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**ARAB IMMIGRANTS IN THE CANADIAN LABOUR MARKET:  
EXPECTATIONS AND COMPROMISES**

**Mahmoud M. Al-Hihi**

**A**

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**In**

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**c Mahmoud Al-Hihi, 1997**



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## **ABSTRACT**

### **ARAB IMMIGRANTS IN THE CANADIAN LABOUR MARKET: EXPECTATIONS AND COMPROMISES**

Immigrants have always played an important role in the development of Canada. This study analyzes the adjustment problems of Arab immigrants who live in Montreal and have immigrated to Canada in the 1980's and the 1990's. It is an attempt to explore the nature of their economic adaptation. Economic adaptation is raised here as one aspect - albeit an important one - of their integration in the larger society. I have used both quantitative and qualitative methods in the analysis of the data that I have obtained from the interviews of the sample of Arab immigrants. The findings indicate that Canadian education and experience, length of residence, official languages proficiency (especially French), marital status and community support are major influences in their integration in the Montreal labour market. This thesis also examines the relationships among expectations, compromises and outcomes.

*In the name of God*

*To my parents*

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## INTRODUCTION

International differences in economic and political conditions remain sufficiently strong to encourage the flow of millions of persons across national boundaries. United Nations statistics, for example, show that nearly five million persons migrated to a different country from 1975- 1980. In particular, about two-thirds of all immigrants in this period migrated to one of three countries - Australia, Canada and the United States. These immigrants have always played an important role in development.

Canada has received 4.5 million immigrants during the last three decades and over one million immigrants during the 1980's. One third of them were of European origin and the remainder came from Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean. The immigrant population represented 16% (4.3 million persons) of Canada's total population in 1991.

The relative importance of immigration to Canada's population growth has increased since fertility has been declining during the past two decades. In view of Canada's low and declining birth rate (Samuel, 1980:5-36), this tendency is likely to continue during the nineties (Basavarajappa and George, 1980:75). In recent years there has been a significant change in the origin of immigrants. They no longer come primarily from Europe and the United States. An increasing number are coming from other continents, particularly Asia.

Canada's immigration policy has undergone some changes during the sixties and seventies. Until 1962, there were some restrictions on the arrival of immigrants from places other than Europe and the United States. These changes

in immigration policy in recent decades have greatly affected the level and composition of immigrant flows. The White Paper on Immigration policy in 1966 stated " it is Canada's interest to accept, and if need be, to encourage, the entry into this country each year of as many immigrants as can be readily absorbed", ( White Paper on Immigration, 1966:5). The paper put forward the view that "Canada is an underpopulated country by most standards of measurement". In 1967 the "points system" law was established for the selection of independent immigrants. The policy of multiculturalism, promulgated in 1971, underlined an open-minded attitude among Canadians to the arrival of immigrants from Third World countries.

Immigration policy was reviewed thoroughly by the Canadian government from 1973 to 1975. Consequently, an Act of Parliament was established in 1976, which took effect in 1978. This act formulated a new target level for immigration to be set by the minister responsible for immigration on an annual basis. This is to be determined after consultation with the provinces concerning demographic needs and labour market considerations. As a result, there has been a greater need to regulate arrivals and to select the best suited to evolving conditions.

Since then, immigrants to Canada have been coming increasingly from Asia, the Middle East, Africa, the Caribbean and from Central and South America. Theoretically, the large influx of immigrants would serve not only the humanitarian cause of helping to distribute the world population, but also it would optimize the economic development and contribute to the culture of its people.

Contemporary economists emphasize the value of immigration, (Parai, L., 1974, p.73), ( Epstein, L. 1974, p.29). They argue that it increases the domestic



market value of national industries. A large home-market also permits manufacturing firms to undertake larger, longer and lower-cost production batches. Hence it broadens the range of industries that Canada could undertake economically. By the same token, they argue that the population increase involves an improvement of the national industries' competitive position in the world market. Moreover a bigger population also yields lower per capita costs of government and other public services such as transportation and communications. It also rationalizes the development of more specialized services.

The number of immigrants entering Canada and their characteristics are determined by government policies controlling admissions, the attractiveness of Canada for immigration and finally by the socio-economic and political climate in the countries of origin. Since the late 1970's, Canada's immigration policy has been guided by essentially three broad objectives: to reunite families; to provide safety for refugees, and to foster economic development by selecting business immigrant and skilled workers. These objectives are reflected in three classes -family, refugee and independent - under which persons are admitted into Canada as landed immigrants. Since 1967, independent immigrants have been assessed by a point system, under which points are allotted for nine factors: [1] education and training, [2] personal assessment, [3] occupational demand, [4] occupational skill, [5] age, [6] arranged employment, [7] knowledge of French and English, [8] relatives in Canada, and [9] employment opportunities in the area of destination (Parai 1975; Hawkins, 1977). Consequently, these independent immigrants tend to be the most educated immigrants among the three classes.

How do these immigrants adjust and integrate into Canadian society after their arrival? Work is one of the best means of social integration. For many immigrants, the possibility of obtaining work which matches their qualifications is a factor which weighed heavily in their decision to emigrate. They assess their achievements in terms of the type of work and occupation they find. For all those who come to improve their economic situation, the question of employment is a fundamental one. Although it looks different for refugees, it is equally crucial to obtain a position in the labour market. In reality, most immigrants from different categories are involved in the labour market to some extent. An immigrant's position in the labour market is crucial to one's present socio-economic status and future life chances.

New immigrants have been facing harsher situations that hinder their integration into the labour market in recent years.

This thesis examines the labour market experiences of the Arab immigrants who live in Montreal and who have immigrated to Canada since 1980. It attempts to investigate: How did Arab immigrants of Montreal adapt to the conditions of the labour market? This study will focus on three main issues: the reasons for their immigration, expectations prior to immigration, demographic characteristics; the conditions of the Canadian labour market; and finally the processes of negotiations and compromise they undergo in their attempt to integrate.

## **The Problem**

Immigration affects the welfare of all Canadians and the future experiences of immigrants. Canadian immigration policy has placed considerable emphasis on economic objectives, particularly the role immigration plays in the labour market. Successive Canadian governments have viewed immigration as a source of labour force growth and as a mechanism for dealing with labour market needs, such as shortages of labour in particular occupations and industries, and the creation of new employment opportunities.

Of course, economic considerations are not the only goals of immigration. The 1976 Immigration Act cites three major objectives of immigration: (1) the economic-objective where "independent class" immigrants are selected on the basis of labour market needs, (2) the social objective, which encourages family reunification through the admission of "family class" immigrants, and (3) the humanitarian objective of immigration that eases the admission of "refugees and designated classes". In addition to these three objectives of immigration, the overriding demographic objective views immigration as a tool for stimulating population growth, and delaying population decline and ageing. The reality is that all these classes of immigrants from all parts of the world, participate in the labour force.

Canada's population reached 29,606,100 persons on July 1 in 1995 - having grown over the previous 12-month period by 355,000. The 1995

international migration picture included 215,700 persons who became new permanent residents of Canada. This is 19% fewer than the 1993 peak, and 5% fewer than 1994. Over the 1990's, the number of immigrants increased steadily until 1993, and has declined somewhat since. The immigrant population represented 16% [ 4.3 million persons ] of Canada's population in 1991, almost unchanged since 1951 [15%]. While most of the immigrants were born in Europe, their proportion declined from 62% in the 1986 Census to 54% in the 1991 Census. The proportion of immigrants born in Asia increased from 18% in 1986 to 25% in 1991. Overall, nearly one third of Canada's total population reported ethnic origins which were neither British nor French. While the labour force participation rate for all immigrant [65.2%] was lower than for persons born in Canada [68.7%] it varied by age group. The participation rate for immigrants aged 25 to 44 [ 86.1%] was slightly lower than for the Canadian-born [ 86.9% ]. However, among persons 45 to 64 years of age, the participation rate for immigrants was higher [ 72.3% ] than for the Canadian-born [67.5%]. At the time of the 1986 census, 64.7% of all immigrants were in the labour force, and the immigrants made up 18.5% of the total experienced labour force in Canada. Given these significant proportions of immigrants in the labour force, and the explicit economic goal of immigration policy, it is understandable that a lot of research has emerged as a result of the economic adaptation of immigrants in the Canadian labour force.

As the origins of immigrants have shifted in the mid- 1980's, from Europe and the United States, to Third World Countries, the new immigrants have been facing a harder situation in recent years. Research on the labour market experiences

of new immigrant groups, especially visible minorities, needs to be given priority to clarify integration difficulties, such as racial discrimination, and to seek measures to ease their adjustment.

### **The Research Question**

The problem we attempt to analyse concerns Arab immigrants in Montreal. The central research question running through this study is: Given their expectations, how do Arab immigrants adapt to the conditions of the labour market. In particular, the following questions will be addressed:

What were the factors that contributed to their perceptions about what they expected in Canada? What were their experiences of getting into Canada? How did they adjust to the Canadian environment? What were the variables that serve to explain this? In other words, I would like to offer a kind of an explanatory model, and to test that model. This model will explain what influenced their perceptions, their expectations, and the way in which they have adjusted. Finally, I will offer sociological explanations of the relationships between immigrant expectations and the occupational status they have reached in the process of their adaptation and compromise.

This is an exploratory study intended to ask questions and generate more discussion. This method will characterize this research and enrich the explanations of immigrants' experiences. Some of these are:

[1] What were the causes of their immigration? [Reasons].

[2] What were their expectations before they decided to immigrate? [expectation]

[3] What does Canada have to offer immigrants and vice versa?

[4] To what extent are policies of labour market requirements different from the knowledge they obtained prior to their immigration?

Of course, policy influences immigration patterns. It influences priorities placed on different occupational and educational backgrounds. The kind of expectations immigrants have, are likely to vary depending on their background, level of education, work experience and training, reasons of immigration and official knowledge of how the labour market operates.

The second set of variables is related to the policy requirements of Canada. We can add to this the knowledge immigrants have of Canadian policies. Then the stage of interpretation will follow. The third part of the question is: How have these immigrants adapted? We will attempt to discover the principal strategies they employ for this purpose.

This thesis deals essentially with the adaptation of Arab immigrants, who have migrated to Canada in the 1980's or the 1990's, and who live in Montreal. Many indicators show that Asian ethnic groups face a harsh situation while they are trying to establish themselves. The experience is likely to be not only a waste of a significant portion of their resources, but also discourages many of them and frustrates their hopes. More specifically, this thesis aims at answering the following questions:

**[1] What were the factors that contributed to their perceptions about what they expected in Canada, their experience of getting into Canada, and how they adjust to that?**

**[2] Given their expectations, how do Arab immigrants adapt to the conditions of the labour market?**

### **Scope of the Study**

The research focuses on Arab immigrants who landed in Canada in the 1980's and 1990's, and who live in Montreal as permanent residents. This study intends to explore the following themes:

[1] The causes of their immigration and their expectations prior to arrival.

[2] The characteristics of these immigrants.

[3] The conditions of the labour market:

- The labour supply and demand situation.
- Immigration and labour policies of the government.
- Attitudes and practices of professional associations and trade unions.
- Hiring practices of Canadian employers.

[4] The processes of negotiations and compromise between the immigrants and the conditions of the labour market.

## **Significance of the Study**

The economic performance of immigrants is an aspect worth examining for the following reasons:

1: Immigrants' integration into Canadian society depends on their performance in the labour market within a reasonable adjustment period. Immigrants who do not do as well as their qualifications lead them to expect, will become discontented. That could cause social friction, especially if the gap between reality and expectations is greater for the so-called " visible minority " immigrants. Since social friction damages the hosts as well as the immigrants, the question whether discrimination lowers the economic performance of immigrants, impinges directly on the well-being of the hosts.

2 : Canada has a good record in human rights. It is widely believed that immigrants do well by coming to this country. The feeling of doing good represents a genuine gain to the hosts if justified.

3 : The need to know how immigrants are facing difficulties and demands for survival in a new society will be helpful for the development of new training programs. This research aims at identifying the major factors that hinder the integration of Arab immigrants in the labour market and jobs.

4 : Canada gained 792,000 people through net immigration between 1981-1991. This was a consequence of the immigration of 1,374,000 people and the emigration of 582,000 people. So, most immigrants do become Canadians eventually. Their economic success or failure is of interest to the nation. Proposing



new approaches to facilitate their integration in the labour market is vital for both the nation and the immigrants as individuals.

In other words, this research is necessary and important because the impact of immigrants on the labour market is obvious, and a more active participation is needed, especially in a recession. Focussing the light on the integration problems may help to reactivate the Immigrants' role in the economy, since they are assumed to either have jobs, or create job opportunities for Canadians or landed immigrants. Finding possible solutions to the immigrants' problems explores a new approach that complements immigrants' experiences, financial resources, and knowledge of foreign markets and cultures.

### **The Research Design and Methodology**

Several studies have been devoted to measure economic performance of immigrants in general. At present, there is little agreement on how they fare after their arrival. There are still certain aspects that have not received the attention that they deserve. Discrimination is a good example that needs research. These studies are different in the nature and scope, some being limited to a region, others to a certain group. In general, more research on non-white, non-European immigrant groups is needed.

The main objective is to explore how Arab immigrants adapted to the conditions of the labour market, and to identify the major factors affecting their integration . This study is based on data resulting from analysing:

- (1) The available statistics of the immigrant labour force and the 1991 Census.
- (2) Previous researchers' works, and reviewing literature.
- (3) Interviews averaging three hours in length , with 40 new Arab immigrants in Montreal to gather information about their expectations and experiences in the Canadian labour market. Interviews with some leaders of the Arab associations in Montreal have revealed a potential capacity to facilitate immigrants' adaptation to the conditions of the labour market. The Arab associative network of Montreal plays a vital role towards the smooth integration of new immigrants into the labour market.

A sample of 40 Arab immigrants, who arrived in Montreal in the 1980's, and 1990's, is selected. It includes subjects of different characteristics such as: sex, age, nationality, education, occupation, social class, marital status, religion, etc. This sample is equally divided in two groups: those who immigrated in the 1980's and those who arrived in the 1990's. Such a division will allow comparisons of the performance of the two groups and to examine the effects of a longer time in Canada. Our purpose is to gather information about the causes of their immigration, their expectations, their characteristics, the difficulties they have faced in the process of their integration, and the process of their adaptation and compromise to the conditions of the labour market. To collect this information, I have conducted semi- structured interviews averaging three hours in length.

