminiscent of earlier forms of industrial organization.

Much more about the temporary visa programme remains to be explored. It is not known how many visas are awarded to persons who have arrived in



Canada on other types of visas (e.g., tourist, student), as opposed to visas awarded on application from outside the country. Nor is it known how many of the temporary workers return after the expiration of the visa permit. An "entry/exit" control accounting system is needed. Whether or not this form is an alternative form of immigration remains to be explored further.

Whatever the apparent attractiveness of such programmes to prospective workers in Third-world countries, the longer-run implications do not recommend their continuation on any other than an emergency basis.

B. Limitations owing to the nature and time span of present data:

1. Lack of longitudinal data.

Most of the data presented herein represent cross-sectional profiles of immigration. Thus the information on number of immigrants received in a given year, or their distribution by region of Canada, reflect the situation at the time in which the report was compiled. Nothing is reflected of the history of the particular immigrants or of the cohort which they represent. Nor is there a possibility of tracing the subsequent migration of the particular cohort through succeeding years. It is not known, for example, whether the lower than expected number of immigrants in the 1971 Census from the 1961-65 arrivals cohort in Québec is reflective of a re-migration of the immigrants back to their parent country, to the U.S., or to destinations elsewhere in Canada. Such an endeavour undertaken by the Department of Manpower and Immigration in 1970 provided useful data for the first three years of immigration (C.I.P.S., 1974). Shortage of funds and serious technical problems have impaired the intrinsic usefulness of that study, unfortunately.



It has been possible to examine profiles of "survivors" of various immigrant cohorts in the 1971 Census as a type of approximation to longitudinal study. Thus by comparing cohorts with different lengths of residence in Canada, inference has been drawn by increasing earnings and partial realization of occupation rank with about a decade's duration in Canada. To

draw such an inference, it has been necessary to assume that immigrants who arrived during the 1961-65 period had as a group the same general characteristics as immigrants who arrived as part of the 1971-75 cohort. This assumption is unsatisfactory, but there is none other to be made as a first approximation in the assessment of the impact of living in Canada upon the economic life-pattern of immigrants. While it is tempting to forecast the probable socio-economic situation of 1971-75 immigrants in 1981 by this method, such a prediction is shrouded in uncertainty. The author would have felt more comfortable with a longitudinal study of the 1961-65 immigrants, who were restudied at periodic intervals wherever they were.

## 2. Lack of survey data on immigrants.

The quantity and nature of data would have been improved with additional information from surveys to supplement Census and official reports. Such data would have provided necessary information on fertility of recently-arrived immigrants, most of whom arrive during the child-bearing years. Yet it is not known to what extent Third-world immigrants, for whom migration to Canada represents a tremendous upheaval, postpone the birth of children until some period of adjustment has passed, or whether indeed procreation may have been seriously and irreversibly interrupted thereby. Survey data might even provide clues to types of prospective immigrants, by investigation of

patterns of assistance which already landed immigrants extend to their kin still abroad. It would be possible to aggregate such data to provide indicators of the types of demand for "nominated" immigration permits, whether or not such kin would ever be allowed to immigrate.

Even less clear is the type of aspirations which recent immigrants hold and the extent to which these aspirations change over the years. Relevant factors include not only family planning, but also job plans of the family partners, plans for migration, and many indicators of social adjustment in Canada. Some of these data are indirectly available from occasional, and of necessity unsystematic, reports on children of immigrants in school settings, surveys of unemployed, and infrequent studies specifically addressed to immigrant adjustment.

An implicit methodological point in the above discussion relates to the quality of survey data. Surveys must not only focus on a specific subject matter and carry through that mandate with fidelity, but they must also be conducted with scientific precision. Thus every survey should have twin goals of fidelity and representativeness. It is possible to satisfy both goals, given adequate expertise and budget. Unfortunately, many reports on immigrants from Third-world regions which masquerade under the title of surveys are little more than a collection of non-random biases aggregated into a sufficiently long string to give a scientific appearance; only a close scrutiny of the methodology indicates that the conclusions were formulated before the inquiry, with data adduced to support the initial biases. While such "studies" often make interesting if unintentionally misleading news copy, they have no place in the final stages of policy-making or scientific inference. At best they provide some ideas which might be tested properly.

It is the paucity of such well-conducted surveys that has oriented the present paper toward the systematic examination of Census and official data which provide coverage, if at the expense of inadequate detail and time frame. These data provide a base from which systematic information may draw and build. No other methodology appears advisable.

### 3. Substantive aspects of acculturation.

The model of acculturation which has informed the study on which this paper is based has of necessity included only part of the requisite information. The process of immigrant adjustment to Canada indicates one-half of a dual perspective. Canadian society must likewise adapt in institutional arrangements, public attitudes and informal patterns of association. The patterns of social change are difficult to trace. They require different methodologies and would, in essence, necessitate quite another study project. There are indirect indicators of social change in such data as participation rates of immigrants, types of employment held by immigrants, and less formal reports of problems of adjustment: e.g., discrimination, progress in school. Whether the evidence is interpreted as benefiting or hindering the speed of adjustment of the immigrants, it is obvious that Canadian institutions have taken the fact of large-scale immigration into account in the provision of goods and services. To elaborate the web of interdependence even further, it is no less obvious that immigrants of an earlier decade have contributed to accommodation of more recent immigrants as part of their ongoing lives, participating in the general economic and social life of Canada.

In order to develop a full account of the process of acculturation of Third-world immigrants in Canada, it would be necessary to trace out expli-



citly the types of accommodation that Canadian society has made over the past decade. Such an "impact" study should interlock with the present and other studies on the experiences of Third-world immigrants. While the reflections of societal accommodation in the present study are instructive, much more information is needed in order to permit future planning of policy and allocation of goods and services, not only to immigrants who have already landed but also to those who will be received in the coming decade. Such an inquiry would include the following specific points:

- a. number of job vacancies filled by Third-world immigrants;
- b. rates of unemployment of Third-world immigrants;
- c. response of professional and labour organizations to immigration: e.g., protective manoeuvres, special training requirements;
- d. types of institutional services offered by social agencies;
- e. development of immigrant-based voluntary and political organizations;
- f. development of commercial enterprises with particular emphasis on Third-world immigrant labour supply;
- g. degree of segregation of Third-world immigrants in informal and formal organizations: i.e., parallel organizations for Third-world immigrants.

The above sketch would provide a complement to profiles of the acculturation pattern of Third-world immigrants and would thereby link the two interdependent parts of acculturation.

