



# Immigration: The Changing Face of Canada



## Introduction

Canada is an immigrant-rich nation. Immigrants have contributed greatly to the development and cultural fabric of our country. With an aging population and a declining birth rate, Canada (like most of the developed world) is increasingly relying on immigration to enhance and grow its workforce. Immigration now accounts for more than 70 percent of net growth in the labour force and Statistics Canada projects that by 2011 it will account for 100 percent of that growth. The mix of our nation's skills, education and productivity is increasingly determined by the attributes of foreign-born individuals.

According to the most recent census, the number of immigrants in Canada reached almost 6.2 million in 2006 and constituted 19.8 percent of the population. The ethnocultural diversity of our nation is reflected in the over 200 ethnic groups present in our country. Once a country dominated by migration from European nations, today the

most significant flows come from Asia, including the Middle East. A demographic and ethnocultural revolution is taking place in Canada.

Ethnic networks – family and friends – largely determine where immigrants settle. Large metropolitan areas like Toronto, Montréal and Vancouver are magnets for newcomers. More recent arrivals<sup>1</sup> are also heading for a new set of 'emerging gateways' – smaller metropolitan areas. Immigrants are also settling in the outlying suburban areas, a decided shift from past preferences for the urban core. In short, immigration is bringing change to communities and is putting considerable stress on our cities' social and physical infrastructure, including public transit, education services, and housing. Meeting the needs of an increasingly diverse population presents significant challenges for many of Canada's cities.

<sup>1</sup> Those that arrived between January 1, 2001 and May 16, 2006, the focus of the 2006 Census.

*The Canadian Chamber is committed to fostering a strong, competitive, and profitable economic environment that benefits all Canadians. This paper is one of a series of independent research reports covering key public policy issues facing Canada today.*

*We hope this analysis will raise public understanding and help decision-makers make informed choices. The papers are designed not to recommend specific policy solutions, but to stimulate public discussion and debate about the nation's challenges.*

Immigrants look to Canada for opportunities to gainfully employ their skills and talents to achieve a better future for themselves and their families. If they are unable to utilize their skills and contribute productively, both their expectations and those of the host country are not fully realized. In light of this, there is considerable concern regarding the deteriorating economic situation of recent immigrants. In 2006, the national unemployment rate among recent immigrants was more than double that of the Canadian-born population. Even though the marketplace is demanding highly educated employees,<sup>2</sup> the unemployment rate of recent immigrants with a university degree was four times the rate of university-educated, Canadian-born individuals.

Recent immigrants are earning considerably less compared to non-immigrant Canadians and the gap is wider than at any time during the last quarter century. The economic position of recent immigrants has also deteriorated relative to immigrants that arrived in Canada in earlier years.

Labour market integration and utilization of immigrants remains a significant challenge and an important policy objective. Once in Canada, complex credential assessment and recognition requirements keep many foreign-trained professional and tradespeople from putting their skills to work. Faced with having to incur costs to repeat their studies or undertake further training, some simply give up, resulting in a significant productivity loss to Canada. These barriers create significant costs not only for the immigrants and their families, but also for the government, businesses and the economy as a whole.

Canada has much to gain from allowing its immigrants to realize their full potential and much to lose from failing to do so. A sweeping examination of the economic implications and realities of Canada's immigration policy is required, a subject that has not received sufficient attention.



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<sup>2</sup> According to the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada, the number of jobs filled by post-secondary education graduates doubled from 1.9 million in 1990 to 3.8 million in 2006. During the same period, jobs for those without post-secondary education declined by 1.3 million.

# Section I: A Portrait of Canada's Immigrants

## 1. Demographics

Immigration is playing an important part in shaping Canada's population. In 2006, approximately 6.2 million people living in Canada were foreign-born (19.8 percent of the population), a higher proportion than any Western country except Australia (22.2 percent). Eleven ethnic origins had passed the one million population mark.

5.1 million people (16.2 percent of the population) were visible minorities (i.e. persons, other than Aboriginal, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour). Twenty-five years earlier, visible minorities accounted for 4.7 percent of Canada's population. South Asians became Canada's largest visible minority group in 2006, surpassing Chinese for the first time.<sup>3</sup>

More than 1.1 million immigrants arrived in Canada between 2001 and 2006. Almost six in ten (58.3 percent) were born in Asian countries

(including the Middle East).<sup>4</sup> The second largest group came from Europe (16.1 percent). This is a complete reversal from the early 1970s when Asian-born newcomers accounted for 12.1 percent of all immigrants admitted to Canada and Europeans for 61.6 percent.<sup>5</sup> The ethnocultural makeup of our country is changing.