Qualitative and quantitative approaches are employed to analyse the data. The analysis is done in the light of our theoretical model. Two categories of Arab immigrants, [arrivals in the 1980's, and the 1990's arrivals] are compared one to the

other in terms of the processes of adaptation to the labour market, to detect any trend in the process of integration, and to offer sociological explanations of the relationships between the immigrants' expectations and the occupational status they have reached in the process of their adaptation and compromise.

### **Organization of the Thesis**

This study deals essentially with economic adaptation of Arab immigrants in the Montreal labour market. Before this, it is necessary to know, briefly, how these people entered Canada. We have addressed that in Chapter One, where the evolution of immigration policy is discussed, recent trends in immigration are detected, and characteristics of the immigrant population are explained. Chapter Two examines the immigrants' performance in the labour force, in general, according to the 1991 Census. The next chapter is a review of the relevant research literature on the immigrants' economic adaptation. The importance of the reviewed literature is in its usefulness in identifying the variables that affect the process of adaptation to the conditions of the labour market, to construct a theoretical model, and to explain the relationships among the variables involved in the process of adaptation. Chapter Four focuses on theoretical and methodological framework. Chapter Five explores how Arab immigrants adapt to the Montreal labour market conditions, the collected data from the interviews are analysed qualitatively and quantitatively, then the findings are explained. It describes the main problems that Arab immigrants face. Finally, in the Concluding Chapter I offer a summary

discussion of the findings and the analyses and suggest further research. The Bibliography contains works consulted in the course of researching and writing the thesis. Appendix 1 includes the questionnaire used to examine the labour market experiences of Arab immigrants in Montreal.

## CHAPTER ONE

### RECENT TRENDS IN IMMIGRATION AND CHARACTERISTICS OF THE IMMIGRANT POPULATION

Immigrants have represented a relatively stable proportion of Canada's population - about 16% for several decades. They play an important part in population growth. Successive flows of immigrants have changed the ethnic composition of the population. They affect population characteristics such as age, sex, level of education, etc. Their various cultures and traditions also influence Canadian society. They have provided labour, capital and creativity, in other words they contribute to the social and economic development of the country. Earliest immigrants came from France, Great Britain and Ireland, other countries in Europe, Scandinavia and United States.

Canada's immigration policy has undergone several changes during the last thirty years. The 1966 White Paper on immigration was the master key for these changes in immigration. It stated clearly that "Canada is an under-populated country by most standards of measurement" and "it is in Canada's interest to accept, and if need be, to encourage the entry to this country". Thus, this new policy admitted immigrants from all source areas. These recent immigrants are increasingly from Asia, Middle East, Africa, the Caribbean, Central and South America.

So, there has been an increasing diversification of immigration in terms of country of origin. Immigration policies influence the future of Canadian society with respect to size and composition of the landed immigrants. Their number and

their characteristics are partly determined by those immigration policies which control admissions, and partly by the attractiveness of Canada for immigration, in relation to the political and socio-economic climate of the sending countries.

Do these immigrants adapt easily and integrate smoothly into the labour market? This question is important for immigrants themselves, and it creates another question. To what extent does Canadian Society provide equal opportunities for landed immigrants? The immigrants' experience is important for assessing immigration policy. To answer these questions we will also discuss the recent demographic trends of immigration in light of the evolution of immigration policies. We will investigate the major characteristics of the new immigrants, in general, according to 1991 Census and their participation in the labour market.

### **The Evolution of the Immigration Policy:**

To appreciate the significance of the immigration policy, it is helpful to review briefly the main phases.

**Phase one:** From 1911 until the 1953 Immigration Act, immigration was unlimited for admissions from "most preferred" countries, mainly western European and the United States. Country preferences reflected the similarity of these immigrants, in terms of their customs and language. All others were in a "non-preferred" category.

**Phase two:** The Immigration Act of the 1953 assessed the demand for labour and Canada's "absorptive capacity". These assessments were a result of pressure by political and economic interests seeking to remove country preference.

**Phase three:** A fundamental change occurred in the Immigration Act of 1962. A policy with no explicit country preference was introduced; the emphasis was placed on reuniting families and admitting skilled labour. The interpretation of A. Green (1976) of this change was: "a shift in focus" from social to economic concerns in selecting immigrants. This change was due in part to the declining supply of European immigrants and the increased industrial demand for labour.

**Phase four:** The open policy of the 1960's was expressed in the expansionist 1966 White Paper, which assumed that immigration plays a critical role in population and economic growth. By 1966 a major overview was organized. Most changes were adopted to link closely the flow of immigrants to the needs of the economy and to facilitate their absorption into the labour market.

**Phase five:** The 1967 regulations established a "point system" for selection of independent immigrants. This objective system was formalized to assess the admissibility of the economic category of immigrants. Successful applicants were required to obtain a minimum number of points based on education, skills, age, personal qualities, employment arrangements, area of destination, occupational demand, and knowledge of French and English. This policy admitted immigrants from new sources with a yearly quota level.

**Phase six:** This expansionist policy was changed. The Immigration Act of 1976 tightened the mandatory selection criteria. This Immigration Act linked more closely the needs of the domestic labour market to the immigrants' intended occupations. It required formal yearly targets be set in Parliament based upon

economic and demographic conditions in Canada. The explanation was that immigrants provided, at best, a small net gain to the economy. Several policy initiatives were set to minimize the size and job displacement effects of economic immigrants (independent class). A method for setting an annual overall quota was, in fact, included when Parliament gave its approval to the new act on July 25, 1977.

**Phase seven:** Specific restrictions were applied, in 1982, such as a validated job offer for entrance in the independent category. The most restrictive period, from 1976 to 1984, led to a declining global target in 1985.

**Phase eight:** Another shift in immigration policy occurred, during 1985 to 1988, leading to higher targets. New business and economic classes were added to the three categories. The Federal Government stated: "It does not accept the popular misconception that immigrants take jobs from Canadians. Immigrants contribute to economic growth and job creation by augmenting capital formation." (1985, p.1). Labour market absorptive capacity for immigrants is a major concern of policy makers. Immigration policies were established in ten years on two different hypotheses, immigrants create jobs or take jobs from Canadian workers. The effects of immigration flows on the Canadian labour force has been a rich source of policy debate .

**Phase nine:** An annual report to Parliament in 1994 stated that " the 1995 immigration plan represents a fundamental change to Canada's immigration policy. In the past, annual targets have been, if not the only focus, then certainly the most significant." and "this approach was inadequate to meet Canada's needs in the



1990's." A new approach to immigration policy has emerged "one that calls for a broader vision and a clearer sense of Canada's objectives. It is much more than another annual statement of the number of immigrants. It is the first step towards implementing the policy direction for a broader and more considered approach to immigration in the 21st century, ( Citizenship and Immigration Canada, p., 3) . This policy reflected the Government's commitment to include and involve Canadians in shaping their future. It is a reflection of "shared goals and shared responsibilities". It is another attempt to insure the objectives of immigration, the domestic and international challenges facing Canada and the role that immigration policy should play, (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1994, p.1-5).

### **Immigration Trends and Policy Objectives**

Immigration policy always involves an interaction between the migration experience of the country (numbers, characteristics, their role in the economy and society) and the dominant perception regarding the value of immigration, [Kritz, 1987:95]. With the implementation of the new Immigration Act of 1978, in which the immigration policy objectives are clearly defined, a large mandate on issues ranging from population to social well-being and economic growth is given. In other words, level of immigration, composition of the immigrants' stream, and integration of immigrants in Canadian Society are the main concerns. The flow of immigrants is influenced greatly by the ability to facilitate their absorption by the labour market. Immigration policy plays an important role to link the needs of the economy to the immigration levels.

**Table 1, Immigrants by Policy Objective and Category, Canada, 1981-1992**

Year	Independent		Family		Assisted relatives		Refugees		Total
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
1981	45032	35	51017	40	17590	14	14979	12	128618
1982	42294	35	49980	41	11948	10	16925	14	121147
1983	21495	24	48698	55	4997	6	13967	16	89157
1984	20916	24	43814	50	8167	10	15342	17	88239
1985	21632	26	38514	46	7396	9	16760	20	84302
1986	31985	32	42197	43	5890	6	19147	19	99219
1987	64652	43	53598	35	12283	8	21565	14	152098
1988	69721	42	51400	31	16815	10	27905	17	165841
1989	71754	38	60456	32	21387	11	36745	19	190342
1990	76102	35	73864	34	25580	12	40190	19	215736
1991	68928	30	86552	37	22307	10	53691	23	231478
1992	81038	32	99830	40	19863	8	51843	21	2525

**Source:** Immigration Statistics 1992, Citizenship and Immigration.

There are three basic objectives outlined in Canada's Immigration Act: to facilitate family reunification, to honour Canada's international obligations to Convention refugees and humanitarian assistance, and to foster the development of a prosperous economy. These represent the three main categories, the family class, the refugee and designated classes, and the independent class. During the early 1970's independent class formed the bulk of the immigrants, accounting for about 75% of the total immigration inflow, the family class and refugees formed about 25%. But from the early 1980's to 1992, the proportion of independents

declined, while the shares of refugees and family-class immigrants increased. In 1991 and 1992 family class and refugees accounted for 60%, and 61% of the total immigrant arrivals, while the independents accounted for the rest. The more significant trend is the high proportion of refugees.

**(1) Social immigration:**

Reunification of Canadians and permanent residents with their close relatives from outside Canada includes spouses; fiancé(e); unmarried children under the age of 21; parents or grandparents; and unmarried orphaned brothers, sisters, nephews, or grandchildren under 18 years of age. Applicants are not assessed according to the selection system and their applications are given the top priority. Their number depends on the eligible individuals residing in Canada who can sponsor them.

Assisted relatives are normally a more distant relative such as a niece, uncle, or grandchild, or a close relative such as a son or daughter aged 21 years or over. Although they are expected to receive short-term economic assistance from the sponsor, they are also expected to be self-supporting in the long run. In the selection of these assisted relatives, some points are awarded for assistance received from the sponsor. Beyond that, however, they are also subject to the same selection criteria applied to the independent immigrants, as education and training, demand for applicant's occupation, the existence of prearranged employment, and personal characteristics such as age, knowledge of English and French, and so on.

**Table 2, Members of Designated Classes: Type of Sponsorship, 1988-1992**

<b>Designated Classes</b>	<b>1988</b>	<b>1989</b>	<b>1990</b>	<b>1991</b>	<b>1992</b>
<b>Government Sponsored</b>	8,146	8,887	12,423	20,889	16,805
<b>Family Sponsored</b>	1,522	1,753	1,190	800	225
<b>Group Sponsored</b>	8,286	15,692	14,230	13,067	5,995
<b>Self-Supporting</b>	141	462	448	271	151
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>18,095</b>	<b>26,794</b>	<b>28,291</b>	<b>35,027</b>	<b>23,176</b>

Source: Immigration Statistics 1992, Citizenship and Immigration

## **(2) Humanitarian immigration:**

Canada has stated clearly its intention "to fulfill its international legal obligations with respect to refugees and to uphold its humanitarian tradition to the displaced and the persecuted". [S.C. 1976, c.52, s.3(g)]. This policy is executed with different groups of people. Convention refugees do not receive a point rating. This category of immigrants has grown significantly since 1981, it has increased from 12% to 21% of the total immigration, during the years 1981 to 1992.

**Table 3, shows Convention Refugees between 1988-1992**

<b>Convention Refugees</b>	<b>1988</b>	<b>1989</b>	<b>1990</b>	<b>1991</b>	<b>1992</b>
<b>Government Sponsored</b>	6,353	6,365	7,321	14,495	25,911
<b>Family Sponsored</b>	206	263	254	316	304
<b>Group Sponsored</b>	2,056	3,227	2,899	2,870	2,290
<b>Self-Supporting</b>	126	355	924	693	194
<b>Total</b>	<b>8,741</b>	<b>10,210</b>	<b>11,398</b>	<b>18,374</b>	<b>28,699</b>

Source: Immigration Statistics 1992, Citizenship and Immigration.

### **(3) Economic immigration:**

This refers to an independent class of immigrants who are self-sufficient and can establish themselves and their dependents without assistance. These immigrants are evaluated according to selection criteria and must obtain 70% on these assessments to be admitted to Canada.

Since 1967, independent immigrants have been assessed by point system, under which points are allotted for nine factors:

[1] education and training, [2] personal assessment, [3] occupational demand, [4] occupational skill, [5] age, [6] arranged employment, [7] knowledge of French and English, [8] relatives in Canada, and [9] employment opportunities in the area of destination, (Parai 1975; Hawkins, 1977). Consequently, these independent immigrants tend to be the most educated immigrants among the three classes.

Economic immigration contributed, usually, more than half of the total inflow before 1974, but with the implementation of mandatory selection criteria and declining job opportunities, this category declined slightly during the years 1981-1984. In 1984 the government decided to rectify the gap between economic and no-economic immigration. The new criteria appear to be more attractive to the economic immigrants as shown in the increased proportion of immigrants in this category since 1984.

## **Recent Trends in Origin of Immigrants**

Changes in immigration policy have also affected the level and composition of immigration flows. The countries from which most of the family-class immigrants have come are South East Asia, Middle East, the Caribbean, and South and Central America. Most of the refugees and designated classes have arrived from Eastern and Central Europe, South and Central America and the Middle East. The leading source for independents are East Asia, the United Kingdom, the United States and Arab Oil countries. Independent immigrants have to score sufficient points to qualify whereas the two other categories are exempted from the points system. Therefore, independents are more likely to integrate more quickly in the labour market than refugees or family-class immigrants.

Fluctuations in total immigration tended to respond to swings in the nation's economy, ( Wayne W. McVey and Kalbach, 1995:p,104). The level of gross immigration declined in the period 1983-1986 to lower than 100,000 per annum from a peak of 220,000 in 1974. It recovered after 1986 when immigration levels exceeded 100,000 again. The proportion of independent class immigrants "economic category" had fallen in 1983 and 1984 to 24% (see table 2) .The proportion has increased to 43% in 1987 because of improved economic conditions and the shift to a more expansionary immigration policy with an emphasis on the independent class.