#### 4. Immigrants: Third-world and other.

A dilemma encountered in the design of this study involved the choice of indices and variables which were common to all immigrants, and often to all residents of Canada. In the choice of such measures, it was possible to evaluate the degree to which the Third-world immigrant's experiences depart from those of other immigrants. Sensible and well-informed as



that decision may have been, it specifically ignored variables and features which were distinctive to Third-world immigrants alone, or to Third-world immigrants from only one particular origin. Therefore, distinctiveness of Third-world immigrants is measured only by the degree to which they depart on measures which are applied to all immigrants. With regard to language, for example, immigrants have been assessed in this (and most other) analyses for their abilities to speak or use the official languages of Canada. It is irrelevant whether the mother tongue was Chinese or Hindi. The unique problems of adaptation from Chinese to English or Hindi to French are ignored, for they are specific only to a portion of all Third-world immigrants. Rather, the resemblance of various Third-world immigrant groups to other immigrants is based on a functional type of similarity. It cannot be inferred thereby that these immigrants are no longer bearers of a distinctive culture; nor that they will become stereotyped Canadians over a period of years. The interpretation turns instead to certain social, demographic and economic factors which either are or have become similar to those of other immigrants.

This study is reflective of the overall orientation of describing acculturation in terms that are conventional to Canadian society. The orientation ignores, but does not necessarily exclude, different forms of social and economic achievements. Other practices that are not exactly conventional behaviour might well result in a certain success. Consider, for example, forms of mutual assistance. It is possible for money and assistance to be passed freely among friends and kin to permit the establishment of a business, purchase of a house, or financing of a child's higher education. The degree of organization of such benevolent activity may be

a functional substitute for money income. Yet this form of subsidy or income substitute is invisible according to the measures discussed herein. It is quite realistic to assume that Third-world immigrants, who may have difficulty in establishing themselves in the labour market, may indeed innovate certain means of self-sufficiency that would not otherwise occur if their income were more ample. Yet the choice of "standard" variables as available in Census data precludes examination of these potentially important forms of survival and achievement.

C.. Future progress in economic adaptation.

1. Progress of cohorts of immigrants

The data which compared the situation of various immigrant cohorts by period of immigration suggest a rather encouraging, if altogether retrospective, account of adequate economic adjustment. Immigrants from either pre-1961 or sometimes even 1961-65 cohorts showed high rates of labour force participation on the part of both men and women and higher rates of earnings than those of more recently arrived immigrants. While the higher earnings may be attributable to the existence of more than one salaried worker per family, the former doubtless indicates that earnings of immigrants from Third-world regions who arrived in Canada two decades ago seem to have succeeded as well as or better than most other immigrants. Only the unattached worker (i.e., no family connections reported) category showed a high rate of low-income recipients. Yet even there the proportion of such individuals from Third-world origins was no greater than in the case of counterparts from other origins.

The earlier immigrants from Third-world countries were few in number and may have arrived with more qualifications than those possessed by other

immigrants at that time. In any event, they were able to establish themselves in an expanding economy during a period when Canada was encouraging more immigrants to follow. Earlier immigrants experienced in every sense a head start and were in a position to be senior to new immigrants with each succeeding year. The chances for economic success of the newer arrivals on the same scale and within a similar time period to that of earlier cohorts is unrealistic.

There are few sectors of organized labour or professional associations which either welcome immigrants or reserve places for them in their job allocation exercises. Immigrants will invariably compete for jobs with persons already established in the labour force. In case of recession, it is obvious that cutbacks would proceed in some measure of reverse seniority. Thus both job security and job attainment show dim prospects, at least in the next few years. By implication, the prospects of upward job mobility and promotion would appear bleaker still, with the increasing competition for the few vacancies that exist in combination with policies that favour promotion-through-the-ranks rather than from outside. Transfer out of "dead-end" jobs, which might be the only ones available to immigrants who lack Canadian experience, will likely be slow.

## 2. Structural discrimination.

It is possible to "filter out" Third-world immigrants because of insufficient training of a technical nature, presumably available only in advanced industrial nations, or because of inability to communicate in English/French at a sufficiently fluent level. Such measures may not be directed toward Third-world immigrants per se, for these qualifications may bar recent immigrants from many other origins as well. Yet Third-world



immigrants are likely targets because of the recentness of arrival of a large cohort. Thus a vague qualification of "Canadian experience", if bluntly applied to all recently arrived immigrants, will appear to be directed toward Third-world immigrants because of the large proportion that they constitute.

To be sure, such a barrier appears whenever the number of applications greatly exceeds the number of job vacancies--one more device to stem the tidal wave of applications. Thus the ambiguity which surrounds the recent tightening of the job market may both by design and accident disadvantage success of Third-world immigrants in job searches.

#### D. Social adaptation and Canadian pluralism:

The problem of adaptation to any model of Canadian pluralism doubtless has language ability as a necessary ingredient. There is little in this report to indicate, however, that language mastery is at all sufficient to assure adaptation. Additional factors linking language mastery to social achievement must be considered as well. The foregoing section has described at some length the significant problems in economic adaptation which recently arrived Third-world immigrants are bound to confront. While analytically separable, social adaptation and economic adaptation are intertwined in the overall pattern of acculturation. Difficulties in one sphere will spread over to the other.

Social adaptation, and its inevitable companion economic adaptation, most likely are facilitated during periods of manpower shortage. In that case Third-world immigrants appear useful--an attribute which overshadows negative initial social barriers of colour, accent, or exotic social background. To appear needed is to appear shortly thereafter wanted.



1. Marketing products of culture.

The "positive" side of being a culture bearer of Third-world background is that the unique features of individual cultures may appear socially attractive and can be publicized accordingly. If pluralism or multiculturalism has any feature that is distinctively Canadian, it is the emphasis that a culture should be preserved, insofar as possible, in Canada. Such a general prescription is not easy to fill, on the part of either governments, the public, or the culture bearers. Indeed, the very advanced industrial structure of Canada may counter such attempts. Obviously the selection of certain parts of a given culture for preservation in Canada is a matter of concern to all immigrant groups. To find those parts that are attractive to Canada as well as to the culture bearers, might appear as the multicultural master stroke.

Perhaps the search for palatable means of introducing "multiculturalism" into Canada has resulted in an expansion of leisure and cultural spheres of activity--restaurants, fairs, art and dance programmes, etc. Valuable as these contributions are, they could easily be compartmentalized as a temporary diversion--a veritable panoply of "circuses" as a substitute for scarce "bread." Such a question raises a perennial question of the desirability of "marketing" culture--to turn culture products into a sector of viable if not profitable enterprise.

The concomitant danger of the marketing effort is the possible insulation of members of that particular Third-world minority as separate and, as such, non-Canadian. Real as the danger is, it is a necessary risk. Indeed, evidence would weigh more heavily on the side of taking the risk rather than of foregoing a possibly profitable opportunity.