Approximately 57 percent of immigrants arriving between 2001 and 2006 were in their prime working years – 25 to 54 years of age.

Immigration was responsible for more two-thirds (69.3 percent) of Canada's population growth in the 2001 to 2006 period. The impact is being felt mostly in Canada's three largest census metropolitan areas (CMAs).

### Age Distribution of Recent Immigrants Compared to Canadian-Born Population

Age	Immigrants	Canadian-born
Under 15 years of age	20.1%	21.1%
15-24	15.1%	14.4%
25-54	57.3%	42.3%
55-64	4.1%	10.7%
Over 65 years of age	3.4%	11.5%

<sup>3</sup> Statistics Canada. 2008. "2006 Census: Ethnic origin, visible minorities, place of work and mode of transportation." *The Daily*. April 2.

<sup>4</sup> Fully 14 percent of immigrants came from the People's Republic of China. This was followed by India (11.6 percent), the Philippines (7 percent), Pakistan (5.2 percent), South Korea (3.2 percent) and Iran (2.5 percent). These six Asian countries accounted for 43.5 percent of all newcomers.

<sup>5</sup> As a result, the proportion of the immigrant population born in Asia and the Middle East (40.8 percent) surpassed the proportion born in Europe (36.8 percent) for the first time in 2006.

## 2. Settlement Patterns

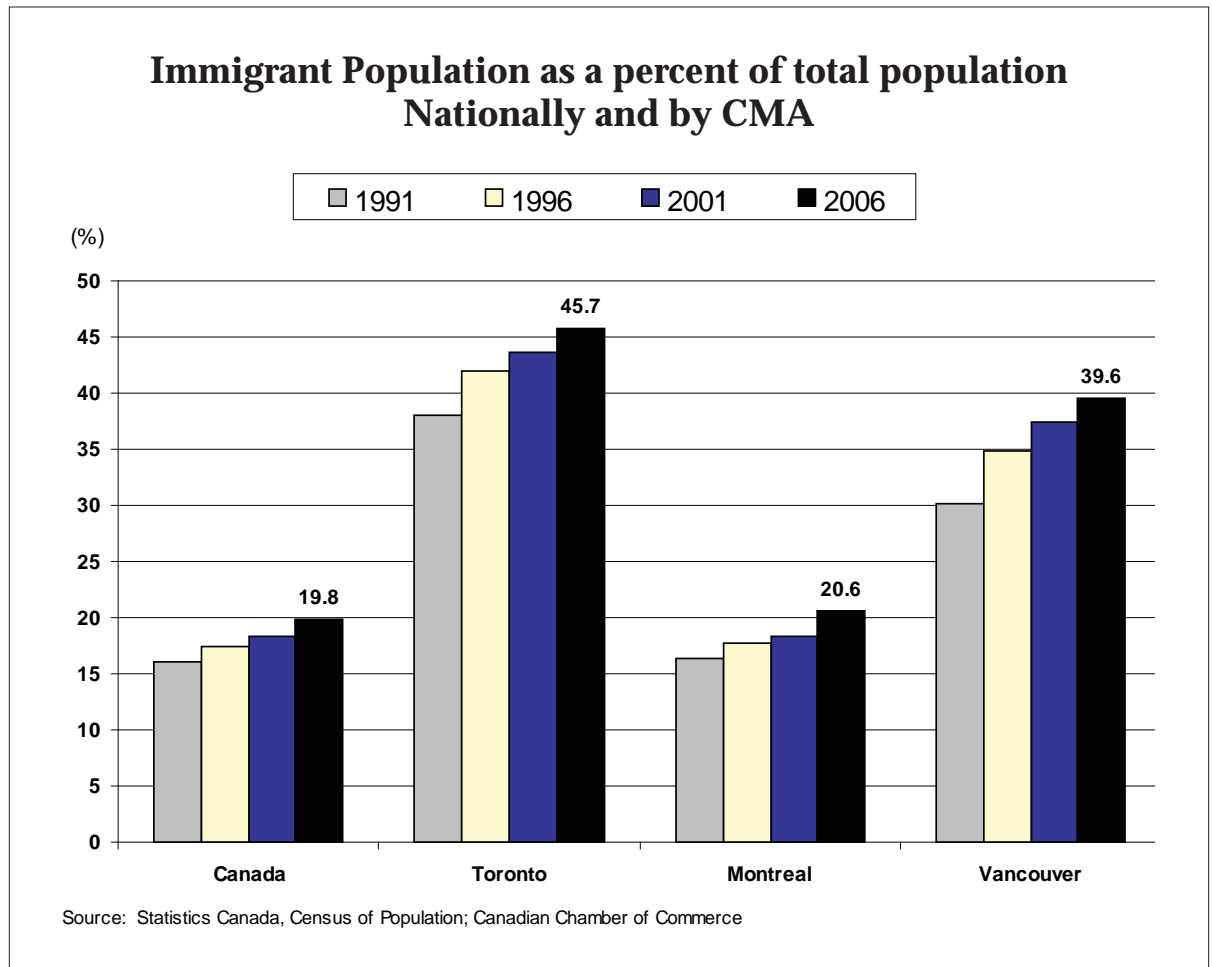
In 2006, 94.9 percent of Canada's immigrant population lived in an urban community compared to 77.5 percent of the Canadian-born population.