Table 2, also, shows a significant increase in the proportion of both family class and refugee class immigrants. It reveals that in 1983, about 55% of all immigrants were in the family class. By 1992, this proportion had fallen to 40%.

The proportion of refugee class has increased since 1983. The proportion was greatest in 1991(23%) and 1992 (21%), when Canada admitted relatively large numbers from Middle Eastern countries: (Lebanon, Iraq and Palestinians), due to social instability, civil war and deteriorating economic conditions in these countries. A more detailed explanations of these immigrants will follow when we discuss their reasons for immigration and the expectations of Arab immigrants.

Three main trends are prevailing in the level and composition of immigration flows in the last 25 years.

- [1] There has been a decline of gross immigration, when economic conditions were deteriorating and immigration policy became more restrictive.
- [2] Improved economic conditions and expansion in immigration policy attract independent immigrants.
- [3] Canada has accepted a relatively high proportion of immigrants for humanitarian reasons (refugees and reunited families) since 1979.

### **Settlement Patterns**

Ontario and British Columbia continue to attract the largest proportion of immigrants. Vancouver and Toronto are the most popular destinations for immigrants. The third most popular destination was Montreal, with just under 22,200 of the 215,700 new Canadians in the 1994-1995 period, meanwhile almost 119,000 ( or 55%) were recorded in Toronto and Vancouver.

In 1992, 54.6% of the arrivals (138,191) resided in Ontario province, Quebec ranked second with 48,377 immigrants, 19.1% of total immigrants. A steady increase in the number of immigrants goes to British Columbia. This province attracts them because of its higher standard of living. Besides some other factors, the weather, the English language, etc. influence the immigrants in their choice. On the other hand, the forecast shows a relative decrease of the number of immigrants going to Quebec. This trend is explained by the relatively high rate of unemployment due to political insecurity about the future of the province. Many immigrants do not want to take any risk for their new future and therefore prefer to go directly to an English speaking province.

The settlement patterns of immigrants, who came between 1981 and 1991, varied across the country. Atlantic provinces attracted immigrants born in the United States 27%, the United Kingdom 16% and other Middle Eastern and Asian countries 23%, [ Statistics Canada- Catalogue No.96- 311 E]. Immigrants born in the Caribbean, Central and South America, the Middle East and Africa had higher proportions in Quebec. In 1991 Census, persons from Asia and the Middle East made up the largest proportion of recent arrivals in the province, accounting for 42% of immigrants who came between 1981 and 1991. These trends are reflected in the most frequent source countries for recent immigrants in Quebec. Lebanon was at the top of the list, followed by Haiti and Vietnam. In contrast, Italy, France and Haiti were the main countries of birth for the total immigrant population in Quebec.



Ontario has more than half of total immigrants in Canada. Among immigrants, who came between 1981 and 1991, and had settled in Ontario, about 75% were from non-European countries, with the largest proportion (45%) from Asia and the Middle East. Hong Kong was the most frequent country of birth for Ontario's recent immigrants, followed by Poland, the United Kingdom, India and China.

Saskatchewan had the highest proportions of immigrants, who came between 1981 and 1991, from the United States (15%) and Europe (59%). The Prairies attract immigrants from the United States, the proportion of 15% of recent arrivals in Saskatchewan and 5% in Manitoba and 6% in Alberta were American-born, compared with 4% in Ontario and 3% in Quebec.

During the years 1981 to 1991, one-third of all immigrants in British Columbia are from Asia and the Middle East, compared with one-quarter at the national level. Asian-born immigrants formed 64% of recent arrivals to British Columbia. As in other provinces, the proportion of European-born immigrants in British Columbia has declined from 87% of those who came before 1961 to 19% of those who came within the last decade. In brief, changes in the sources of immigrants since the 1960's have altered the ethnic composition of Canada. The characteristics of these immigrants are reflection of global disparities in standard of living and opportunities for social and physical mobility, as well as the selective nature of Canadian immigration policy and regulations, which attempt to attract and admit those most likely to succeed in Canadian society.

## **Characteristics of the Immigrant Population**

Waves of immigration have created an immigrant population with a slightly different demographic profile than the Canadian-born population. These differences affect Canadian society and the immigrants' role in the labour force.

Canada's population reached 29,606,100 persons on July 1, 1995, having grown by 355,000 over the previous 12 month period. The 1995 international migration picture includes 215,700 persons who became new permanent residents of Canada. This is 19% fewer than the 1993 peak, and 5% fewer than 1994. Over the 1990's, the number of immigrants increased steadily until 1993, and has declined since. The net number of international migrants has varied from a high of 216,000 in 1992 to a low of 123,000 in 1994. The immigrant population represented 16% of Canada's population in 1991, almost unchanged since 1951 (15%), 48% of them arrived in Canada before 1971, 24% between 1971 and 1980, and 28% between 1981 and 1991. Of the many characteristics that differentiate the new immigrants from the resident population, and affect their economic role, the following characteristics will be discussed:

### **1. Origins**

The proportion of European-born persons immigrating to Canada declined steadily in recent years, 90% of immigrants who arrived in Canada before 1961 were born in Europe. This proportion fell to 69% for those who arrived between 1961 and 1970; to 36% for those who immigrated between 1971 and 1980;

and to one-quarter for those arrived between 1981 and 1991. At the same time, the proportion of immigrants born in Asia and other non-European areas has increased due to: (1) new immigration policy as we have discussed; (2) political situation and unrest; (3) independent immigrants who are given the same sponsoring privileges in family re-unification as European immigrants enjoy.

There is much diversity in the places of origin. The annual Immigration Statistics lists a total of 184 countries of birth. We often pay special attention to the top ten sending countries. Landed immigrants born in Asia and the Middle East made up 48% of immigrants who came to Canada between 1981 and 1991, but only 3% of those who came before 1961. The European-born made up the second largest group among recent immigrants 25%, with those from Eastern Europe, particularly from Poland, comprising the largest proportion of this group. An additional 10% of recent arrivals were born in Central and South America, 6% in the Caribbean, 6% in Africa and 4% in the United States. According to the 1991 Census, one third of Canada's population reported ethnic origins which were neither British nor French. Three-quarters of immigrants were of non-British or non-French origins, compared with one-quarter of persons born in Canada. Among immigrants of ethnic origins other than British or French, 38% reported single European origins. Immigrants of single Asian origin were the next largest group 22% followed by single West Asian and Arabs 4%.

Table 4 shows the top ten countries of birth for all immigrants; and the ranking of the top ten countries of birth for recent immigrants who landed between 1981-1991. Based on 1991 Census data, Asian and Middle Eastern countries

accounted for six of the ten most frequently reported countries of birth for immigrants who came to Canada between 1981 and 1991.

**Table 4, Top 10 Countries of Birth for All Immigrant Population and Recent Immigrants who arrived between 1981 and 1991.**

Rank	Countries	All Immigrants	%	Recent Immigrants 1981-1991		
				Country	Recent Nos	%
1	U. K.	717745	16.5	Hong Kong	96540	7.8
2	Italy	351620	8.1	Poland	77455	6.3
3	U. S.	249080	5.7	China	75840	6.1
4	Poland	184695	4.3	India	73105	5.9
5	Germany	180525	4.2	U. K.	71365	5.8
6	India	173670	4	Vietnam	69520	5.6
7	Portugal	161180	3.7	Filipinos	64290	5.2
8	CHINA	157405	3.6	U. S.	55415	4.5
9	Hong Kong	152455	3.5	Portugal	35440	2.9
10	Netherlands	129615	3	Lebanon	34065	2.8
<b>Total</b>		<b>4342890</b>	<b>100</b>		<b>1238455</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source:** 1991 Census of Canada.

## 2. Age

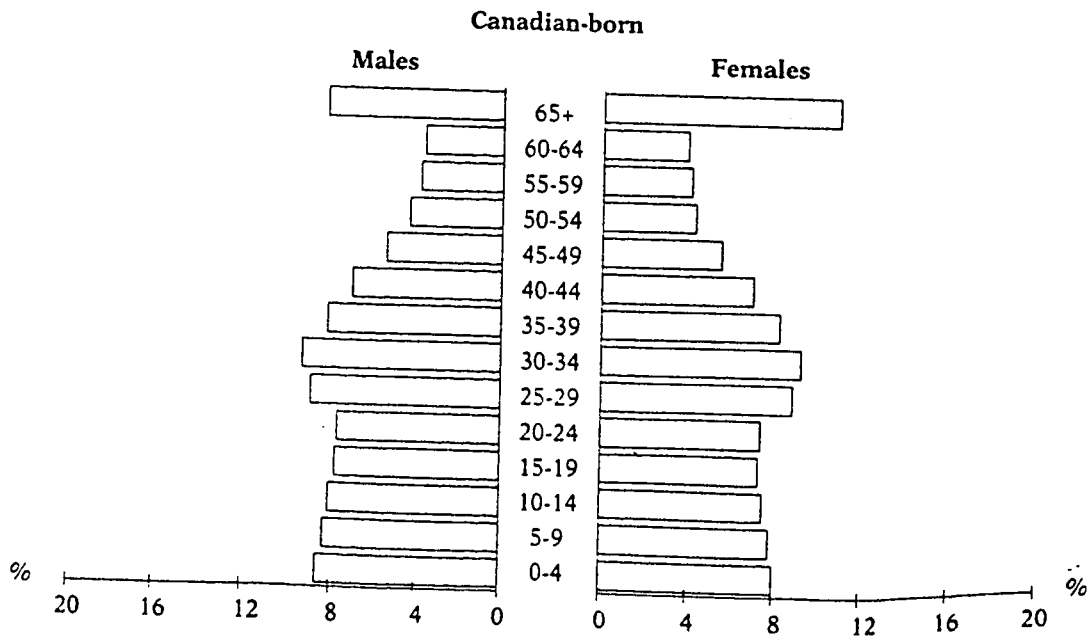
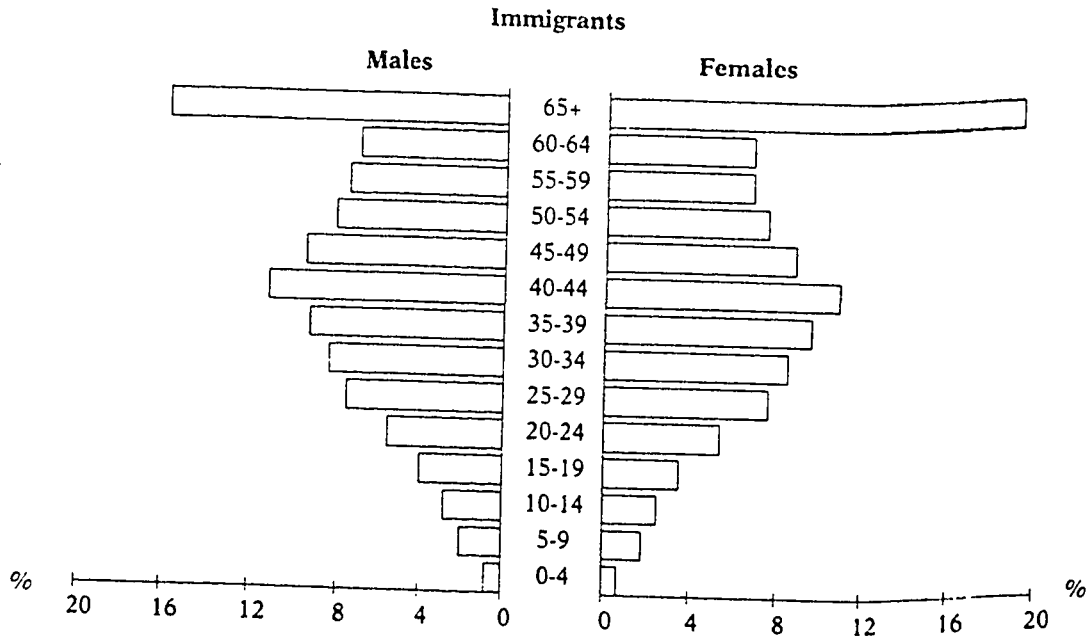
The majority of immigrants came to Canada as young adults. According to the 1991 Census, 37% of immigrants were aged 25 to 44 when they came to Canada. Another 27% arrived when they were aged 15 to 24, while 28% were younger than 15 years old. Another 8% were 45 years old and over when they immigrated to Canada. The median age of immigrant population at the time of immigration was 23.6 years. The immigrants' arrival age varied by place of birth.

A trend towards older immigrants is reflected in the median age at immigration. The median age for immigrants who came before 1961 was 21.1 years, and 23.4 for those who came during the 1960's, to 23.7 years for who came in the 1970's, and finally 26.7 years for who arrived between 1981 and 1991,[ Statistics Canada- Catalogue No.96-311 E]. Women who immigrated in the last decade aged 45 years or more, were 3% more than men. This trend is a result of policy objectives to reunite separated families.

The age structure of the immigrant population, who came between 1981 and 1991, had higher proportion of older immigrants and a lower proportion of children than the Canadian-born population. The reason is that children born after immigration are counted as Canadian born rather than from immigrant population. According to the 1991 Census, the age results of 5% of all immigrants were younger than 15 years, while 24% of Canadian-born were so. Meanwhile the opposite was at the end of the scale were 18% of immigrants aged 65 years or more, while 10% of Canadian-born were 65 years or more, [Statistics Canada- Catalogue No.96-311 E] .

The contrast in age composition between immigrants and the Canadian-born is clear in their respective population pyramids. The age distribution of the immigrant population is represented by an inverted pyramid, indicating a relatively older population while Canadian-born is represented by an upright pyramid, indicating a younger population.