Advances in marketing cultural products have already begun, of course, especially in larger cities where shops which formerly catered exclusively to members of a single ethnic community have moved to a newly expanded clientèle. Although the products and sales staff may easily be identifiable as to country of origin, the advertising and "marketing" emphasizes more the nature of the distinctive product. While this approach may attract customers, it does little to reinforce any uniqueness or specialization which that ethnic group may be offering through provision of services or merchandising. A more explicit accompaniment of the identity of the ethnic group would emphasize the linkage of that particular group to the culture products. In effect such a rebalancing would emphasize the integral relation between people and their products--a collective identity.

Although such practices are current in many spheres of specialized marketplace activity, an increase in the scale of the activity is recommended to increase the social visibility of ethnic minorities in a context in which they have already been established and have achieved a certain measure of economic respect. Stimulation of such activity might provide a wider scope of activities on the part of ethnic minorities qua ethnic minorities. Employment therefrom might become available where such chances did not previously exist.

## 2. Model of acculturation

Let us return to our model to trace implications of the previous discussion. The model in Part II posited the following:

ACCULTURATION → SATISFACTION → IDENTIFICATION

The discussion to this point has focused primarily on the first element, "ACCULTURATION." It has been emphasized that the process of acculturation requires a certain dual accommodation--on the part of the immigrant and host society alike. It is because of the dual process--almost dialectic in nature--that the initial months and sometimes years of an immigrant's experience are likely to be disorienting and unpleasant, if not completely abject. With the present scale of immigration from Third-world countries, it can hardly be expected **that** large numbers will individually and collectively be accommodated without some form of disruption to an immigrant's life style and to the ongoing life of communities in urban Canada.

The foregoing argument has suggested possible ways of minimizing the disruption by providing more types of employment into which newly-arrived immigrants might rapidly be accommodated. While acculturation is still a slow process, the experience of employment, use of English/French in ongoing working and social situations, and interaction with the general public in Canada are indispensable. Without these the process of acculturation could grind almost to a halt--to the advantage of neither party to the acculturation process.

It is no less clear that "ACCULTURATION" refers to a process which must occur; it is not an option. Immigrants must change; Canadian society must also adapt to some extent. Yet it has been emphasized that acculturation, especially in Canada, is not to be equated with forsaking all features of

one's parent culture; far from it. The term refers more properly to a mutually acceptable, and perhaps continually evolving, modus vivendi between immigrant and host.

It is also clear that satisfaction on the part of immigrants--and, by implication if in a more nebulous manner, on the part of Canadian social institutions--will not follow unless a certain amount of acculturation has first occurred. In this sense "SATISFACTION" is seen as a type of mutual positive response in which profit of some type accrues to both parties of an exchange. Such a state may not necessarily occur; rather, evidence presented herein suggests that a state of satisfaction will occur only after a series of formidable economic obstacles have been successfully overcome. It has been added that perhaps the effort required in these struggles may increase satisfaction beyond that which might otherwise occur. But persistent effort on the part of Third-world immigrants is unlikely to continue unless intermediate signs of partial success are forthcoming. In short, one cannot expect satisfaction to be expressed on the part of immigrants just for the privilege of living in Canada and holding a "dead-end" job, for these features show no evidence of acculturation other than an unceremonious relegation of undesirable positions to new immigrants. Some signs of mutual adaptation must follow.

While the model posits that "IDENTIFICATION" with Canada will follow upon a state of "SATISFACTION," it is again true that the consequence is not inevitable: rather, "IDENTIFICATION" as a state will not occur unless "SATISFACTION" has been reached. By implication, the process of acquiring a sense of identification with Canada requires time in which immigrants



have passed through initial and, one hopes, transitory phases of adjustment. More than the passage of time, however, is a series of commitments which immigrants and Canadian society have built up, from which identification flows as a consequence. In more familiar terms, the launching of a family, involvement in some form of continuing employment in which the immigrant is able to contribute to his/her own economic betterment, and the establishment of community ties all imply that an immigrant would come to see Canada as a place where his/her future is at stake. Canadian society is thus a series of resources upon which an immigrant continually draws. Further, she/he forms a part of these very resources.

Although the development of mutual commitments presupposes good intentions on both sides, it is likely that not all immigrants will acquire a sense of identification with Canada. First, the process of identification contains a series of steps, already described, so that it may never be entered into by immigrants who have not been successful in earlier phases. Secondly, programmes fostering social adaptation, including types of assistance and welfare, are designed to assist the most frequently occurring types of problems, not all of them. Particularities of individual circumstances have to be "translated" into general cases in order to render them amenable to any type of social intervention. Obviously, certain features that may have been integral to the problem, as the immigrant perceived it, may be lost in the "translation"; if so, the intervention is maladaptive. While it is imperative that social programmes be adapted to fit as many cases as possible, the very uniqueness of life styles inhibits universal applicability. Thus social intervention programmes can never extend "far enough"; limits of budgeting and sometimes organizational and human endur-

ance will be reached too early. It is more realistic to plan for a maximization of chances for identification with Canada.

The discussion has implied that the problems of identification with Canada are qualitatively no different for Third-world immigrants than for others. Evidence abounds, however, that the quantitative problems, both in numbers of immigrants in recent years and, more importantly, in the enormity of social and economic obstacles to be overcome, make for a unique case of capital importance. That certain failures will inevitably be encountered, both in individual cases and in types of intervention, is not sufficient impediment to the devising of methods for facilitating adaptation. Rather, the challenges urge intervention.

E. Possible governmental policy interventions:

Governmental intervention is one feature of a host society which represents concern with the lives and progress of immigrants. The nature of intervention is far more a matter for debate than the question of whether the government has a rôle in the assistance of immigrants.

1. Quotas and visas.

There are few signs in this research either for increasing or decreasing intake of immigrants from Third-world origins. Despite the dilemma (discussed below), an implication would distinguish the number of immigrants to be admitted from their origin. The total number of immigrants could be either reduced or increased from year to year. Another alternative would be the establishment of a proportional allocation by region of Canada, fixed at present rates of intake. The rate would then be applied to a base number of immigrants which varied in size from period to period. If such a compromise were adopted, it would mitigate but not completely eliminate the following two countervailing dangers:

a. To increase Third-world immigration risks protest that governments are replacing expensive Canadian labour with cheap foreign labour. According to this line of argumentation, increased immigration is a drain on the welfare system. Low wages with periods of unemployment would create irremediable financial hardship for immigrants with families, so that their circumstances would hardly be better than in similar situations in the sending country. If such immigrants replaced Canadian labour, then unemployment rates would ascend at the expense of persons already resident in Canada.

b. To decrease Third-world immigration risks an accusation that Canada is failing to respect its responsibility as an advanced society among poorer nations. Internally, protest could also come forward that international migration is a key to replacement of the present population, quickly and inexpensively. To decrease such immigration would invariably smack of an unenlightened policy with racist overtones. Since one-half of all immigrants entering in recent years were born in Third-world countries, cutbacks could be interpreted as a means of curtailing Third-world immigration by indirect but not less effective means.