The nation's three largest census metropolitan areas (CMAs) – Toronto, Montréal and Vancouver – were home to 3.9 million immigrants (62.9 percent of Canada's foreign-born population). In contrast, 27.1 percent of the Canadian-born population lived in these three CMAs.

Immigrants accounted for 45.7 percent of Toronto's population, 39.6 percent of Vancouver's and 20.6

percent of Montréal's. Toronto and Vancouver have a higher proportion of immigrants than all major cities in Australia and the United States.<sup>6</sup> In all three CMAs, newcomers said they chose their destination because family and friends were already living there. The second most important factor for choosing Toronto was job prospects. In Montréal, language was the second most important reason. In Vancouver, climate was the second most important factor for choosing the area.

Of the 1.1 million newcomers who arrived in Canada between 2001 and 2006, the largest number (447,930 or 40.4 percent) settled in Toronto, while 165,345 (14.9 percent) went to Montréal, and



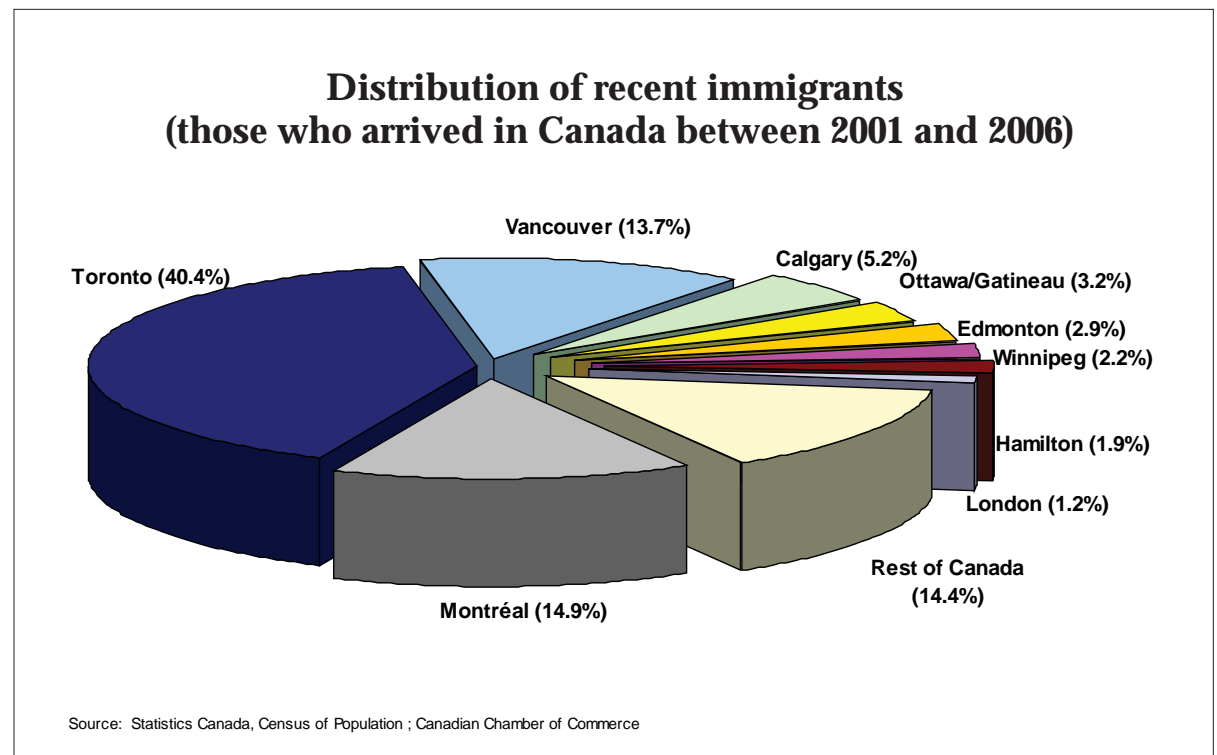
<sup>6</sup> By comparison, in Miami, Florida, 36.5 percent of the population was foreign-born in 2006; in Los Angeles, California, the proportion was 34.7 percent.