**CHART 1  
AGE-SEX DISTRIBUTION OF IMMIGRANT AND CANADIAN-BORN  
POPULATIONS, CANADA, 1991.**



**SOURCE: 1991 CENSUS OF CANADA.**

### **3. Gender**

More males than females, historically, have immigrated to Canada. The gap has gradually narrowed due to the increase of immigrant women and the higher survival rate. According to 1981 Census, immigrant women outnumbered immigrant men for the first time. According to the 1991 Census, men were slightly fewer than women among immigrants, there were 96.3 men per 100 women, while Canadian-born men were 97.9 per 100 women. The ratio for recent immigrants was similar to that for the total immigrant population. The highest ratio of men to women were: Western Asia and the Middle East 127.2 men per 100 women, Africa 115.6 and Southern Europe 109.1. Proportionately fewer men than women were landing from the United States (76.1 men per 100 women), the Caribbean (78.3 per 100 Women), and the United Kingdom (86.1 per 100 women). There was a higher ratio of men compared to women among recent arrivals from Middle East, Western Asia, Africa, Eastern Europe, Southern Europe, and Southern Asia.

### **4. Marital status**

According to the 1991 Census, immigrants were more likely to be married than Canadian-born counterparts. Of those aged 15 years and over, 66% of immigrants were married compared with 52% of the Canadian-born. The proportion of widowed was, also, higher for immigrants: 8% compared with 5% to the Canadian-born. Immigrants were less likely to be single. Never married immigrants were 18% compared to 33% to the Canadian-born.

The differences in marital status reflect the proportion of the older persons which was higher among immigrants compared with the Canadian-born, hence they were more likely to be married. The data of the 1991 Census suggest that the proportion of married was higher for immigrants than for the Canadian-born, in all age groups.

## **5. Fertility**

Immigrant women had slightly more children than women born in Canada. The average number of children born to immigrant women age 15 to 44 was 1,816 per 1,000, compared with 1,738 for Canadian-born women. In the 1991 Census, 83% of married immigrant women age 15 to 44 had at least one child, compared with 81% of Canadian-born women. However, the number of children born to immigrant women age 15 to 44 varied by place of birth. Immigrant women born in Central America had the highest, followed by women from Western Asia and the Middle East [2043 children per 1000 women].

## **6. Educational attainment**

Education is a major prerequisite for success in the labour market. The 1991 Census showed that a higher proportion of immigrants had university degrees than did the Canadian-born. At the same time a larger percentage of immigrants than the Canadian-born reported less than grade 9 education. About 14% of immigrants age 15 and over had university degrees, compared with 11% of the



Canadian-born. The difference was evident for both men and women. Among immigrant men, 17% had a university degree, compared with 12% of men born in Canada. Immigrant women 12% held university degrees, as opposed to 9% of their Canadian-born counterparts. The higher level of educational attainment of immigrants is partly due to Canada's immigration policy, which has emphasized educational achievement and occupational qualification in selecting immigrants.

Recent immigrants also, have a higher proportion 19% with less than grade 9 education compared with 13% for Canadian-born. Immigrant women were less likely than immigrant men to have less than grade 9 schooling: 21% of immigrant women reported this educational level, compared with 16% of immigrant men and 13% of Canadian-born women.

In the 1991 Census, 40% of immigrants and 39% of persons born in Canada with less than grade 9 were aged 65 years and over. Many of these people completed their formal schooling at a time when educational opportunities and expectations were quite different from today.

Table 5 shows the highest level of education by place of birth for immigrants aged 15 years and more according to Census data of 1991. The immigrant population counted 4,112,070; the fourteen percent of this group had university degrees; 35% had some post-secondary education; 31.2% had 9-13 years of school; and 18.9% had less than grade 9 schooling. The table, also, shows the place of birth for each category.

The overall median years of schooling for immigrants was 12.8 years, with slight differences across the provinces [Statistics Canada, CS No- 96311 E].

**Table 5 Level of education by Place of Birth for Immigrants Age 15 years and over, Canada, 1991**

Place of Birth	Total Number	%	Less than Grade 9	Grades 9 - 13	Post Secondary	Univ-ersity Degree
U. S. A.	231415	100	8.9	28.3	34.6	28.2
Central America	53475	100	23.9	34.3	33.7	8
South America	138520	100	10	37.6	41.4	10.9
Caribbean	218645	199	8.9	36.1	45.4	9.6
U. K.	702435	100	6.8	38.7	42.1	12.4
Northern Europe	81310	100	15.1	29.9	43.7	11.4
Western Europe	421960	100	12.3	27.2	48.5	12
Eastern Europe	398415	100	25.4	26.3	34.5	13.7
Southern Europe	699020	100	47.6	26.8	21.3	4.3
Africa	153525	100	6.2	27.3	41.1	25.5
Middle East	125240	100	13.1	32.3	32.6	22
Eastern Asia	346140	100	17.4	31.1	29	22.5
South East Asia	280435	100	15.1	32.5	34	18.4
Southern Asia	217690	100	13.9	32.4	29.1	24.6
Oceanic & other	43840	100	9.5	33.3	41.9	15.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>4112070</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>18.9</b>	<b>31.2</b>	<b>35.5</b>	<b>14.4</b>

Source: 1991 Census of Canada.

## 7. Language(s) proficiency

Proficiency in official language(s) English and /or French is considered an essential prerequisites for successful entry into the Canadian labour market. Language training in the official languages is an important priority for newly arrived immigrants (Boyd, 1987).

Over time the majority of immigrants have come to associate with one or the other of the official languages. The category "Predominant language" combines the responses on language spoken at home and knowledge of official language. Persons who speak English or French at home were assigned this language as their predominant language (Beaujot, 1991). Quebec receives the majority of French speaking immigrants to Canada. Language policy in Quebec has made French effectively the language of the society especially in schools, and the government. Quebec's involvement in immigrant selection, is having the impact of promoting a greater association to the French language among more recent immigrants and their children.

The proportion who reported a language other than English or French as their mother tongue grew from 11% in 1986 to 13% in 1991. Most of the increase in non-official languages occurred in Ontario, British Columbia and Quebec, where most arrivals have settled. Three of the five most frequently reported non-official languages for recent arrivals were non-European. The proportion of immigrants reporting French as their single mother tongue remained relatively stable regardless of the period of immigration. Recent immigrants were most likely to report a non-official language as their home language 56%, compared with 35% of all immigrants and 2% of the Canadian-born population. According to the 1991 Census, the majority of immigrants 73% who came before 1961 reported English only as the language most often spoken at home. This proportion declined to 33% for recent immigrants. The proportion of those speaking French at home has increased slightly by period of immigration, from 3% of immigrants who came

before 1961 to 4% of recent arrivals. The recent top non-official home languages among recent immigrants are: Chinese and Polish,( Statistics Canada- Catalogue No.96-311 E). According to the 1991 Census, 79% of all immigrants reporting that they could conduct a conversation in English only, 4% in French only and 12% in both, the remaining 6% (273,000) said that they were unable to conduct a conversation in either English or French, more than a third of them were Chinese.

An immigration Consultation Report [Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1994, P.41] addressed the language issue by asking "How should we help new comers integrate into Canadian Society?"The answer focuses on language as the key to integration. "It is either the greatest barrier to integration or the chief means of achieving it."

**Table 6, Most Frequent Home Languages for the Canadian-born and immigrants, Canada, 1991**

	<b>Canada n-born</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>All Immigrants</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>Immigrated before 1961</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>Recent immigran</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>Total</b>	22427745	100	4342890	100	1239035	100	1238450	100
<b>Single response</b>	22197490	99	4098520	94	1194410	96	1147510	93
<b>English</b>	15711005	70	2423835	56	904600	73	406985	33
<b>French</b>	6033250	27	168885	4	31735	3	51430	4
<b>Non-Official</b>	453235	2	1505800	35	258075	21	689095	56
<b>Multiple response</b>	230255	1	244365	6	44615	4	90930	7

Source Census of Canada.

## Immigration and Population Growth

The demographic impact of immigration clearly depends on the proportion of immigrants who stay in Canada. There is an important relationship between the levels of immigration and emigration, due in part to the subsequent departure of immigrants (Beaujot and rappak, 1989). After adjusting for deaths, it is estimated that some 30% of the immigrants who arrived between 1951-1970 and 20% of the 1971-80 arrivals had left by 1986.

**Table: 7 Components of Population Growth in Canada , between 1901-1991**

Year	Number ('000)				Percentage	
	Total population	Total pop. Increase	Immigration	Emmigration	Net Migration of total Pop. Growth	Average Annual Pop. Growth
1901	5371	538	250	380	-24.2	1.1
1911	7207	1835	1550	739	44.1	3
1921	8788	1581	1400	1089	19.7	2
1931	10377	1589	1200	971	14.5	1.7
1941	11507	1130	149	241	-8.1	1
1951	14009	2141	548	379	7.9	1.7
1961	18238	4229	1543	462	25.5	2.6
1971	21568	3330	1429	707	21.7	1.7
1981	24343	2775	1429	566	28.6	1.2
1991	26994	4342	1374	582	24.8	1.7

**sources:** Ottawa: Statistics Canada Catalogue No. 11-402 E.

Ottawa: Statistics Canada Catalogue No. 91-210.

The figures in table 7 show the significance of immigration for overall growth of the Canadian population. They imply that net migration of 4.3 million persons since the turn of the century comprised 20.3% of the population growth over the period,

(Basavarajappa, K.G. 1990, p. 2 ). The relative contribution to population growth was the highest between 1901 and 1911, when it reached 44.1%, but it has also been high in the last three decades, amounting to 28.6% in the 1971 to 1981 period. As fertility, natural increase, become lower, the relative contribution of immigration growth necessarily increases.

Table 7 also shows that Canada gained 792,000 people through net immigration between 1981-1991. This was a consequence of the immigration of 1,374,000 people and the emigration of 582,000 people. There are two categories of people who emigrate from Canada. First: there are those immigrants who go back to their former country of residence, and second: there are those who emigrate to another country from Canada. Richmond and Reynolds (1965) have shown that British immigrants constitute mainly the former group, because they do not have to change much when they come to Canada (language and customs), and they can leave when they want. That explains why nearly half the British immigrants leave.

The United States demographic figures show that many Scandinavians use Canada as a means to go in to the United States. This group mainly constitutes the second category of emigrating people. Since the higher United States standard of living is more attractive, these immigrants want to go south as soon as possible. A further concern is over the consequences of the possible loss of trained manpower, or what has been referred to as the "brain drain". Analyses show that Canada has lost professional and skilled workers to the United States and the United Kingdom, more than the offset made up by the number of professional and skilled workers immigrating to Canada from all sources. (Kalbach, 1995: P., 101).

As we have seen, a substantial level of annual immigration is to compensate the deficit in natural increase. Immigration is likely to be the only source of population growth in the future, but the demographic question is not the only factor.

## **Summary**

Knowing the recent demographic trends of immigration in light of the evolution of immigration policies is important in order to address the research questions. The composition of immigrants has shifted in favour of immigrants from Third World countries, away from immigrants from traditional source, Europe and the United States as data from the 1991 Census show. Although immigrants' share of the total population has remained relatively stable since 1951 (15%).

Recent immigrants who came to Canada between 1981 and 1991 were mostly attracted to British Columbia, Ontario, Quebec and Alberta.

There has been a major increase in the recent immigration flow of refugees and family class, while independent class has relatively decreased. Educational attainments between recent immigrants and Canadian-born were in favour of immigrants with regards to university education. Although recent immigrants tended to have higher levels of education, a number of immigrants, especially among the older age groups, had less than Grade 9 schooling. Immigrants were more likely to be married than persons born in Canada. Of those aged 15 and over, 66% of immigrants were married compared with 52% of the Canadian-born.

## CHAPTER TWO

### IMMIGRANTS IN THE LABOUR FORCE

The economic impact of immigration varies depending upon the health of the economy and the extent to which the immigrant element of the labour force has the skills and the experience needed by the host society, ( Wane W. McVey and Kalbach , 1995: p.,104). Many economic studies have been carried out, but with contradictory results. Fluctuations in total immigration tend to respond to swings in the nation's economy. Public fear of competition for scarce jobs can exert pressure on government to limit immigration during times of economic insecurity and high unemployment rates. Under the 1978 immigration act, the government can set annual immigration levels based on provincial demographic needs and prevailing labour market conditions. "For example, as the national economy worsened in the early part of the 1980's, the upper limit for 1984 immigrants admissions was changed from 145,000 in 1981 to 125,000 in 1982, and further lowered in 1984 to 90,000. Correspondingly, overriding concerns about depressed fertility prompted Canada to raise the annual immigration ceiling to 250,000 in the 1990's, in spite of continued increases in unemployment", ( Wane W. McVey and Kalbach , 1995: p.,104). Thus, at various stages in Canada's history immigrants have been admitted to meet the demand for specific quantities of persons which are thought to influence both consumer and labour markets.