There appears a near-stationary equilibrium which results, if only temporarily, in no change, either upwards or downwards. By implication, any future change would be gradual and would occur because one of the two alternatives noted above had weakened. At present both seem to be strengthening, although recent events may weigh more heavily in favour of the second line of argument and consequently in a greater rate of intake.\*

One increasingly obvious and related development is the issuance of work visas. They appear as a functional substitute for increasing immig-

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\*See "Postscript".



ration in quantity despite their obvious relation to temporary manpower shortages. Visa workers could be led by false hopes, regardless of all attempts to disabuse people of them, of obtaining landed immigrant status, either by returning year after year to the same (temporary) job, or by making various commitments in Canada which indirectly enhanced the worker's chances of gaining landed immigrant status; e.g., purchase of property, establishment of residence, marriage. Work visa programmes may be necessary in particular industries with heavy seasonal demands--e.g., crop harvesting--but it appears unlikely that the high volume of such visas could thereby be explained away. It is more likely that a new layer of stratification would emerge, with visa workers occupying a key bottom position: cheap labour with no long-range commitments on the part of government, employer, or worker. Thus such a development may result in a social structural change well beyond anticipation of an initial policy relating to work visas.

## 2. Enriched early employment programmes.

Although Third-world immigrants may have relatives to assist in the early stages of arrival, it appears important that the immigrant become self-sufficient as early as possible. Not only is there a financial problem, but worklife serves as an occasion for use of spoken and written English/French and a natural context for social interaction. The workplace would also serve as a venue for training programmes--in conversational English/French, in short courses on Canadian history/economy, and in job upgrading. Thus workers would be essentially part-time. The governmental intervention could consist both of provision of instructional personnel and of subsidies to offset (part of) lost time from the job.



The point of a broad programme of governmental intervention would be the direction of special assistance programmes to Third-world immigrants qua Third-world immigrants for the shortest possible time. Thereupon immigrants would be eligible for assistance in programmes that are generally available to all landed immigrants and citizens of Canada. Likewise, with limited periods of time within which special assistance programmes would be valid for a particular immigrant, there would be some direct incentive for the immigrant to acquire sufficient skills in English/French to be able to be eligible for assistance on a basis equal to that of others in Canada.

In keeping with the intervention being made available indirectly to Third-world immigrants, the following type of programme might be envisaged to provide an incentive to employers.

Both the matter of hiring Third-world immigrants who would be released for training courses part-time and the matter of relocation of immigrants in less densely populated metropolitan areas would be made amenable to subsidy programmes for industries. In the latter case, there has been little success in relocation of immigrants away from the dense metropolises, but the types of incentives have been more coercive than attractive. Suggestions have been put forward, although not implemented, to require settlement outside metropolitan areas as a condition of obtaining landed immigrant status, and for denial of permanent residency status until the immigrant had spent two years in a particular non-metropolitan centre. While the chances of the passage of such regulations are remote because of the infringement of civil liberties, there has been little examination of offering incentives for employment of workers at a time when high unemployment rates have exacerbated the adjustment of the immigrant worker. Such an incentive programme may require relocation allowances and other features to allow families to move intact.

## POSTSCRIPT

## FEDERAL POLICY AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

Although immigration matters have constitutionally been reserved for the most part as a federal prerogative, both events of the day and practices in recent years, especially with provincial governments, have resulted in a sharing of this jurisdiction on an ad-hoc basis. Doubtless such adjustments are necessary and represent action deemed to be the most appropriate for the occasion. Yet these practices are sufficiently untraditional as to raise new issues in the relation between governmental policy and action on the one hand and the amount of initiative undertaken by organizations on the other.

In recent months varieties of organizations have spontaneously offered assistance in the current crisis brought on by the existence of increasing numbers of political refugees, principally from Vietnam. These organizations represent religious bodies, humanitarian organizations, and agencies of provinces and municipalities throughout Canada. Not only the number of agencies but their rôle in the immigration process provide a stimulus to re-examination of the process of immigration and the respective functions of government and other agencies.

The first issue concerns the federal government as a guarantor for other agencies' involvements. Most of the agencies have taken on the concern for political refugees as a temporary commitment. Considerable amounts of their respective resources, staff and finances are being dedicated to providing assistance for a limited period of time. Yet the nature of their commitment and the urgent nature of the problem as perceived by the various organizations has brought unprecedented offers of assistance to the federal government. Little attention has been devoted to the im-

plications for the federal government in serving as guarantor for these organizations in case of inability to continue providing assistance in as wide a capacity as anticipated or for as long a period as the immigration process may require. In a curious sense, the federal government as the ultimate authority in regulation of immigration must be prepared to reabsorb the functions of immigrant service which have implicitly or explicitly been delegated to voluntary agencies and other members of the private sector. While in principle such arrangements may appear routine, the arrangements for refugee resettlement extend over a longer time trajectory than many groups anticipate. They are also more complicated.

The Department of Employment and Immigration has published guidelines for sponsorship of refugee immigrants ("Sponsoring Refugees: Facts for Canadian Groups and Organizations," Employment and Immigration Canada, July, 1979). They detail conditions under which organizations and less formal groups may undertake such sponsorship, as well as setting forth the relevant responsibilities both of the federal government and of the sponsoring group. In principle, the division of responsibilities appears clear: the sponsoring group assumes financial and moral responsibility for the refugee for twelve months after arrival. The federal government assumes responsibility for general services (employment, language, medical attention, etc.). Presumably the federal government would assume other responsibilities in case of default of the sponsoring group. Such eventualities are minimized, however, as each sponsoring group has to demonstrate a certain financial viability and further recourse to assistance in the event of that particular group's inability to fulfill its commitment.

Such arrangements leave untouched the matters of intergroup re-



lations and the overall co-ordination of all organizations and groups that have expressed an interest in sponsorship. Specifically, the following matters have not been fully addressed: the criteria upon which groups individually decide upon which immigrants to select may leave certain gaps with regard to the overall federal policy; services may be only loosely and temporarily co-ordinated; finally, information may not readily flow back to the federal government with regard to which potential immigrants were not sponsored. The centralization of sponsorship applications and the processing of refugees in only two "staging" areas in Canada attempt to minimize information gaps. Such arrangements are insufficient, however. With delays in arrival of immigrants, the problems of phasing of numbers of refugees from particular areas are compounded with the inevitable attrition of sponsoring groups which lost enthusiasm as a result of unanticipated delays. Not only do such delays carry financial implications (e.g., paying for housing accommodation which remains vacant for several months pending arrival), but also organizational morale of voluntary associations and groups lags as a consequence. The objectives of decentralization and local activity are severely impaired thereby.