151,690 (13.7 percent) to Vancouver. These three CMAs together took in 68.9 percent of all new arrivals from 2001 to 2006. While significant, it is slightly down from the 72.5 percent who settled in these three CMAs between 1991 and 1996 and the 71.5 percent who made these CMAs home in the 1996 to 2000 period.

While international migrants still populate historical centers of immigration, a higher proportion of recent newcomers – 28.3 percent – spread across the remaining urban areas, up from 24.7 percent in 2001. Fully 16.6 percent of

newcomers settled in ‘emerging gateways’ – the smaller CMAs of Calgary (5.2 percent), Ottawa-Gatineau (3.2 percent), Edmonton (2.9 percent), Winnipeg (2.2 percent), Hamilton (1.9 percent) and London (1.2 percent). By comparison, 14.3 percent of newcomers lived in these CMAs in 2001. Only 2.8 percent of recent immigrants headed for rural areas.

The suburbs are becoming more attractive to recent immigrants. In the Toronto CMA, 59.8 percent of the recent immigrants in 2006 resided in the City of Toronto but the surrounding municipalities of



Mississauga, Brampton and Vaughan increased their share to 28.8 percent from 21.4 percent in 2001. Similarly in the Montréal CMA, a majority of newcomers (76.3 percent) lived in the City of Montréal; however, this was a drop from 2001 when 81.9 percent of newcomers lived in the City. Montréal’s surrounding municipalities of Laval, Longueuil, Brossard, Dollard-des-Ormeaux and Côte-Saint-Luc took in an increased share of

recent immigrants – 15.0 percent, up from 11.2 percent in 2001. In contrast, only 28.7 percent of newcomers lived in the City of Vancouver; 46.0 percent resided in Burnaby, Richmond and Surrey.

Many communities across Canada are grappling with how to provide public services to a new, growing and very diverse population.

### 3. Language

Immigration has contributed to the linguistic diversity of Canada. More than 200 languages were reported as a mother tongue on the 2006 Census.

In 2006, allophones (people whose mother tongue is neither English nor French) represented 20.1 percent of Canada's population, up from 18.0 percent in 2001. The largest number of allophones (1,034,000) reported Chinese languages followed by Italian, German, Punjabi, Spanish, Arabic, Tagalog, and Portuguese.<sup>7</sup> The proportion of francophones decreased to 22.1 percent in 2006 from 22.9 percent in 2001, and the proportion of anglophones dropped to 57.8 percent from 59.1 percent.

Of the 1.1 million immigrants who arrived in Canada between 2001 and 2006, four out of five were allophone. However, when asked about their language abilities, 90 percent said they could converse in English and/or French. At the same time, learning English or French is one of the challenges frequently cited by newcomers, second only to finding an adequate job.

### 4. Education

Immigrants are more educated than the general population. In 2007, 37 percent or 1.2 million foreign-born individuals of core working age (i.e. 25 to 54) had a university degree, compared to 22 percent of the core working-age, Canadian-born population. One in three had obtained their highest degree in Canada.<sup>8</sup>

More than half (54 percent) of immigrants of core working age who arrived in Canada between 2002 and 2007 had a university degree; a sharp increase from the 28 percent who arrived prior to 2001. Of these individuals, one in five was attending school in Canada in 2007 despite the fact they already had a degree.

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<sup>7</sup> Statistics Canada. 2007. "2006 Census: Immigration, citizenship, language, mobility and migration." *The Daily*. December 4.