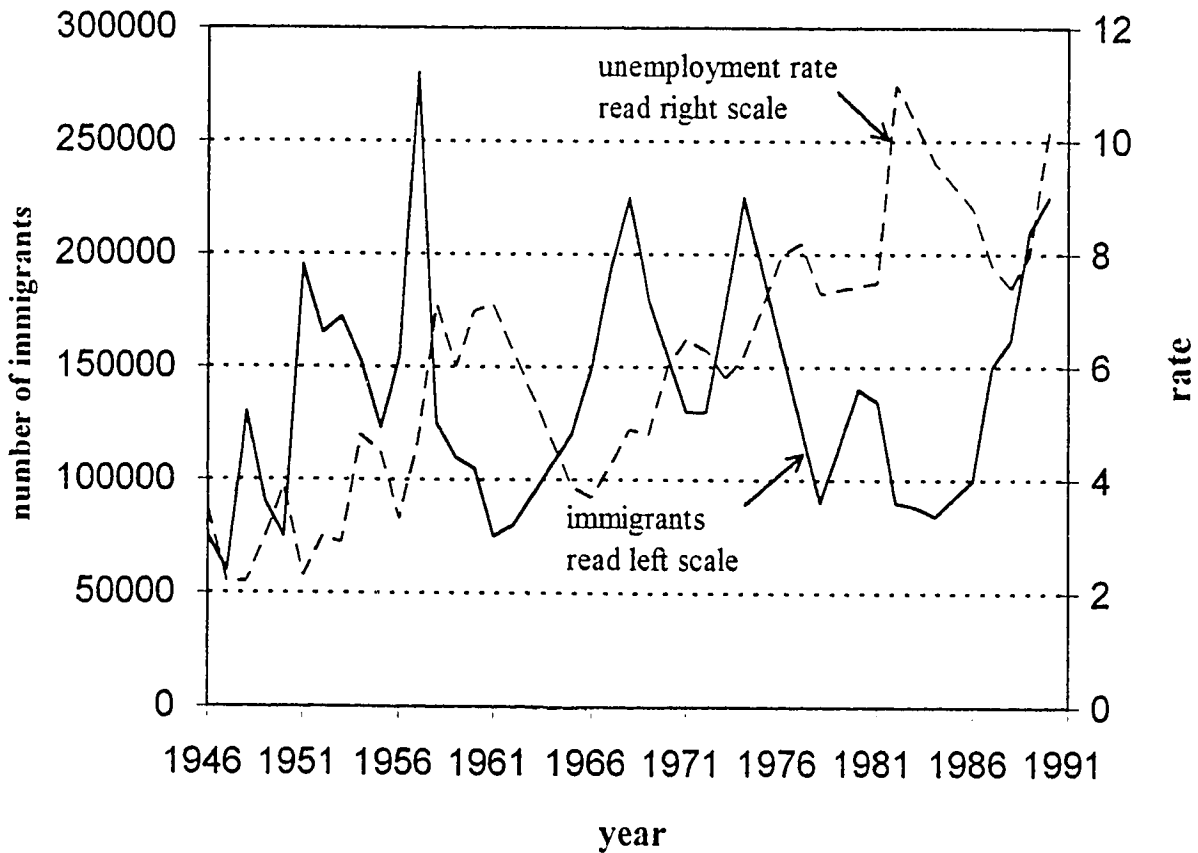
By all measurements, immigration has made an important contribution to labour force growth. The labour force grew by 74%, or 5,547,000 persons over the



period 1966-86; the immigrants' share in these twenty years, was 1,292,000 or 23% who had arrived in that period, (Beaujot, Roderic, 1991:p.129). Figure 2 portrays the interplay of Canada's unemployment rates with total annual immigration between 1946 and 1991. As can be seen fluctuations in annual immigration tended to respond negatively to swings in the nation's economy.

**CHART 2**

**IMMIGRATION AND UNEMPLOYMENT, CANADA: 1946-1991**



**Source:** Immigration Statistics, Cat. MP 22-1; Labour Force, Cat. 71-52.

## **Labour Force Participation**

Labour force participation rate is the percentage of the population 15 years of age and over (excluding institutional residents) who are in the labour force (employed or unemployed) during the week prior to the week of monthly survey (the reference week).

Immigrants' annual labour force participation rates were higher in 1991 than 1986, 65.2% compared to 64.7%, while 68.7% of Canadian-born participated in the labour force in 1991. The participation rate of immigrant women was 56.5%, compared with 60.8% of Canadian-born women. As for immigrant men, 74.3% were in the labour force, compared with 77% of Canadian-born men. Participation rates of immigrants in the labour force varied significantly by age, educational attainment, knowledge of English or French and length of residence in Canada. The average income (income earned in 1985) of the immigrant population is higher than that of non-immigrants (\$23,272 compared to \$ 21,407 for men, or + 9%, and \$ 11,921 for women, or + 6%). The breakdown among the various categories of income by sex and place of birth is similar.

### **Age and Labour Force Participation:**

Any comparison of labour force participation rates for the immigrant and Canadian-born populations is affected by their different age structures. Overall, younger immigrants tended to have lower participation rates than their Canadian-born counterparts, while immigrants in older age groups had higher rates. Among men aged 15 to 24, 65.5% of immigrants and 69.7% of the Canadian-born were in

the labour force, the participation rate of women of the same age group was lower for immigrants than Canadian-born, 62.6% compared with 65.5%. Lower participation rates for immigrants may be attributed to the fact that more immigrants than the Canadian-born in this age group were attending school. Table 8 shows the Labour force participation rate by age group, sex and period of immigration, for the Canadian-born and immigrants, according to the 1991 Census.

**Table 8 :Labour Force Participation Rate by Age Group, Sex, and Selected Periods of Immigration for Canadian- born and immigrants, Canada 1991**

Population	Canada -born	All Immig- grants	Period of Immigration			
			Before 1961	1961- 1970	1971-80	1981-91
<b>Age 15+</b>						
<b>Total</b>	68.7	65.2	45.1	75.8	76.9	69.2
<b>Male</b>	77	74.3	55.5	85.3	85.7	77.8
<b>Female</b>	60.8	56.5	35.2	66.6	69.4	61.2
<b>Age 15 - 24</b>						
<b>Total</b>	67.6	64	Na	86.9	70.1	56.3
<b>Male</b>	69.7	65.5	Na	88.1	70.7	58.3
<b>Female</b>	65.5	62.6	Na	85.6	69.6	54.2
<b>Age 25-44</b>						
<b>Total</b>	86.9	86.1	89.9	88.5	88.2	82.1
<b>Male</b>	94.6	93.8	96.2	95.4	95.5	90.7
<b>Female</b>	79.3	78.8	83.3	81.9	81.4	73.7
<b>Age 45 - 64</b>						
<b>Total</b>	67.5	72.3	66.2	78.9	79.9	64.1
<b>Male</b>	79.2	84.1	79.1	89.4	90	77.9
<b>Female</b>	56.2	60.1	52.4	68.1	68.9	51.8
<b>Age 65+</b>						
<b>Total</b>	9.3	9.7	9.3	10.4	9.1	12.5
<b>Male</b>	14.3	14.6	13.7	16.2	14.7	19.8
<b>Female</b>	5.6	5.9	5.7	6.3	5.6	7.4

Na = not applicable, Source: 1991 Census of Canada.

### **Length of Residence and Labour Force Participation**

The labour force participation rate varied according to the length of time the immigrants stayed in Canada. This is shown in table 8. The labour force participation rate of recent immigrants [69.2%] was lower than that for immigrants who arrived in the 1960's [75.8%] and 1970's [76.9%]. Recent immigrants may take more time to acquire language skills in either English and/or French and to adapt to Canada's labour market, hence they are less likely to participate fully in the labour force than immigrants who arrived earlier. Table 8, also, shows that recent immigrants had lower labour force participation rates than those who arrived earlier, in all age groups, except age 65 and over. The labour force participation rate of recent immigrant men aged 45 to 64 was 77.9% compared with 89.4% of men who arrived in the 1960's and 90% of those who arrived in the 1970's. The rate was 51.8% for recent immigrant women, compared to 68.1% and 68.9% of those who arrived in the 1960's and 1970's, respectively.

### **Place of Birth and Labour Force Participation**

Table 9 shows that the labour force participation rates for immigrants varied by birthplace. Immigrant men from Africa, Southern Asia, the Caribbean, Central and South America had the highest rates, ranging from 84.3% to 80.4% while immigrant men born in Eastern Europe had the lowest participation rate at 57.3%.

Among recent immigrant women, the highest participation rates were for those from North Europe, Eastern Europe, South East Asian and Western Europe.

The lowest rates were for women born in the Middle East, these low participation rates may be due to their cultural and religious values, which regard men as the main breadwinner or because they are taking care of their children, they may take more time to adapt to labour market conditions. However, it seems that these attitudes are diminishing gradually with their descendants.

**Table 9 :Labour Force Participation Rate by Place of Birth, Sex, and Selected Periods of Immigration Aged 15 Years and over, Canada 1991**

	All immigrants		Immigrated before		Recent immigrants*	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
<b>Total</b>	<b>74.3</b>	<b>56.5</b>	<b>55.5</b>	<b>35.2</b>	<b>77.8</b>	<b>61.2</b>
<b>United States</b>	72	55.1	43	24.8	79.1	61.9
<b>Central &amp; South America</b>	82.4	65.8	77.4	56.7	78.4	59.9
<b>Caribbean &amp; Bermuda</b>	83.6	72.3	66	54.6	76.8	65.6
<b>United Kingdom</b>	70.1	51.5	49.2	32.1	82.7	63.8
<b>Northern Europe</b>	66.6	51.6	51.7	36.8	88.6	70.8
<b>Western Europe</b>	75.9	54.8	69	45.7	84.7	65.8
<b>Eastern Europe</b>	57.3	41.1	38.6	22.2	82.6	67.3
<b>Southern Europe</b>	75.8	53.1	62.2	40.5	85	58.2
<b>Africa</b>	84.3	67.5	72.9	51.3	82.8	63.2
<b>Middle East &amp; West Asia</b>	77.4	51.9	71.7	41	75.3	49.7
<b>Eastern Asia</b>	73.6	57.9	68.5	41.8	68.3	54.1
<b>South East Asia</b>	78.8	70.1	60.4	41.4	75	66.4
<b>Southern Asia</b>	84.2	65.1	62	43.7	81.7	60.8
<b>Oceanic &amp; other</b>	80.4	65	58.9	40.4	78.9	61.9

**Source: 1991 Census of Canada.**

(\*) Immigrants who came to Canada between 1981 and 1991.

## Educational Attainment and Labour Force Participation

The higher the level of education the immigrant has, the more likely their participation in the labour force. Immigrant men with less than Grade 9 schooling had the lowest participation rate 52.3%, while university graduates had a much higher rate 87.8%. Similarly, 30.4% of immigrant women with Grade 9 or less were in the labour force, compared with 80.2% of university graduates.

Table 10 shows that immigrants with a university degree had a lower labour force participation rate than the Canadian-born with the same educational background for both men and women. The table also shows that participation rates for university-educated varied according to age.

Table 10 : Labour Force Participation Rate By Age Group, Sex and Education for the Canadian-born and Immigrants Aged 15 Years and over, Canada, 1991.

		< grade 9		Grades 9-13		post-secondary		University degree	
Total	Canadian-born	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
		46.9	21.6	73.2	54.6	87.7	75.6	90.2	84.7
	Immigrant	52.3	30.4	68.8	50.9	81.7	70.6	87.8	80.2
Age 15-24	Canadian-born	47	30.1	60.3	51.6	88.8	86	89.5	90.1
	Immigrant	63.2	48	54.9	49.8	80	77.6	81.7	81.1
Age 25-44	Canadian-born	77.8	47.4	93.5	72.8	96.4	84.4	97.2	90
	Immigrant	89.1	65.5	92	74	94.8	82.4	95.3	85.3
Age 45-64	Canadian-born	65	31.8	79.6	54.7	84.8	69.2	90.1	79.7
	Immigrant	74.6	42.7	81.6	57.1	87.2	71.7	91.4	81.2

Source: 1991 Census of Canada

## **Knowledge of the Official Languages and Labour Force Participation**

Immigrants who had proficiency in English or French are more likely to find jobs and participate in the labour market. According to the 1991 Census 28.5% of immigrant women were unable to converse in English or French. On the other hand, immigrants who know both languages had the highest labour force participation rate among the immigrant population. The labour force participation rate was 80.8% for immigrant men who had proficiency in both English and French, and 67.9% for immigrant women with similar language skills.

### **Immigrants' Occupations:**

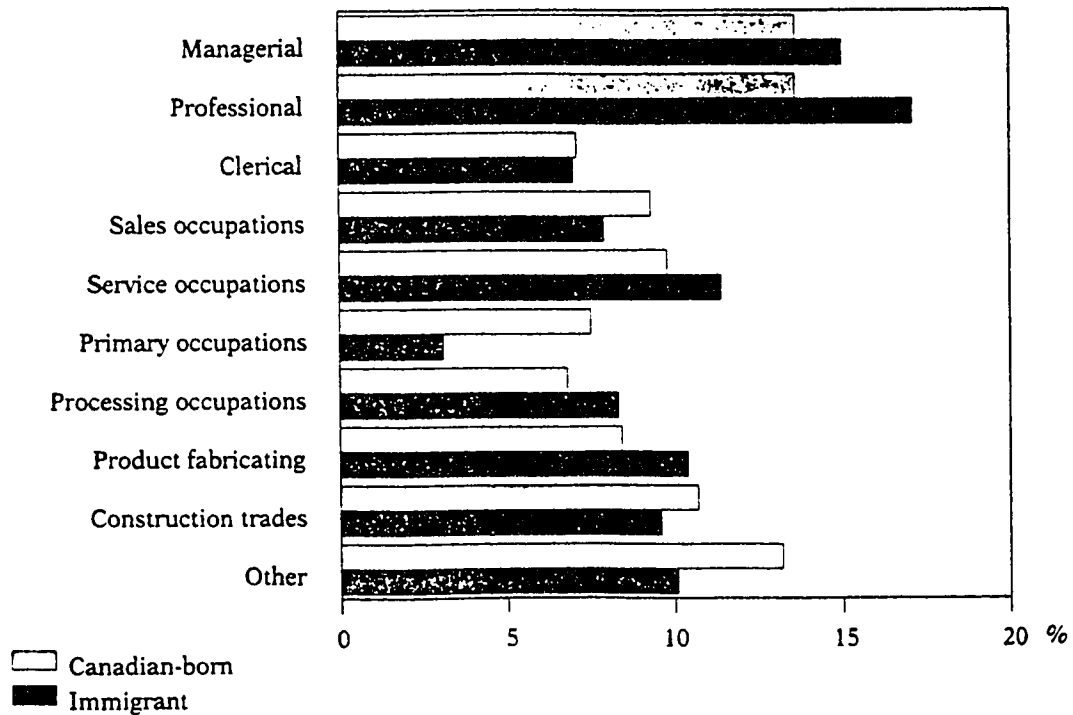
According to the 1991 Census, the occupations of immigrants differed from the Canadian-born population.

Immigrant men were more likely than Canadian-born men to be employed in professional 17%, managerial and administrative occupations 15%, service 11%, product fabricating 10%, and processing occupations 8%. These five occupational groups accounted for 62% of all immigrant men in the experienced labour force, compared with 52% of Canadian-born men as chart 3 shows. On the other hand, comparatively fewer immigrant men worked in construction trades 10% or primary 3%, sales 8% and other occupations 10%.

Immigrant women, (see chart 4), were more likely than Canadian-born women to be employed in service 17%, processing 3% and product fabricating 8% occupations. Recent immigrant women were proportionately four times more likely

than their Canadian-born counterparts to work in product fabricating jobs. As with Canadian-born women, about one-half of immigrant women were concentrated in clerical 28% and professional 20% occupations, although fewer immigrant women than the Canadian-born worked in these occupations. Recent immigrant women were more concentrated in service 22%, processing 3% and product fabricating 10% occupations than all immigrant women and the Canadian-born. On the other hand, the proportion of female immigrants in professional 17% and clerical 26% was lower than that immigrant women and the Canadian-born.