With the administration of immigrant reception being conducted on a centralized basis, the rapid decentralization of activities of provision of services and the immediate needs of large numbers of immigrants in a short period of time appears a wise and obvious move. The aggregate number of immigrants that may be received (50,000?) appears somewhat formidable because it represents a considerable fraction of the recent yearly intake (30%-45%). Yet when one considers that the families will be dispersed across cities and towns throughout Canada, even the largest



proportion of immigrants in any one centre appears more modest. If, for example, the arrivals conform to recent patterns of destination, Ontario might receive as many as one-half the total (17,500 - 25,000). If half that number arrived in Toronto (probably the area receiving the largest number), the total would amount to between 9,000 and 13,000--perhaps between 2,500 and 3,700 families. Such concentrations are not great if considered as a proportion of the total population of the receiving area. Still less do such numbers represent a marked proportional increase in immigrants from Asia. The addition of 50,000 immigrants from South-east Asia (probably a high estimate) represents an increase of some 12 percent of all immigrants to date received from Asia since 1961.

There is no intention of minimizing the magnitude of either the number of refugees or the policy considerations in such crisis events. Yet with a judicious combination of centralized and decentralized activities, several formidable problems may be overcome. First, the rôle of the federal government as initial co-ordinator and overall guarantor of immigration policy as a continuing obligation may be reaffirmed. Secondly, the efforts of organizations that have extensive grass-roots attachments in local communities may be effectively directed toward attention to the day-to-day needs of immigrants once they arrive at a Canadian destination. In this manner the organizations can dedicate a certain amount of their activities toward immigrant adaptation in the first year, during which time most immigrants would adapt to the extent of becoming capable of managing their own household affairs. The permanent rôle of the federal government in this connection provides a stable set of services (job placement, occupational and language training, etc.) which may be used in varying degrees and at

varying times by all immigrants without the establishment of totally new infrastructure.

In any event, the relation between religious, voluntary and provincial/municipal organizations and the federal Department of Employment and Immigration is a matter deserving close attention. The "crisis" nature of the present refugee situation will probably be accompanied by ad-hoc adjustments for want of precedent. Yet all parties have a stake in the successful outcome: the reception and accommodation of as large a number of refugees as possible. The means for realization of this goal are far from detailed. Policy will doubtless accumulate through direct experience.

TABLE 1

YEARLY IMMIGRATION TO CANADA, BY BIRTHPLACE<sup>a</sup>

	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	TOTAL
Total (thousands)	71.7	74.5	93.1	112.6	146.8	203.6	222.9	184.0	161.5	147.7	121.9	122.0	185.7	220.8	189.4	149.4	114.9	2522.4
Total (per cent)	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Birthplace																		
Third-World	8%	10%	12%	13%	15%	14%	19%	22%	30%	31%	36%	39%	48%	49%	52%	56%	53%	32%
Asia	4%	3%	4%	6%	8%	8%	11%	12%	15%	16%	20%	21%	25%	25%	28%	31%	28%	17%
West Indies	2%	3%	3%	3%	3%	3%	5%	5%	9%	9%	9%	7%	11%	11%	10%	10%	10%	7%
Africa	1%	3%	3%	3%	2%	2%	2%	3%	3%	2%	2%	7%	6%	6%	6%	6%	6%	4%
C./S. America	1%	1%	2%	1%	2%	1%	1%	1%	3%	4%	4%	4%	8%	7%	8%	9%	9%	4%
Developed World	92%	90%	88%	87%	85%	86%	81%	78%	70%	69%	64%	61%	52%	51%	48%	44%	47%	68%
Cont. Europe	61%	55%	51%	50%	49%	48%	45%	47%	37%	35%	32%	29%	25%	24%	21%	20%	21%	36%
Britain	16%	20%	25%	24%	25%	29%	26%	19%	18%	16%	12%	14%	13%	15%	16%	13%	15%	18%
United States	13%	12%	10%	9%	8%	7%	7%	9%	12%	14%	17%	16%	12%	10%	9%	10%	9%	10%
Other <sup>b</sup>	2%	3%	2%	4%	3%	2%	3%	2%	3%	4%	4%	2%	2%	2%	2%	3%	2%	4%

Source: Department of Employment and Immigration Yearly Reports, Immigration Statistics 1961-1977

## Notes:

<sup>a</sup>See Appendix A for lists of countries included in each category<sup>b</sup>Includes rounding error (less than 1%), for percentage distribution to reach exactly 100%

TABLE 2

DESTINATION OF IMMIGRANTS BY LAST RESIDENCE, 1962-1977

	TOTAL ( '000 )	REGION				BR. COL.
		ATLANTIC	QUEBEC	ONTARIO	PRAIRIES	
TOTAL	2,437.	3%	18%	53%	12%	14%
LAST RESIDENCE						
Third-World	726.	2%	19%	52%	12%	15%
Asia	387.	2%	15%	46%	15%	22%
West Indies	164.	2%	25%	64%	6%	3%
Africa	74.	2%	34%	40%	11%	13%
C. /S. America	101.	1%	18%	63%	11%	7%
Developed World	1,711.	3%	18%	54%	12%	13%
Cont. Europe	830.	1%	25%	56%	10%	8%
Britain	505.	3%	9%	60%	14%	14%
U.S.	304.	8%	13%	40%	16%	23%
Other	72.	2%	8%	38%	13%	39%

Source: Immigration Statistics, Department of Employment and Immigration, Annual Reports, 1962-1977.



TABLE 3

DEPENDENCY RATIOS<sup>a</sup>, BY SEX AND MAJOR AREAS OF LAST PERMANENT RESIDENCE: 1962-1975

<u>SEX</u>	<u>Third- World<sup>b</sup></u>	<u>Asia</u>	<u>West Indies</u>	<u>Africa</u>	<u>South America</u>	<u>U.S./ Cent. Amer.</u>	<u>Europe<sup>c</sup></u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
Female	31.6	29.5	27.8	40.4	41.0	45.2	36.0	31.9	35.5
Male	32.3	30.2	31.8	37.0	37.2	48.8	34.0	32.7	35.0
Total	32.0	29.8	29.7	38.6	39.0	46.9	35.0	32.6	35.2

Source: Immigration Statistics, Department of Manpower and Immigration, Annual Reports, 1962-1975.

## Notes:

<sup>a</sup>Persons age 0-14 and 65 and over as fraction of persons in other ("employable") age categories.

<sup>b</sup>Excluding Central America and developing areas of Oceania.

<sup>c</sup>Including Britain.

TABLE 4

SEX RATIOS<sup>a</sup>, BY AGE GROUP AND LAST PERMANENT RESIDENCE: 1962-1975

AGE GROUP	Third- World <sup>b</sup>	Asia	West Indies	Africa	South Amer.	Rest of World <sup>c</sup>	Total
0-14	103	109	100	105	105	106	106
15-19	94	102	75	98	91	85	88
20-24	84	88	70	87	100	88	86
25-29	108	107	92	128	123	123	117
30-34	124	129	104	139	126	125	124
35-39	126	132	106	137	136	128	128
40-44	117	116	100	137	127	120	119
45-49	94	90	80	114	116	99	98
50-59	58	50	53	73	88	70	66
60-64	65	66	45	78	76	62	63
65	64	62	43	89	62	59	60
Total	99	101	86	110	109	102	101

Source: Immigration Statistics, Department of Manpower and Immigration Annual Reports, 1962-1975.