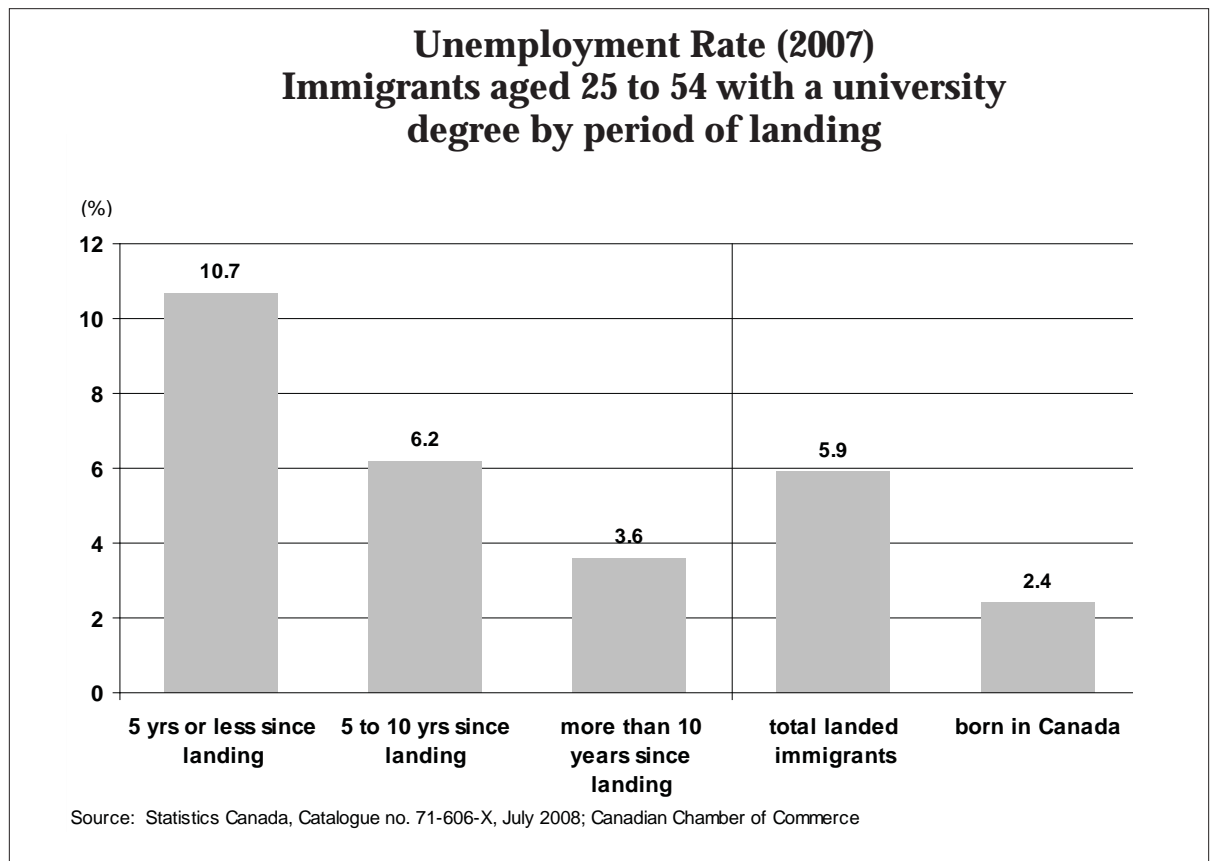
<sup>8</sup> Gilmore, Jason and Christel Le Petit. 2008. *The Canadian Immigrant Labour Market in 2007: Analysis by Region of Postsecondary Education*. Catalogue no. 71-606-X2008004. Ottawa: Statistics Canada. July.

## 5. Employment

In 2007, the national unemployment rate for recent immigrants (those that landed between 2002 and 2007) in the core working age group (25-54) was 11.0 percent; more than double the rate of 4.6 percent for Canadian-born individuals. The unemployment rate of immigrants with a university degree was 10.7 percent, four times the rate of university-educated, Canadian-born individuals.<sup>9</sup>

The gap in unemployment rates narrows the longer an immigrant has been in Canada indicating that many newcomers may need time to adjust.

High unemployment rates among recent immigrants, especially among those with post-secondary credentials, bring into question the effectiveness of immigration policy in successfully meeting existing labour market needs. Difficulties in getting foreign credentials recognized, insufficient knowledge of official languages, and lack of Canadian work experience could explain some of the employment gap between recent immigrants and their Canadian-born counterparts.



<sup>9</sup> Ibid. In 2007, the employment rate (number of employed people as a percentage of the population) of immigrants aged 25 to 54 was 77.9 percent compared to 83.8 percent for Canadian-born individuals. The employment rate was even less for recent, university-educated immigrants.

## 6. Earnings

The increase in the proportion of highly educated and skilled immigrants coming to Canada since the early 1990s appears to have had little effect on low-income outcomes of immigrants. Their economic position relative to the native population has steadily declined. Moreover, recent immigrants are faring worse than those that arrived in Canada in earlier years.