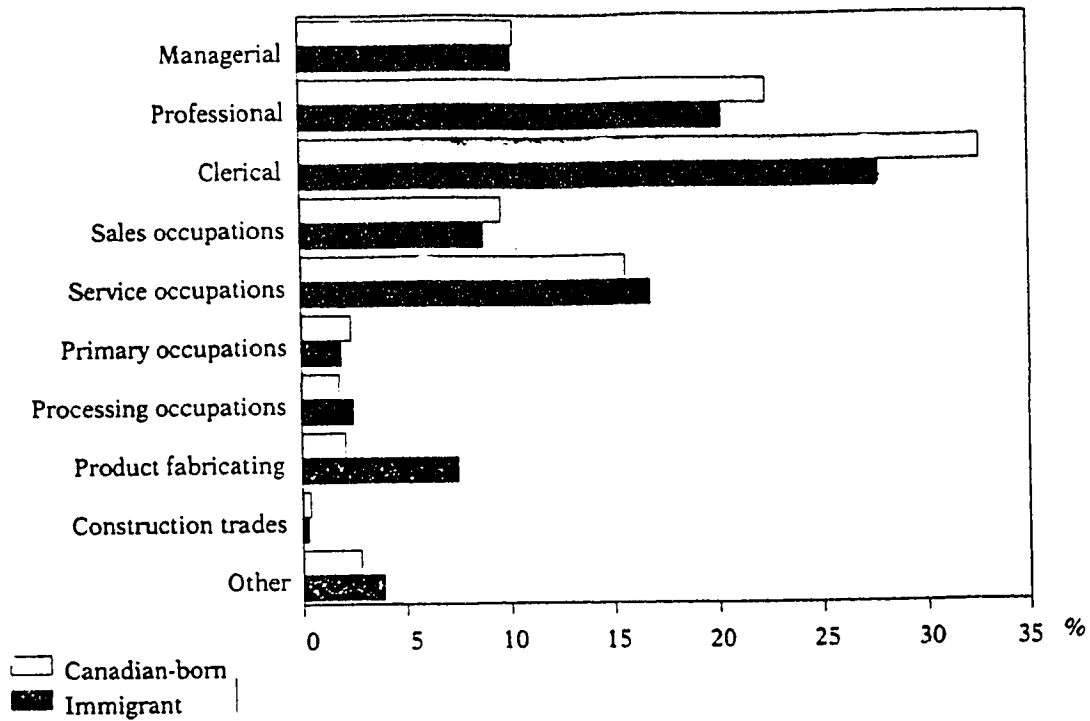
**Chart 3 Percentage Distribution Of Major Occupation For Canadian-born And Immigrant Men , Canada, 1991**



Source: Statistics Canada, 1991 Census Of Canada



**Chart: 4 Percentage Distribution Of Major Occupation For Canadian-born And Immigrant Women , Canada, 1991**



Source: Statistics Canada, 1991 Census Of Canada.

According to the 1991 Census, the occupational characteristics of immigrants varied by nationality, about one-third of recent immigrant men from the United States were employed in professional jobs as it appears in table 11. Relatively high proportions of recent arrivals from the United Kingdom 25%, Northern Europe 27%, Western Europe 20%, Africa 21%, and Eastern Asia 20% were also employed in these occupations. Recent immigrant men from Central America 20%, Eastern Asia 20% and Oceanic 19% were more likely to be employed in service occupations. Almost one-third of immigrant men from Southern Europe worked in construction occupations, while immigrant men from South East Asia 18%, South America 16% and the Caribbean 15% had highest concentrations in product fabricating jobs.

**Table 1 1**  
**Major Occupation Group by Place of Birth for Recent Immigrant Men (1), Canada, 1991**

Place of birth	Percent										
	Total	Managerial & admin. related	Professional & related	Clerical & related	Sales	Service	Primary	Processing	Product fabricating	Construction trades	Other
<b>Total</b>	<b>407,160</b>	<b>10.5</b>	<b>15.4</b>	<b>8.8</b>	<b>7.8</b>	<b>16.2</b>	<b>2.7</b>	<b>8.5</b>	<b>11.5</b>	<b>7.8</b>	<b>10.8</b>
U.S.A.	12,905	17.3	30.8	6.9	8.5	9.0	4.6	3.1	4.9	7.0	7.7
Central America	15,950	4.6	8.7	7.9	3.4	20.3	6.6	11.9	13.9	9.7	12.9
South America	22,140	7.8	11.2	11.8	5.8	16.1	0.9	10.2	15.7	7.7	12.8
Caribbean & Bermuda	21,670	6.5	9.0	12.9	6.5	17.5	1.2	10.8	15.0	6.3	14.5
United Kingdom	23,670	16.6	25.2	6.4	8.6	9.1	3.4	5.8	9.4	7.1	8.3
Northern Europe	3,035	14.0	26.5	5.4	7.9	7.6	3.0	6.7	9.9	12.5	6.8
Western Europe	13,780	19.4	20.4	4.2	6.7	10.7	12.5	6.7	7.5	5.8	6.1
Eastern Europe	44,720	4.8	17.2	4.8	4.9	11.6	2.2	12.3	14.2	15.3	12.7
Southern Europe	22,480	4.5	7.3	3.8	4.1	14.0	3.7	9.9	10.4	32.5	10.0
Africa	29,050	13.2	20.6	13.4	9.8	16.4	0.8	5.1	7.6	2.7	10.5
Western Asia & the Middle East	34,630	13.0	15.4	10.6	12.1	16.5	0.9	4.8	10.9	5.6	10.3
Eastern Asia	62,150	17.7	19.6	9.2	12.3	21.7	1.0	4.0	5.8	2.8	6.0
South East Asia	54,390	5.2	10.0	9.3	5.8	19.5	1.9	13.2	18.0	4.7	12.3
Southern Asia	42,640	9.4	10.3	10.6	6.8	15.2	4.6	10.7	11.6	4.9	15.8
Oceania & Other	3,945	8.1	14.1	8.4	8.4	19.4	2.4	6.7	15.3	7.2	10.0

**Table 1 2**  
**Major Occupation Group by Place of Birth for Recent Immigrant Women (1), Canada, 1991**

Place of birth	Percent										
	Total	Managerial & admin. related	Professional & related	Clerical & related	Sales	Service	Primary	Processing	Product fabricating	Construction trades	Other
<b>Total</b>	<b>350,795</b>	<b>6.7</b>	<b>17.2</b>	<b>26.0</b>	<b>8.3</b>	<b>21.7</b>	<b>2.0</b>	<b>3.1</b>	<b>9.6</b>	<b>0.3</b>	<b>5.1</b>
U.S.A.	16,935	12.6	32.1	24.5	9.7	14.5	2.7	0.9	0.9	0.2	1.9
Central America	11,435	3.5	12.5	17.6	5.1	29.9	5.6	3.6	15.0	0.7	6.4
South America	20,080	6.0	13.4	30.1	7.6	19.8	0.5	2.7	12.0	0.4	7.4
Caribbean & Bermuda	26,135	4.6	18.1	29.7	7.6	22.9	0.2	3.0	8.1	0.2	5.6
United Kingdom	22,165	10.4	23.5	32.2	10.9	16.3	1.9	0.6	2.0	0.2	2.0
Northern Europe	3,225	10.7	26.7	29.8	11.2	17.1	0.6	0.5	0.8	0.5	1.7
Western Europe	13,060	12.3	24.4	22.9	10.4	16.9	7.3	1.5	2.1	0.3	1.9
Eastern Europe	35,500	4.0	24.1	17.7	8.0	25.8	1.0	4.3	8.3	0.7	6.2
Southern Europe	15,610	3.7	9.1	16.1	6.5	31.1	2.0	6.8	16.4	0.7	7.7
Africa	18,295	8.7	19.6	35.6	9.1	17.2	0.3	1.7	4.3	0.2	3.3
Western Asia & the Middle East	17,040	7.8	17.8	30.4	14.1	17.7	0.4	1.7	7.3	0.2	2.6
Eastern Asia	57,245	9.4	13.9	30.5	9.8	19.6	0.6	2.6	10.3	0.2	3.2
South East Asia	58,910	4.1	14.3	22.3	5.2	26.8	1.2	4.2	15.7	0.3	6.0
Southern Asia	30,865	4.8	9.4	25.7	7.1	17.5	8.1	4.6	12.1	0.4	10.4
Oceania & Other	4,220	5.1	19.2	28.4	9.1	27.5	1.7	1.4	3.0	0.0	4.5

Source: 1991 Census of Canada.

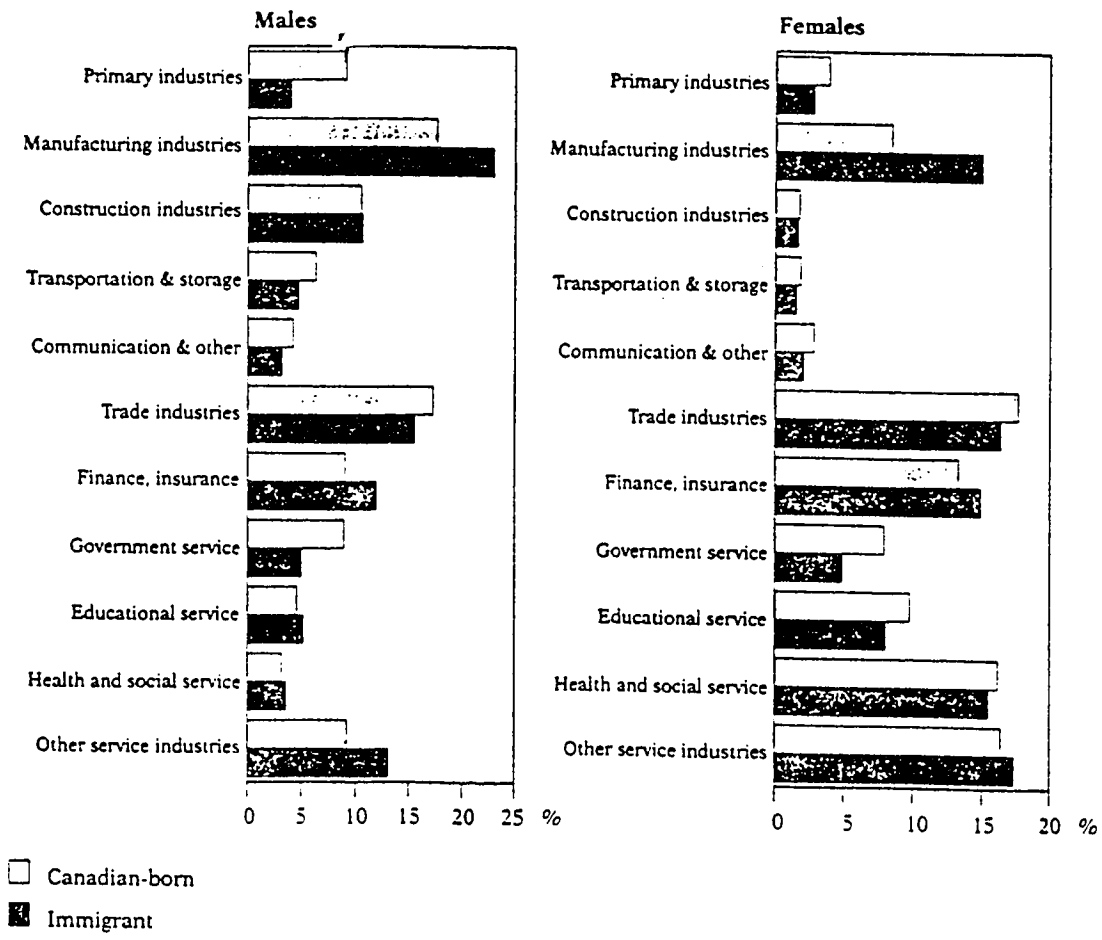
As with immigrant men, the occupational characteristics of recent immigrant women, as table 12 shows, born in the United States were most likely to work in professional occupations 32%. These occupations also contained high concentrations of women from the United Kingdom 24%, Northern Europe 27%, and Western and Eastern Europe ( each at 24%), While there were high proportions of women from all regions in clerical occupations, those from Africa 36%, the United Kingdom 32%, Eastern Asia 31% and Western Asia and the Middle East, South America, North Europe and the Caribbean each at 30%, were most likely to be employed in these jobs. The highest proportions of recent immigrant women in service occupations were born in Southern Europe 31% and central America 30%, while recent arrivals from Southern Europe and South East Asia each at 16% and central America 15% had the highest concentration in product fabricating occupations.

Regarding major industry groups in 1991 the largest proportion of all immigrant men, as chart 5 shows, were employed in manufacturing industries, 23% according to the 1991 census. The next largest concentration was trade industries 16%, followed by service 13% and real estates and finance 12%. Meanwhile, 18% of Canadian-born men worked in manufacturing industries in trade sector, and 9% in real estate and finance. Immigrant men had lower proportion in government and primary service than men born in Canada. About 9% of Canadian-born men were in government service, compared with 5% of immigrant men.

According to the 1991 Census, immigrant women, in major industry groups, were most likely to be employed in service industries 17%, followed by trade and

health and social service industries 16%. Meanwhile, women born in Canada were concentrated in trade 18%, followed by health and social service 16%. Immigrant women were more likely than Canadian-born women to be employed in manufacturing industries, 15% compared with 9%. Regarding government service immigrant women were less concentration than Canadian-born women: 8% compared with 5%.