Notes:

<sup>a</sup> Males per 100 females

<sup>b</sup> Excluding Central America and developing areas of Oceania.

<sup>c</sup> Europe, Britain, United States, and others, n.e.s.

TABLE 5

## INTENDED OCCUPATION OF IMMIGRANTS (1962-1975) DESTINED FOR LABOUR FORCE, BY LAST PERMANENT RESIDENCE

LAST RESIDENCE	Total <sup>a</sup> ( '000)	Professional <sup>b</sup> Managerial	Clerical/ Service Sales	Operatives <sup>c</sup>	Other <sup>d</sup>
Asia	120.7	40%	28%	21%	11%
Africa <sup>e</sup>	8.5	35%	43%	16%	6%
West Indies	80.8	17%	45%	31%	7%
Cent./So. Amer.	8.9	23%	22%	44%	11%
Third-World	218.9	31%	34%	26%	9%
Rest of world <sup>f</sup>	870.6	29%	27%	33%	11%
Total	1089.4	29%	28%	32%	11%

Source: Immigration Statistics, Department of Manpower and Immigration, Annual Reports, 1962-1975.

## Notes:

<sup>a</sup>Only those immigrants declaring an intention to join labour force.

<sup>b</sup>Sciences, Medicine/Health, Managerial, Teaching, Religion, Artistic.

<sup>c</sup>Machining, Handling, Construction, Transport, Processing.

<sup>d</sup>Farm, Primary/extractive, others n.e.s.

<sup>e</sup>1973-1975 only. Comparable figures not available for earlier years.

<sup>f</sup>Europe, including Britain, United States, and others n.e.s.

TABLE 6

## IMMIGRANTS, BY BIRTHPLACE AND BY PROVINCE, PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION, 1971

	Number ( '000)	Regional Distribution				B.Col.
		Atlantic	Québec	Ontario	Prairies	
TOTAL	3,295.	2%	14%	52%	17%	15%
BIRTHPLACE						
Third-world <sup>a</sup>	315.	2%	22%	48%	11%	17%
Asia <sup>b</sup>	166.	3%	15%	43%	14%	25%
West Indies	68.	1%	22%	66%	7%	4%
Africa	45.	1%	49%	34%	7%	9%
Latin America	36.	1%	15%	57%	15%	12%
Developed Areas	2,980.	2%	14%	52%	17%	15%
Cont. Europe	1,694.	1%	17%	54%	17%	11%
Britain	933.	3%	7%	55%	15%	20%
U.S.	309.	6%	15%	33%	27%	19%
Other <sup>c</sup>	44	2%	9%	40%	14%	35%

Source: Census Publications 1971, Vol. 1, 3-C.

Notes:

<sup>a</sup>Excluding developing areas of Oceania.<sup>b</sup>Including Japan<sup>c</sup>Including Australia and other Oceanian countries.



TABLE 7

## SIZE OF FAMILIES, BY BIRTHPLACE AND PERIOD OF IMMIGRATION, 1971

	<u>1961-65</u>	<u>1966-71</u>	<u>1961-71</u>
TOTAL	4.20	3.99	4.07
BIRTHPLACE			
Third-world <sup>a</sup>	4.16	4.10	4.12
Asia <sup>b</sup>	4.24	3.97	4.04
West Indies	4.15	4.33	4.28
Africa	4.04	4.02	4.03
Developed World	4.27	3.96	4.07
Cont. Europe	4.11	3.89	3.99
Britain	4.19	3.96	4.03
U.S.	4.77	4.12	4.32
Other <sup>c</sup>	4.58	4.22	4.31

Source: 1971 Census, 1% Public Use Sample Tapes.

Notes:

<sup>a</sup>Excluding Central and South America.<sup>b</sup>Including Japan.<sup>c</sup>Including Australia, Oceania, and all other countries, n.e.s.

TABLE 8

LEVEL OF SCHOOLING<sup>a</sup>, BY SEX AND BIRTHPLACE OF IMMIGRANTS ARRIVING 1961-71

	MALES					FEMALES				
	Number ('000)	No Schooling	Ele- mentary	Secon- dary	Uni- versity	Number ('000)	No Schooling	Ele- mentary	Secon- dary	Uni- versity
TOTAL	534	7%	36%	37%	20%	537	8%	40%	39%	13%
Third-World <sup>b</sup>	231	6%	21%	39%	34%	117	8%	28%	42%	22%
Asia <sup>c</sup>	113	7%	17%	33%	43%	54	11%	27%	31%	31%
West Indies	82	5%	24%	52%	19%	45	4%	30%	54%	12%
Africa	36	2%	26%	36%	36%	18	6%	29%	48%	17%
Developed World <sup>d</sup>	840	8%	40%	36%	16%	420	8%	43%	39%	10%

Source: Census of Canada, 1971, 1% Public Use Sample Tapes.

## Notes:

<sup>a</sup>Refers to highest grade or year attended.<sup>b</sup>Includes Asia, Africa, and West Indies.<sup>c</sup>Includes Japan<sup>d</sup>Includes Europe, U.K., U.S.A., Latin America, and other countries, n.e.s.

TABLE 9

OFFICIAL LANGUAGES SPOKEN IN CONVERSATION, BY BIRTHPLACE, BY REGION: QUEBEC, ONTARIO, AND ELSEWHERE IN CANADA, 1971

	QUEBEC					ONTARIO					ELSEWHERE				
	Total ('000)	Neither Lang.	Eng. only	French only	Both Lang.	Total ('000)	Neither Lang.	Eng. only	French only	Both Lang.	Total ('000)	Neither Lang.	Eng. only	French only	Both Lang.
TOTAL	469.	8%	39%	18%	35%	1708.	8%	86%	*	6%	1114.	4%	91%	*	5%
Third-World <sup>a</sup>	67.	5%	40%	16%	39%	149.	7%	85%	*	8%	92.	16%	79%	*	5%
Asia	25.	11%	53%	6%	30%	71.	11%	83%	*	6%	69.	20%	77%	*	3%
West Indies	15.	*	62%	16%	22%	45.	*	96%	*	4%	8.	1%	93%	*	6%
Africa	22.	1%	8%	28%	63%	12.	2%	60%	3%	35%	5.	1%	77%	2%	20%
C./S. Amer.	5.	6%	46%	13%	35%	21.	6%	88%	*	6%	10.	7%	88%	*	5%
Developed World <sup>b</sup>	402.	8%	39%	18%	35%	1559.	8%	86%	*	6%	1022.	3%	92%	*	5%

\*Less than 1%.