Between 1980 and 2000, the earnings gap between recent immigrant workers and Canadian-born workers widened significantly

in Canada's largest three CMAs. In Toronto, for example, immigrants who had been in Canada 10 years or less, 25 to 54 years of age and employed full-time earned, on average, \$0.63 of what Canadian-born individuals did in the same age bracket in 2000. This is down from \$0.75 per dollar in 1980 and \$0.71 per dollar in 1990. The details of these trends are essentially the same in other CMAs.<sup>10</sup>

### Labour market outcomes of immigrants (age 25 to 54) living in Canada's largest three CMAs (average annual earnings of full-year, full-time workers, 2000)

Immigrants	Toronto	Montréal	Vancouver
1 to 10 years in Canada	36,700	31,000	35,000
11 to 20 years in Canada	47,700	34,400	39,900
20 or more years in Canada	52,100	42,800	48,100
<b>Canadian-born</b>	<b>58,400</b>	<b>43,900</b>	<b>51,300</b>

"Earnings disparities between recent immigrants and Canadian-born workers increased not only during the two previous decades, but also between 2000 and 2005." "The earnings gap between recent immigrants and Canadian-born workers was larger among individuals with a university degree than among their less educated counterparts."<sup>11</sup>

While the economic well-being of immigrants has declined in recent years, this has not affected children born in Canada of immigrant parents. This group is one of the most successful, with education and earning levels well above that of their immigrant parents and above the Canadian average.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Heisz, Andrew. 2006. "Canada's Global Cities: Socio-economic Conditions in Montréal, Toronto, and Vancouver". Catalogue no. 89-613-MIE. Ottawa: Statistics Canada. July.

<sup>11</sup> Statistics Canada. 2008. "Earnings and Incomes of Canadians Over the Past Quarter Century, 2006 Census." Catalogue no. 97-563-X. May.

<sup>12</sup> Palameta, Boris. 2007. "Economic integration of immigrants' children". *Perspectives on Labour and Income*. Ottawa: Statistics Canada. October.

# Section II: Economic and Social Implications of Immigration

## 1. Impact of Immigration on Population Growth, Labour Force Growth and Age Distribution of the Population

Growing Canada's economy is key to improving the standard of living and quality of life of Canadians. In simplest terms, the economy's long-term growth rate is determined by the growth rate of labour employed plus the growth rate of the productivity of that labour.

It has been extensively documented that Canada's record on labour productivity (output per hour) has been bleak. As a result, with an aging population and a declining birth rate, there will continue to be tremendous pressure to grow the labour force in order to achieve sustainable long-term economic growth. Statistics Canada projects that by 2011 immigration it will account for 100 percent of net labour force growth. By 2031, immigration will account for all of Canada's net population growth.

Higher immigration can raise population numbers; however, it will not slow the aging of the population. The median age in Canada reached 39.5 years in 2006 and is expected to exceed 44 years by 2031. At the same time, the ratio of those aged 65+ to the working-age population (the so-called elderly dependency ratio) will continue to rise. Today, there are about five Canadians in the workforce for every one retired person. By 2031, there will be slightly more than two. These findings suggest "that neither a rise in fertility, nor increased immigration, nor even continued rise in participation rates could reverse the

downward trend."<sup>13</sup>

"While immigration has a significant effect on the growth and diversity of Canada's population and contributes towards meeting many of the country's emerging labour requirements, its impact on population aging is minor, since immigrants arrive when they are about 30 on average and then age along with the rest of the population."<sup>14</sup>

Nor can we depend on immigrant women to boost Canada's low birth rate. Fertility rates among foreign-born women start to decline relatively soon after they arrive in Canada and eventually reach those of Canadian-born women. Fertility rates among the Canadian-born daughters of immigrant women are even lower.<sup>15</sup>

## 2. Impact of Immigration on Wages

A study by Abdurrahman Aydemir at Statistics Canada and George Borjas, Professor of Economics and Social Policy at the Kennedy School of Government of Harvard University, indicates that immigration has tended to lower wages in both Canada and the United States.<sup>16</sup>

A significantly higher proportion of immigrants to Canada are highly-skilled. This has increased the supply of skilled labour and lowered the wages of high-skilled workers. In the United States, a significant proportion of immigrants have been unskilled. This has increased the supply of lower-skilled labour and depressed the earnings of lower-paid Americans.

13 Martel, Laurent, Eric Caron-Malenfant, Samuel Vézina, and Alain Bélanger. 2007. "Labour Force Projections for Canada, 2006-2031." *Canadian Economic Observer*. Ottawa: Statistics Canada. June.