**Chart 5, Percentage Distribution Of Major Industry Group For The Canadian-born And Immigrants , Canada, 1991**



**Source: Statistics Canada, 1991 Census Of Canada**

**Table 13, Intended Occupations by Year of Landing, 1986-1992**

OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992
ENTREPRENEURS	2,515	2,959	3,272	3,014	2,454	3,944
INVESTORS	-----	257	543	992	1,256	2,295
MANAGERIAL, ADMINISTRATIVE	5,958	7,213	7,185	7,122	4,727	4,454
ENGINEERING & RELATED	5,290	6,040	6,572	7,195	6,533	6,440
SOCIAL SCIENCES	899	1,063	1,089	1,202	940	901
RELIGION	467	348	393	343	422	438
TEACHING AND RELATED	1,776	1,634	2,253	2,631	2,709	2,141
MEDICINE AND HEALTH	3,753	3,074	3,833	3,971	3,573	3,193
ARTISTIC & RELATED	1,184	1,384	1,725	1,723	1,455	1,247
SPORTS & RECREATION	134	112	149	142	142	140
CLERICAL & RELATED	7,554	9,535	10,083	9,220	7,562	6,786
SALES	3,082	3,753	4,325	4,327	3,289	3,072
SERVICES	7,926	5,208	7,209	7,772	9,922	9,409
FARMING & RELATED	1,817	2,017	2,319	2,287	1,974	1,680
FISHING, HUNTING &	208	246	161	105	47	43
FORESTRY & RELATED	22	16	32	21	21	13
MINING, OIL & GAS FIELD	47	49	72	94	56	41
PROCESSING	1,535	935	1,367	1,256	1,367	1,274
MACHINING &RELATED	2,429	2,074	2,854	2,650	2,012	1,562
PRODUCT FABRICATING	8,514	7,827	10,532	10,549	8,431	6,603
CONSTRUCTION	4,195	3,281	5,101	5,736	4,964	3,013
TRANSPORT	1,103	928	1,427	1,286	1,143	1,000
OTHER CRAFTS &EQUIP. OP	466	477	566	627	447	378
UNCLASSIFIED OCCUPATIONS	15,675	15,549	24,622	39,289	65,416	83,113
MATERIAL HANDLING& N. S.	1,163	371	543	537	718	419
<b>TOTAL WORKERS</b>	<b>76,712</b>	<b>76,350</b>	<b>98,227</b>	<b>114,091</b>	<b>131,580</b>	<b>143,599</b>
<b>TOTAL NO-WORKERS</b>	<b>75,386</b>	<b>85,579</b>	<b>93,774</b>	<b>100,139</b>	<b>99,201</b>	<b>109,243</b>
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>	<b>152,098</b>	<b>161,929</b>	<b>192,001</b>	<b>214,230</b>	<b>230,781</b>	<b>252,842</b>

Source: Immigration Statistics 1992, Citizenship and Immigration.

Table 13 breaks down the intended occupation (major groups) by year of landing from 1986 to 1992. Intended occupation is based on a statement of intention only, and there is no guarantee that the intention was realized. Nearly 57% from the total number of immigrants in 1992 participated in the labour force. Among those, 57.9% were classified as supervisors and foremen/women, inspecting, testing, grading, sampling occupations, and occupations in labouring and other elemental work. Another 6.6% were in services, 4.7% in clerical, 4.6% in fabrication and 4.5% in engineering.

### **Summary**

The previous discussion links the overall objectives of this study and brings out the following interesting points.

According to the 1991 Census, labour force participation rates for all immigrants 65.2% was lower than for persons born in Canada 68.7%, it varied by age groups. The participation rate for immigrants aged 25 to 44 years was 86.1% slightly lower than for the Canadian-born 86.9%. However, among persons 45 to 64 years of age, the participation rate for immigrants was higher (72.3%) than for the Canadian-born 67.5%.

The participation rate in the labour force of recent immigrants was lower than that of immigrants who came in the 1960's and 1970's. Recent arrivals may take time to adapt and to acquire the official languages, this may explain why they are

less likely to participate fully in the labour force. Labour force participation rate increased for those who have been in the country for some time.

While immigrants were employed in all occupational and industrial groups, they were concentrated in certain occupations and industries, such as professional, managerial, service and product fabricating occupations for immigrant men, and clerical, professional, service and product fabricating occupations for immigrant women. According to the 1991 Census, the occupational characteristics of immigrants varied by nationality.

Thus, the overall conclusion is that immigrants have done fairly well in the labour market. This discussion is useful to enlighten my path when examining the Arab immigrants' performance in the Montreal labour market.

## CHAPTER THREE

### REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE ON IMMIGRANTS' ECONOMIC ADAPTATION

In the previous chapter we have reviewed the evolution of the immigration policy since 1953. We have recognized clearly, how a shift in the focus of the immigration policy occurred from social to economic concern. In one sentence the 1966 White Paper changed the old immigration policy based on "most preferred national origins" to a policy based on a nine points system, regardless of the immigrant's country of origin. It was the key that opened the door of Canada to Third World countries' immigrants.

In this chapter, we want to examine the labour market experiences of these new Canadian immigrants. A number of studies have been published analysing their economic adaptation in the past 25 years. During this period the source of immigrants has shifted from Europe to Third World countries. The nature and scope of these studies vary, some being limited to a region, others to a certain group..

The research reported here focuses on three main issues: ethnic origin, region and time of entry. It aims at exploring the nature of the economic adaptation in the Montreal labour market for Arab immigrants who have come in the 1980's and 1990's. Of course, as in other multi-ethnic societies, there are observed employment income differences among ethnic groups. Most of the empirical research about labour market outcomes has focussed on ethnic differences, gender differences, the role of educational attainment, official language(s)



proficiency, country of origin, and length of residence with comparisons made with the native-born. All these studies highlight variations among ethnic groups in outcomes in the labour market.

Our plan is to present a brief review of the major studies using census or survey data to study various immigrant groups. A more detailed presentation of Morton Stelcner and Natalie Kyriazis' research [April 1993] and Jeffrey G. Reitz' research [1990] will be provided because they are directly relevant to my research. Our purpose from this review is:

- [1] To have a good background on the subject.
- [2] To select the variables that affect the process of the immigrants' adaptation to the conditions of the labour market.
- [3] To formulate hypotheses and to construct a theoretical model that would help us explain the relationships among the variables involved in the process of adaptation.

### **Review of the Literature on Immigrants' Earnings**

This review shows some literature dealing with the main issues, the methodology used by previous researchers, and their main findings. The most popular explanation for immigrants' earnings differentials is expressed partly in terms of human capital theory plus variations in productivity and other factors such as sex, age, etc. and labour market discrimination. According to studies which have used this approach - for example, Beaujot and Rappak [1988] and Meng [1987] - differences in immigrants' earnings can be explained in terms of differences in

education and experience while controlling for other variables such as, gender, and place of residence.

Several studies have been undertaken to analyse the earnings differential between immigrants and the native-born including those of Beaujot et al (1988), Beach and Green (1989), Bloom and Gunderson (1991), Borjas (1991,1988), Chiswick and Miller (1990,1988), deSilva (1992), the Economic Council of Canada (1991a, 1991b), Meng (1992,1987), Samuel and Woloski (1985), Jeffrey G. Retiz (1990) and Morton Stelcner and Natalie Kyriazis (1993).

The first study on occupational mobility was John Porter's [1965] image of Canadian society as a vertical mosaic. It indicates how class position and ethnicity are intertwined. Porter used the concept of entrance status to show how immigrants enter the job market at the bottom in order to secure a niche in their new homeland. Not all immigrant groups begin in low positions, and many individual immigrants have experienced upward mobility (Darroch, 1979). American academics, and British engineers are examples of successful immigrants. Most often, it is the immigrants from the Third World countries who are trapped in a low entrance status in Canada. Porter's study focus was on occupational mobility.

Tandon [1977] utilized the human-capital approach to examine differences in earnings between native-born and immigrant adult males in Toronto. He used data from the 1971 Census. Tandon expressed annual earnings as a function of the years of schooling, labour market experience, occupational status, weeks worked during the year, and the length of residence. In addition, he split the schooling and experience variables into two sets of variables: [a] pre- immigration,

[b] post- immigration. Tandon found that Canadian schooling and experience has a larger effect on immigrants' earnings than schooling and experience acquired abroad. When the researcher controlled for country of origin, he found that immigrants from the United States earned consistently more than the native-born. Immigrants from the United Kingdom, on the other hand, initially earned less than the native-born, but after a period reported earnings in excess of those of the native- born.

In contrast to these two groups, earnings of immigrants from Asia, Latin America, and the Caribbean were less than those of the native-born and other immigrants, when education and experience were controlled. Tandon's analysis suggests that these earnings differentials may be due to discrimination, but he did not subject the hypothesis to empirical test.

Marr [1976] studied the earnings of foreign- born and Canadian-born men in Ontario as part of larger study dealing with the labour market implications of immigration policy. He used data from Statistics Canada's 1973 micro data file on labour mobility. His sample was, from a data set containing 44,000 individuals, 7,624 persons living in Ontario, 18 years of age and over, and who were not full-time students in March 1973. The foreign-born segment were numbering 2,376 person. He found that the earnings are slightly higher for immigrants with secondary education. But, for those with 14 or more years of education, the earnings of the Canadian-born were found to be 50% higher than for the foreign-born. The author explained that controlling for variables such as age, gender, and employment status, the amount of discrimination grows with level of education but no evidence

was given. His explanatory variables are only level of education and earnings

Richmond and Kalbach [1980] studied the earnings of men and women aged 15 years and over, using the 1971 Census data. They found that over a 10-year period, 1961-1971, the median income of postwar immigrants increased at a faster rate than the median income of native-born. They concluded that the length of residence in Canada has a strong positive influence on the earnings of immigrants. They also found, after controlling for gender and length of residence, that immigrants from the United States and the United Kingdom reported the highest earnings while those from Asia and Southern Europe had the lowest earnings. The variables birthplace, ethnicity, and language have a statistically significant influence on earnings.

Richmond [1989] examined the economic performance of Caribbean immigrants in Canada, using the 1981 census data. He found, after controlling for age and education, that Caribbean-born male immigrants earned 18% less than Canadian-born men, while Caribbean-born female immigrants earned 11% less than their Canadian-born counterparts. These earnings differentials were found to exist despite the absence of any major linguistic barrier, since 82% of Caribbean immigrants in the sample spoke English. These findings tend to indicate a possibility of discrimination against Caribbean immigrants. A case for discrimination, however, needs to control for more variables than age and education.

Kuch and Haessel [1979] studied variations in employment earnings of individuals aged 15 years and over using the 1971 census data. They presented

empirical estimates of earnings by ethnic group and birthplace. Three birthplace dummy variables were included in their model to distinguish the foreign-born according to the length of stay in Canada. They found that duration of residence did not have a significant effect on earnings controlling for birthplace. This finding is opposite to the result of many other studies which support a strong positive relationship between length of residence and earnings.

Carliner [1980] studied wage differences among language groups, using 1971 Census data. The researcher found, after controlling for place of birth and length of residence, that workers who were not proficient in either of the two official languages earned the lowest wage. Native-born French-speaking persons who learnt English received significant wage increases, But, native-born English-speaking persons who learnt French did not receive a significant wage increases over others. Carliner's results indicated that while recent immigrants were at disadvantage, compared with the native-born, those who arrived in Canada a more than 10 years ago earned higher wages than native-born Canadians. Another important finding reported by the author is that the native-born children of immigrants earned significantly more than the children of the native-born. He arrived at the conclusion that "the speed of adjustment to Canada is very rapid, at least for immigrants from English-speaking countries", ( p. 395).

Chiswick and Miller [1988] examined the determination of income between the male immigrants and the male native-born, using Census data for 1971 and 1981. They found while controlling for gender, that the average newly arrived immigrant earned about 25% less than comparable Canadian-born. Immigrants'

earnings were shown to rise with their length of residence. Immigrants achieved equality with the native-born in terms of earnings after 22 years of residence in Canada. Pre-immigration experience had a much smaller effect on earnings than post-immigration experience. This is consistent with Tandon's finding. Schooling effect on earnings was greater for immigrants from the English-speaking developed countries than for other immigrants. The study reported significant differences in earnings for immigrants from different countries. Compared to immigrants from the United States, which was used as the benchmark for comparison, immigrants from the United Kingdom were reported to have a significant earnings advantage, when all other variables were held constant. The earnings of immigrants from Southern and Western Europe were roughly equal to those from the United States. But the earnings of immigrants from Eastern Europe and Asia, were found to be less than the earnings of immigrants from the United States by 5% and 12% respectively. Chiswick and Miller, also, found that for the census year 1971, the Canadian-born children of immigrants earned 2% more than the children of the native-born, when other variables, such as education, gender, age are controlled. The researchers (Chiswick and Miller) mentioned that their finding is consistent with the results they had obtained previously for the United States and Australia. The finding that the children of immigrants do better than the children of the native-born shows that immigrants adapt to the conditions of the host country quite well. Chiswick and Miller did not undertake to determine whether the relatively superior performance of immigrant children also applies to the children of visible minority groups from Asia, the Caribbean, and Africa.

Meng [1987] examined the earnings of immigrants and the native-born, using data from the 1973 Labour Mobility Survey undertaken by Statistics Canada, the same database that was used by Marr in 1976. This sample was restricted to a group of men aged 22 to 64, who had reported some income for 1972. This data contains direct information on the labour market experience of individuals. He found while controlling for gender, age and place of residence, that foreign-born men initially earn less than native-born men, but receive a rapid growth in earnings as they acquire more Canadian labour market experience. After 14 years, the earnings of male immigrants are found to be equal to the earnings of the male native-born. Meng's main conclusion is that immigration does not present major adjustment problems. Meng also considered the adjustment problems of immigrants from the United States, the United Kingdom, Western Europe, Eastern Europe, Southern Europe, and the rest of the world and found that none of these groups faced any serious adjustment problem. This conclusion, that immigrants adjust rapidly to the economic conditions of the host country has come under criticism from Borjas.

Borjas [1988] claimed that cross-section analysis based on a single year is inappropriate to measure the economic adjustment of immigrants. The ideal solution is to use longitudinal data which are hard to find. As an alternative, Borjas used data based on two census years, 1971 and 1981 and controlled for length of residence. His analysis covered United States, Canada, and Australia, and the results show that there has been a decline in the quality of immigrants, with less schooling and lower skills. This is a function of the reduced relative size of the

economic class and the greater numbers of family and refugee classes among these arrivals. Obviously, we should not expect that persons admitted on the basis of family reunifications and humanitarian reasons would necessarily achieve levels of economic performance comparable to that of native-born. As a consequence, the assimilation process is much slower than what is suggested by cross-sectional studies.