Source: Census of Canada, 1971, Special tabulations.

Notes:

<sup>a</sup>Includes Asia, Africa, Central & South America, and West Indies.<sup>b</sup>Includes Europe, Britain, U.S., and all others, n.e.s.

TABLE 10

MEDIAN EARNINGS<sup>a</sup>, BY BIRTHPLACE, SEX, AND PERIOD OF IMMIGRATION, 1970

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Before 1946</u>	<u>1946-60</u>	<u>1961-65</u>	<u>1966-71</u>
MALES					
TOTAL	7119	7049	7492	7031	6004
Third-World					
Asia	6047	5705	6457	7528	5474
West Ind.	5872	8638	8081	7375	4939
Africa	7117	8652	8181	7743	6015
C./S. Amer.	5635	9317	6244	6621	4659
Developed World					
Cont. Europe	6843	6221	7246	6332	5525
Britain	8020	7317	8438	8650	7843
U.S.	7266	7254	7196	8573	6894
Others	8304	8291	8801	9217	7684
FEMALES					
TOTAL	3463	3435	3551	3562	3240
Third-World					
Asia	3606	3661	3268	4069	3665
West. Ind.	3671	4286	4587	4583	3204
Africa	3852	5000	3535	4331	3649
C./S. Amer.	3091	5124	2968	3885	2749
Developed World					
Cont. Europe	3210	3242	3480	3261	2868
Britain	3751	3535	3779	4155	3816
U.S.	3437	3530	3160	3311	3414
Others	4354	4059	3902	5042	4393

Source: Census of Canada, 1971, Special tabulations.

Notes:

Annual earnings refer to "Income from wages and salaries" and "Net income from self-employment," 1970, which includes farm income and income from business or professional practice. For details, see "Dictionary of the 1971 Census terms", Statistics Canada, 1971. All figures are dollars.



TABLE 10 A

RATIO<sup>a</sup> FEMALE/MALE MEDIAN EARNINGS, BY BIRTHPLACE,  
SEX AND PERIOD OF IMMIGRATION, 1970

	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>BEFORE 1946</u>	<u>1946-60</u>	<u>1961-65</u>	<u>1966-71</u>
TOTAL	.49	.49	.47	.51	.54
Third-World					
Asia	.60	.64	.50	.54	.67
West. Ind.	.63	.50	.57	.62	.65
Africa	.54	.58	.43	.56	.61
C./S. Amer.	.55	.55	.48	.59	.59
Developed World					
Cont. Europe	.47	.52	.48	.51	.52
Britain	.47	.48	.45	.48	.49
U.S.	.47	.49	.44	.39	.50
Others	.52	.49	.44	.55	.57

Source: Table 10

Notes:

<sup>a</sup>Median dollar earnings of Females divided by corresponding figure for males, as reported in Table 10.

TABLE 11  
ECONOMIC FAMILIES BELOW CENSUS "POVERTY LINE", BY BIRTHPLACE  
AND PERIOD OF IMMIGRATION, 1971

	<u>1961-65</u>		<u>1966-71</u>	
	<u>TOTAL</u> <u>('000)</u>	<u>PER</u> <u>CENT<sup>a</sup></u>	<u>TOTAL</u> <u>('000)</u>	<u>PER</u> <u>CENT<sup>a</sup></u>
TOTAL	94.5	14%	161.7	22%
BIRTHPLACE				
Third-World				
Asia	6.8	13%	19.6	27%
West Ind.	3.5	15%	10.7	30%
Africa	3.3	12%	5.3	23%
C./S. Amer.	1.3	16%	3.5	37%
Developed World				
Cont. Europe	53.7	17%	62.9	24%
Britain	19.1	7%	38.6	12%
U.S.	4.6	16%	15.2	26%
Other <sup>b</sup>	2.2	11%	5.9	21%

Source: Census of Canada, 1971, Special Tabulations.

Notes:

<sup>a</sup>Based on total number of immigrants counted by Census in that category

<sup>b</sup>Including South Africa, Rhodesia, Australia, New Zealand and other Oceanian countries.

TABLE 12

NON-ECONOMIC FAMILIES (UNATTACHED PERSONS) BELOW CENSUS "POVERTY LINE",  
BY BIRTHPLACE AND PERIOD OF IMMIGRATION, 1971

	<u>1961-65</u>		<u>1966-71</u>	
	<u>TOTAL</u> <u>('000)</u>	<u>PER</u> <u>CENT<sup>a</sup></u>	<u>TOTAL</u> <u>('000)</u>	<u>PER</u> <u>CENT<sup>a</sup></u>
TOTAL	21.9	25%	81.9	39%
BIRTHPLACE <sup>b</sup>				
Asia	1.9	26%	13.6	42%
Cont. Europe	9.2	27%	25.7	36%
Britain	5.6	19%	16.8	28%
U.S.	1.5	35%	7.2	48%
Other <sup>c</sup>	3.7	27%	18.6	51%

Source: Census of Canada, 1971, Special Tabulations.

Notes:

<sup>a</sup>Based on total number of immigrants counted by Census in that category.

<sup>c</sup>Including West Indies, Africa, Central/South America, Australia, New Zealand, and all others, n.e.s.

<sup>b</sup>Categories abbreviated because of small cell sizes.

TABLE 13  
LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION OF IMMIGRANTS, BY BIRTHPLACE,  
BY SEX AND PERIOD OF IMMIGRATION

	<u>MALE</u>					
	<u>1961-65</u>		<u>1966-71</u>		<u>1961-71</u>	
	<u>TOTAL</u> <u>('000)</u>	<u>PER</u> <u>CENT</u>	<u>TOTAL</u> <u>('000)</u>	<u>PER</u> <u>CENT</u>	<u>TOTAL</u> <u>('000)</u>	<u>PER</u> <u>CENT</u>
TOTAL	136.9	87%	272.2	87%	409.1	87%
BIRTHPLACE						
Third-World	20.9	85%	74.0	86%	94.9	85%
Asia	9.4	85%	40.7	85%	50.1	85%
West Ind.	6.0	92%	24.2	88%	30.2	89%
Africa	5.5	76%	9.1	82%	14.6	80%
Developed World	116.0	87%	198.2	87%	314.2	87%
Cont. Europe	83.3	87%	114.2	87%	197.5	87%
Britain	21.8	90%	51.5	90%	73.3	90%
U.S.	8.8	84%	23.8	83%	32.6	83%
Other <sup>a</sup>	2.1	71%	8.7	84%	10.8	82%
<u>FEMALE</u>						
TOTAL	151.3	47%	261.3	54%	412.6	52%
BIRTHPLACE						
Third-World	25.3	55%	70.4	60%	95.7	58%
Asia	11.3	48%	35.0	54%	46.3	53%
West. Ind.	9.7	67%	26.9	68%	36.6	68%
Africa	4.3	44%	8.5	57%	12.8	52%
Developed World	126.0	46%	190.9	52%	316.9	50%
Cont. Europe	86.0	45%	105.6	49%	191.6	47%
Britain	27.8	53%	52.9	59%	80.7	57%
U.S.	9.6	32%	23.8	43%	33.4	40%
Other <sup>a</sup>	2.6	58%	8.6	70%	11.2	67%

Source: Public Use Sample Tapes, 1971 Census

Notes:

<sup>a</sup> All other countries, including Central/South America.