14 Martel, Laurent and Éric Caron-Malenfant. 2007. "Portrait of the Canadian Population in 2006: National portrait." Catalogue no. 97-550-XWE2006001. Ottawa: Statistics Canada. May.

15 Statistics Canada. 2003. Canada's demographic situation: Fertility of immigrant women. *The Daily*. December 22.

16 Aydemir, Abdurrahman and George J. Borjas. 2006. "A Comparative Analysis of the Labor Market Impact of International Migration: Canada, Mexico, and the United States." *NBER Working Paper No. 12327*. June.

In both Canada and the United States, a migration-induced shift of 10 percent in labour supply was associated with a 3 to 4 percent drop in weekly earnings.

This study suggests that immigration played a role in the seven percent drop in real weekly wages experienced by workers with post-graduate degrees in Canada between 1980 and 2000. Over this period, the immigrant share of all workers with post-graduate degrees increased from about 30 percent to 38 percent.

In Canada, immigration has curtailed the earnings growth of the most educated Canadians relative to the least educated. In other words, immigration has dampened the trend to higher earnings inequality in Canada. In the United States, the opposite has happened – newcomers have depressed the earnings of low-paid Americans and increased the gap relative to the highest-paid. Immigration has served to magnify growth in earnings inequality in the United States.

The drop in real weekly wages experienced by workers with post-graduate degrees in Canada could have induced Canadian firms to increase their demand for highly skilled individuals. Although this is an interesting hypothesis, it has not been studied carefully in the literature. However, the drop in real wages does have the potential to increase business competitiveness by reducing costs of production and increasing output. The resulting increase in competitiveness could further boost demand for labour, including unskilled labour.

### **3. Impact of Immigration on Canada's Urban Communities**

#### **Housing**

Immigration is sustaining the size of the population and the formation of new households. Recent immigrant households are more likely to be low-income and to rent rather than own. Many are struggling to find affordable housing. In metropolis where geographical concentration of recent immigrants is high, like Montréal, the vast majority of immigrant households tend to rent. In cities where geographical concentration is low, like Calgary, home ownership is higher among recent immigrant households. Overall, there is a high correlation between the volume of immigrants into Canadian cities (specifically Toronto and Vancouver) and house prices.<sup>17</sup> The need for affordable housing will become more acute as more immigrants come to Canada. It is an issue that presents enormous challenges for Canadian cities and is a key determinant of how well immigrants settle and integrate in Canadian society.

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<sup>17</sup> Ley, David, Peter Murphy, Kris Olds, Bill Randolph. 2001. "Research on Immigration and Integration in the Metropolis." *Working Paper Series No. 03-01*. Vancouver Centre of Excellence. January.

### Public Transit

Recent immigrants are much more likely to use public transit to commute to work than the Canadian-born populace. This is evident across all age, sex and income groups. In Toronto, 36 percent of recent immigrants commuted on public transit compared with 21 percent of the Canadian-born public. In Montréal, 49 percent of recent immigrants did so, more than twice the proportion (21 percent) of Canadian-born individuals. In Vancouver, 21 percent of recent immigrants commuted on public transit and 11 percent of non-immigrants.<sup>18</sup> This has implications for general urban planning, particularly in light of the somewhat recent trend of newcomers settling in outlying municipalities. For example, the growth of the immigrant population in suburbs will lead to an increase in demand for suburb-to-suburb as well as suburb-to-city core travel by commuters.

### Educational Services

Immigrant children and children born in Canada to recent immigrants constitute a considerable share of the pre-school and school-aged populations in many CMAs. Moreover, recent immigrants account for 10 to 25 percent of all students aged 18 to 24 in Canada's CMAs. Lastly, immigrants aged 25 to 54 are twice as likely as the Canadian-born population in this age bracket to be enrolled in school. This has implications with respect to classroom sizes, English as a second language training, and public school infrastructure.



<sup>18</sup> Heisz, Andrew and Grant Schellenberg. 2004. "Public Transit Use Among Immigrants". Catalogue no.: 11F0019MIE2004224. Ottawa: Statistics Canada. May. Recent immigrants are those who arrived in Canada during the 10 years prior to the 2001 Census, that is, between 1991 and 2001.