TABLE 14

EXPERIENCE OF DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING OF MALE  
HOUSEHOLD HEADS, TORONTO, BY ETHNIC BACKGROUND, 1970

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	<u>All Reporting</u>	<u>At Risk<sup>a</sup></u>
Blacks	38%	47%
Asian	13%	21%
Both	26%	38%

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<sup>a</sup>Persons living in rental accommodation

Source: Richmond and Goldlust, Metropolitan Toronto Survey, 1970, Institute for Behavioural Research, York University.

TABLE 15

FORMAL ORGANIZATIONAL INVOLVEMENT (Chapin index) OF MALE HOUSEHOLD HEADS, TORONTO,  
BY ETHNIC BACKGROUND, 1970

	Low 0	Medium 1-12	High 13-90	Total	Mean Score
	%	%	%	%	
Asian and Black	37	53	10	100	5.6
All foreign born	35	43	22	100	8.1
All Canadian born	22	46	32	100	11.6
Total	28	45	27	100	9.8

Source: Richmond and Goldlust, Metropolitan Toronto Survey, 1970,  
Institute for Behavioural Research, York University.

TABLE 16

NEIGHBOURHOOD INTEGRATION INDEX OF MALE HOUSEHOLD HEADS, TORONTO, BY  
ETHNIC BACKGROUND, 1970

	Very Low 0-41 %	Low 42-46 %	Medium 47-54 %	High 56-57 %	Very High 58+ %	Total %	Mean Score
Asian and Black	27	44	15	10	4	100	44.5
All foreign born	14	19	33	25	9	100	49.9
All Canadian born	12	21	31	24	12	100	50.1
Total	13	20	32	25	10	100	50.0

Source: Richmond and Goldlust, Metropolitan Survey, 1970, Institute  
for Behavioural Research, York University

## APPENDIX A

The list of countries of birthplace is the following:

ASIA

Afghanistan  
 Bahran  
 Bangladesh  
 Brunei  
 Burma  
 China  
 Cyprus  
 Hong Kong  
 India  
 Indonesia  
 Iran  
 Iraq  
 Israel  
 Japan  
 Hordan  
 Khmer Rep.  
 Korea (North)  
 Korea (South)  
 Kuwait  
 Laos  
 Lebanon  
 Macao  
 Lalaysia  
 Nepal  
 Pakistan  
 Philippines  
 Qatar  
 Saudi Arabia  
 Singapore  
 Sri Lanka  
 Syria  
 Taiwan  
 Thailand  
 United Arab Em.  
 Vietnam, North  
 Vietnam, South  
 Yemen, P.D.R.  
 Asia, n.e.s.

UNITED STATESU.K.

Britain

AFRICA

Algeria  
 Angola  
 Botswana  
 Burundi  
 Cameroon  
 Cent. Af. Rep.  
 Chad  
 Congo Rep.  
 Dahomey  
 Egypt  
 Ethiopia  
 Gabon  
 Gambia  
 Ghana  
 Guinea  
 Ivory  
 Kenya  
 Lesotho  
 Liberia  
 Malagasy  
 Malawi  
 Mali  
 Mauritania  
 Morocco  
 Mozambique  
 Namibia  
 Nigeria  
 Rwanda  
 Senegal  
 Sierra Leone  
 Somali Rep.  
 Sudan  
 Swaziland  
 Tanzania  
 Togo  
 Tunisia  
 Uganda  
 Upper Volta  
 Zaire  
 Zambia  
 Africa, n.e.s.

WEST INDIES

Anguilla  
 Antigua  
 Bahamas  
 Barbados  
 Bermuda  
 Cayman Is.  
 Cuba  
 Dominica  
 Grenada  
 Guadeloupe  
 Haiti  
 Jamaica  
 Martinique  
 Montserrat  
 Neth. Antilles  
 Nevis  
 Puerto Rico  
 St. Kitts  
 St. Lucia  
 St. Vincent  
 Trinidad & Tobago  
 Turks & Caicos Is.  
 Virgin Is. (Br.)  
 Virgin Is. (U.S.)  
 West Indies, n.e.s.

CENTRAL AMERICA

Belize (Br. Honduras)  
 Costa Rica  
 El Salvador  
 Guatemala  
 Honduras  
 Mexico  
 Nicaragua  
 Panama  
 Panama Canal Zone  
 Central Amer., n.e.s.

(cont'd.)



SOUTH AMERICA

Argentina  
 Bolivia  
 Brazil  
 Chile  
 Columbia  
 Ecuador  
 French Guiana  
 Guyana  
 Paraguay  
 Peru  
 Surinam  
 Uruguay  
 Venezuela  
 South America, n.e.s.

CONTINENTALEUROPE

Albania  
 Andorra  
 Austria  
 Belgium  
 Bulgaria  
 Czechoslovakia  
 Denmark  
 Estonia  
 Finland  
 France  
 German Dem. Rep.  
 German Fed. Rep.  
 Gibraltar  
 Greece  
 Hungary  
 Iceland  
 Ireland (Rep.)  
 Italy  
 Latvia  
 Lithuania  
 Luxembourg  
 Malta  
 Monaco  
 Netherlands  
 Norway  
 Poland  
 Portugal  
 Romania  
 Spain  
 Sweden  
 Switzerland  
 Turkey  
 U.S.S.R.  
 Vatican City  
 Yugoslavia  
 Europe, n.e.s.

OTHER incl. OCEANIA

Canada  
 St. Pierre & Miquelon  
 Rep. South Africa  
 Rhodesia  
 Australia  
 New Guinea  
 New Zealand  
 Papua  
 Australasia, n.e.s.  
  
 Admiralty  
 Cape Verde Is.  
 Caroline Is.  
 Comoro Is.  
 Falkland Is.  
 Fiji  
 Gilbert & Ellice Is.  
 Guam  
 Mauritius  
 New Caldeonia &  
 Loyalty Is.  
 New Hebrides  
 Réunion  
 Samoa, Eastern  
 Samoa, Western  
 Sao Tome  
 Seychelles Is.  
 Society Is.  
 Tonga  
 Oceania, n.e.s.

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Lanphier, C. Michael

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