# Section III: Issues Facing Immigration Policy

## Summary and Concluding Remarks

As a nation we expect our immigration system to meet a variety of goals and objectives – demographic, economic and social. Immigrants who can adapt and integrate rapidly in the labour market can make a significant contribution to economic growth. Yet, in the face of declining employment outcomes among recent immigrants, the sustainability and viability of Canada’s immigration program is in question. Immigration policy in Canada is facing a number of challenges.

- Immigrants are settling predominantly in Canada’s three largest CMAs with about 40 percent of recent newcomers settling in and around Toronto. Immigration is putting significant stress on the municipal service sector of many municipalities and, in particular, those absorbing disproportionately large numbers of immigrants from a wide range of countries. Municipalities are also facing language and cultural barriers when trying to communicate with immigrant clients, difficulties in meeting the needs of an increasingly diverse population, and escalating pressure and costs to provide information in many languages. This raises questions regarding the funding of municipal services and the role municipalities should play in formulating immigration policy.
- Many recent immigrants in the core working-age group (25 to 54) are experiencing difficulty in the labour market. They have significantly higher unemployment rates than their Canadian-born counterparts. This brings into question the effectiveness of immigration

policy in successfully meeting existing and future labour market needs. It also raises a key question as to why the increase in education and skill level of recent immigrants has not led to better labour market performance.

- The economic position of newcomers relative to the native population has steadily declined, and recent immigrants are faring worse than those that arrived in Canada in earlier years despite the increase in the proportion of highly educated and skilled immigrants coming to this country since the early 1990s. If we are unable to utilize the skills and education of our immigrant population, the costs to our economy can be great: Increased costs for welfare and social services, and for training and re-training of foreign individuals; the loss of potential tax revenue because foreign-trained individuals are unable to work and contribute to the economy; loss of foreign trade opportunities;<sup>19</sup> possible feelings of alienation; as well as mental health impacts.
- It is not clear that immigration alone can solve the aging problem. “While immigration has a significant effect on the growth and diversity of Canada’s population and contributes towards meeting many of the country’s emerging labour requirements, its impact on population aging appears to be minor.<sup>20</sup> Like aging Canadians, immigrants are also entitled to public pensions and health care. “Immigration cannot be used to solve Canada’s problem of unfunded liabilities of its social programs.” “The number of immigrants needed annually would be so large that it would be difficult to find enough with the qualities desired.”<sup>21</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Studies have found that Canada has greater trade relations with those nations that have provided large numbers of immigrants. Head and Ries (1998) estimated that increasing the immigrant stock from a given country by 10 percent increases exports to that country by 1.5 percent and imports from that country by 3.8 percent.

<sup>20</sup> Martel, Laurent and Éric Caron-Malenfant. 2007. “Portrait of the Canadian Population in 2006: National portrait.” Catalogue no. 97-550-XWE2006001. Ottawa: Statistics Canada. May.

- About one-third of male immigrants (aged 25 to 45 at the time of landing) leave Canada within 20 years of arrival. About 6 out of 10 of those who leave do so within the first year of arrival. The out-migration rates are higher among those admitted under the skilled worker or business class visa – about four in 10 leave within 10 years of arrival.<sup>22</sup> The federal government has committed over \$1.4 billion in settlement funding over five years yet the return may be very low for some immigrants, especially skilled workers and entrepreneurs who are highly internationally mobile. If immigration policy is designed to attract permanent immigrants, it is important to understand the determinants of return or onward migration.

This leads us to conclude that we must continuously review the goals and objectives of Canada's immigration policy. A sweeping examination of the economic implications and realities of Canada's immigration policy is required, a subject that has not received sufficient attention. This will require an open dialogue and debate involving all key stakeholders – all levels of government, employers, business groups, educational institutions, professional regulatory bodies, labour unions and non-governmental agencies.

Priority should be given to developing national and international accreditation standards to evaluate foreign credentials, professional and trade qualifications, and certification in regulated and non-regulated occupations. Emphasis should be placed on better coordinating settlement and integration services and focusing attention on services that facilitate integration of immigrants into the workforce, such as employment-related language training, internships, mentoring and other labour market access supports.

Canada is increasingly competing with other countries for workers. It is in the interest of all Canadians to design and sustain an efficient immigration system that gives Canada a competitive edge in the battle to attract and retain the skills we need to ensure a healthy and growing economy.



<sup>21</sup> Grubel, Herbert. 2008. "The Fiscal Burden of Recent Canadian Immigrants." Simon Fraser University. May.

<sup>22</sup> Aydemir, Abdurrahman and Chris Robinson. 2006. "Return and Onward Migration among Working Age Men." Catalogue no. 11F0019MIE. Ottawa: Statistics Canada. March.