Another study by DeVortz and Fagnan [1990] examined the issue of quality decline among immigrants during the period 1971- 1981. Quality decline is used by the researchers to refer to low human capital of some immigrants. Between 1971-1981 Canada accepted a relatively high proportion of immigrants for humanitarian reasons, refugees and reunited families. These groups were not subjected to the point system or initial assessment for entry like economic one. "The use of the point system means that the selected worker categories are human capital intensive, while the family re-unification group, with less stringent qualifications, contains less educated immigrants", [DeVoretz, 1989, p. 25]. Thus, "it appears that an immigration policy permits low human capital content flows to the industries where foreign-born workers are concentrated". Their findings are: the quality of male immigrants declined between 1971 and 1981 but not after. This in turn would be partly a function of the reduced relative size of the independent class and the greater numbers of family and refugee classes among these arrivals, (Beaujot 1991, p. 134). Second, male immigrants employed in the professional categories did not experience a decline in the period 1971-1986. Thus the study argues that the quality decline occurred among the less skilled immigrants.



Beaujot and Rappak [1988] addressed assimilation by examining the earnings differentials of traditional immigrant groups and new immigrant groups, controlling for gender and place of residence. The study argues that new immigrant groups, especially those who came in the 1980's, face significant problems adjusting to the Canadian labour market because of lower educational attainments and language problems. Their study shows some immigrant groups were unable to match the earnings of native-born persons with similar qualifications, even after living in Canada for 20 years. This applies mainly to those immigrants from Southeast Asia, Southern Europe, Oceanic, the Caribbean, South and Central America, and West and East Asia.

Boyd [1985] studied the relative situation of immigrants, in comparison to the Canadian-born population, using the 1973 Canada Mobility Survey (Boyd, M., 1985). She concluded, in regard to social mobility in Canada, that the educational system has enabled Canadians who are members of ethnic minority groups to overcome the disadvantages of their background, and thus the vertical mosaic has collapsed. However, segmentation may still exist for the newest arrivals to Canada. They may even use ethnic association as a source of mobility within a given segment of the labour market. The overall occupational status of the foreign-born men was slightly higher when controlled by the father's occupation and education, than Canadian-born men. In addition, the immigrants had achieved higher levels of education. An analysis of the differential role of education, based on age at arrival, supports the view that foreign-born males experienced a disadvantage in occupational attainment because of problems in obtaining

recognition for educational skills acquired elsewhere. The overall differences by birthplace groups led Boyd to make the following observation: "...It is difficult to ignore the pattern of inequalities which clearly show that birthplace in the United States and United Kingdom or Northern or Western European country confers an occupational advantage compared to birthplace in Southern and Eastern European countries. This pattern not only parallels historical sentiment on the cultural desirability of national origin groups; it also suggests the persistence over time of the resultant structure of the occupational stratification."(1985, p.431)

Samuel, T. and B. Woloski, [1985] found after controlling for length of residence that immigrant arrivals of 1979, both men and women, were less likely than Canadian-born men and women to have had incomes over \$15,000, within the first three years of arrival. Important differences were also evident across the various classes of immigrants. In the third year, 46% of the independent immigrants earned over \$15,000, compared to 29% of assisted relatives, 14% of refugees and 12% of the family class. Immigrants from Third World countries were found to be the worse off. Further analysis, suggested that most of this disadvantage was a function of education and language, rather than of area of origin. Independent immigrants were found to be much more successful in having fewer weeks of unemployment, and higher insurable earnings, than were immigrants entering Canada under the family or refugee classes, (1985, P. 236). Since independent immigrants are chosen for labour market reasons, this should not be surprising. While immigrants with knowledge of English experienced fewer weeks of unemployment and had the highest percentage earning over \$ 15,000, immigrants

with only French-speaking ability had the most weeks of unemployment in 1981 and 1982, and a much lower level insurable earnings. However, this may have been due to the higher than the average unemployment rate that existed in Quebec during this period. French-speaking ability becomes insignificant in explaining the variations in weeks of unemployment. Years of schooling were found to be positively correlated with earnings, and negatively correlated with weeks of unemployment, (1985, p. 236).

The study of Arnold de Silva [1992] focussed on the economic performance of immigrants to find out how well they have adjusted themselves to the Canadian environment. It used the 1986 Census data. The study also utilized a novel sampling approach that allows for a more stringent test of discrimination. The researcher found that labour force participation rates, controlling for age differences, are slightly higher for both male and female immigrants than for their Canadian-born counterparts. Their participation rates tend to increase with the duration of their residence in Canada. The evidence also shows that immigrants experience relatively short periods of unemployment and that this is broadly similar to the experience of the native-born. Although there are some differences among immigrant classes, they are relatively minor.

Arnold de Silva found that contrary to popular thinking, the proportion of recent immigrants on welfare assistance is extremely small and tends to be similar to that of the native-born. There is no significant discrimination against immigrants in general. There are strong indications that education and experience acquired

abroad pay much less in terms of earnings, than they do if obtained in Canada. Immigrants who came from Third World countries, but who arrived here young enough to obtain all of their education and experience in Canada, did as well as native-born Canadians in nearly all cases. The researcher concluded that the economic performance of immigrants compares favourably with that of comparably qualified native-born Canadians and that, using a variety of indicators, immigrants adjust reasonably well to the labour market.

Morton Stelcner and Natalie Kyriazis [April 1993] used the 1981 Census data. They examined the determinants of employment earnings among 16 ethnic groups in Canada, controlling for country of origin. The analysis endeavours to explain differences in employment income with the purpose of answering: how much does ethnic origin matter in determining employment income? Earnings vary among individuals because of well-known reasons including different investments enhancing human capital [especially educational attainments and occupational training], and to labour market discrimination. The authors define the labour market discrimination as the "systematic and persistent unequal treatment of equally productive workers who are competing in the labour market", (Morton Stelcner and N. Kyriazis, 1993, p. 2).

An analysis of ethnic earnings disparities is important because employment income is the most important source, and some sorts of income for those who are not working [as pensions and employment insurance] are resulting from employment earnings. The effect of labour market discrimination - the unequal treatment of equally capable workers - involves more than income redistribution

from one group to another. No less important is that discrimination entails a diminished national income for all groups. The costs of discrimination are borne not only by those who bear its brunt, but by society-at-large. McConnell [1989] indicates that there are substantial efficiency losses [2.2 to 4.4 %of GNP] in the United States attributable to gender and racial discrimination.

An empirical method to assess labour market discrimination on the basis of ethnicity is to provide empirical answers to the following question: For any two ethnic groups, what would the average earnings ratio be, if the productivity traits [for example, education, work experience, linguistic skills] of each group were valued on the same basis in the labour market? The difference between the resulting adjusted or standardized earnings ratio and the observed or gross earnings ratio, this provides evidence of labour market discrimination.

The authors base their analysis on earnings among 16 ethnic groups [African, British, Chinese, Croat, Czech, Dutch, French, German, Greek, Hungarian, Italian, Jewish, Polish, Portuguese, Scandinavian, and Ukrainian] . They used the 1981 Census Public Use Sample Tape [PUST], Individual File, which provides detailed information on ethnicity and other socioeconomic characteristics on 487,000 individuals [2% of the population]. From this data 49,788 men and 30,898 women were taken as samples of wage and salary workers between 18 and 65 years [April, 1993, p.7]. The main objective of analysis was to find out whether some striking inter-ethnic earnings disparities can be systematically related to ethnic origin, or whether they are due to other considerations.

The findings of Stelcner and Kyriazisis study conform with those of Kuch and Haessel [1979]. They found that human capital and other attribute variables [marital status, region, etc.] contributed significantly to inter-ethnic earnings inequalities. The results of this study are also similar to those of de Silva [1992] who, used 1986 Census data, analysed the earnings gap between immigrant and the native-born wage workers. Morton Stelcner and Natalie Kyriazis concluded that there is no significant discrimination against immigrants in general, there is also no detectable general tendency to discriminate against immigrants originating from Third World countries. There is no evidence of widespread discrimination against immigrants on grounds of colour except for Africans. Differentials in earnings of immigrants from Third World countries compared to native-born were attributed to the undervaluation of education and experience acquired outside Canada. The authors principal conclusion is that ethnic origin does not play an important role in the Canadian labour markets as perhaps may have been expected by casual observation and which some researchers have claimed to be the case. The study provides strong evidence that African men suffer from market discrimination to the extent that over 80% of their earnings gap cannot be explained by their relative productivity traits. Overall, the analysis of inter-ethnic earnings variations leads us to believe that labour markets in Canada function as they should in rewarding productive characteristics of different ethnic groups.

Jeffrey G. Retiz [1990] examined how ethnic inequality in Toronto is affected by ethnic concentration in the labour markets. His study identified the conditions in which ethnic concentrations reinforce existing inequalities, and conditions in

which they may provide a basis for change. Immigrant groups such as Portuguese, Chinese and West Indians represent different patterns of concentration in the labour markets. Each group has a distinctive occupational location. Italians in Toronto are closely identified with the construction industry, the Jewish group is concentrated in textiles, retail trade as well as professional occupations, Germans worked in metal trades, and Ukrainians in railways. A central concern is with inequalities arising from the concentration of ethnic groups controlling for gender, and age in local labour markets. This research considers ethnic concentrations in the labour market, as important contributors to social formations.

The research aimed at: (1) Identifying specific ethnic inequalities in the labour market; (2) measuring the variables representing types of ethnic concentrations likely to affect ethnic inequality; (3) identifying each type of ethnic concentration in relation to specific inequalities in the labour markets.

Retiz study emphasizes the forms of ethnic concentration on occupations, businesses, organizations and on comparative ethnic histories. Ethnic concentrations reflect immigrants' needs and circumstances. Canadian immigration policy seeks to fit immigrants to labour market demand. New immigrants seek the protection afforded by ethnic community networks which, in turn help to find jobs for them.

Retiz found that level of education, origin, age, gender, present occupational status and years of residence in Toronto are associated with income mobility. The patterns observed for European groups may not apply to racial minorities because racial minorities experience more discrimination. Census data for Toronto found

that income disadvantages for racial minorities did not stem from qualifications. In most part, immigrants earn less than Canadian-born but some earned more. On average the position of women in each ethnic group was not as favourable as the income and occupational levels of men. Discriminatory practices against immigrant women are severe.

Regarding occupational status, which often refer to the prestige of jobs as seen by the general population, Retiz, after controlling for ethnic origin and gender, found that the majority of Canadian males have a mean-occupational-status score of roughly 50 points, and the Germans, Ukrainians, Jewish and Chinese follow close behind. West Indians are 8 points lower, Italians 12 points lower, and the Portuguese 18 points lower. The mean occupational statuses of women are not very different from those of men, (1990, p.149). He examined the individual annual incomes from employment, and found that the most extreme income inequalities affect the Portuguese and the West Indians. For women, ethnic income inequality is similar to that for men. The findings about ethnic inequality in Toronto are consistent with the results of previous studies. The Germans, Ukrainians and Jewish have achieved equality or higher. Average occupational status and income in these groups are comparable to those of the majority of Canadians. Italians and Portuguese have lower average occupational status and incomes mainly because they lack education. There is evidence of discrimination against racial minorities, in this case the Chinese and West Indians. These groups experience inequality even in relation to job qualifications. Ethnic disadvantages for women are in addition to disadvantages derived from gender. Retiz observes that ethnic groups vary in the



types of intra-ethnic relations that are most prominent. Italians and Portuguese most often have ethnic co-workers and supervisors. The most distinctive feature of the Jewish network is the frequency of contacting Jewish customers or clients. He, also, concludes that ethnic occupations and ethnic work groups, among German, Ukrainian, Italian, Jewish, Portuguese, Chinese and West Indian are much more prominent in minority settings. In this sense, minority businesses are likely to be ethnic enterprises. This fact is reflected for the self-employed and employees in ethnic businesses.

Retiz study considers the relation between ethnic concentration and ethnic inequality. It asks whether ethnic group members must abandon ethnic concentrations to achieve equality. The answers come by examining a symmetrical measure of association [Correlation Coefficient Pearson's (r)]. The second question asks about the impact of ethnic concentrations in actually affecting the extent of ethnic inequality. Answers to this second question come from regression analyses. Some conclusions about the effects of ethnic concentrations can be drawn from previous results. If ethnic concentrations create discriminatory barriers, they must do so in ways that vary by group. For example, the Jewish group has achieved equality and yet is more concentrated in labour markets than any other ethnic group. The findings vary by group and type of ethnic concentration. The data analysis begins with identification of effects across all minority groups combined. These results serve as bench-marks for group-to-group comparisons. The impact of ethnic occupations on occupational status for men and women in each minority group is significant.

To what extent are ethnic concentrations abandoned by children of immigrants? Overall, ethnic concentrations in labour markets decline between generations, but this pattern varies by group. Mostly, there is a progressive decline from the immigrant generation to the second and third generation. So, the implication of upward mobility across generations is increasing by educational opportunities. Jewish are more likely to persist level of concentration than Italians, Ukrainians and Germans. The findings of this study show that ethnic concentrations affect ethnic inequality. The impact of ethnic concentrations in the labour market varies as a result of several factors. The impact is often negative, but sometimes it is positive. Effects vary by gender within each group. They vary according to the type of concentration and to whether the concern is occupational status or income. There is no single answer of how ethnic concentrations affect inequality. Sometimes there is 'mobility trap' and sometimes there is opportunity, for example, Chinese, Portuguese and West Indians reflect significant disadvantages in Toronto. Stereotypical ethnic occupations bring low incomes and lower status. Ethnic businesses have not helped very much. Results across all groups show that there is no one-to-one relation between discrimination and ethnic occupations. Sometimes there is discrimination but no negative effects of ethnic occupations.

The impact of concentrations differ by ethnic groups, helping some,, hindering others. The mobility and equality may be accomplished within a closed ethnic community, or it may occur outside that community. Some ethnic groups entrap individuals within their own system ( Chinese, Portuguese , West Indians,

and Italians to some extent); some serve as spring boards for integration in the larger society (Jewish) ; and some barely exist as communities but consist largely of rather loose informal networks (the Dutch)".

Ethnic concentrations in labour markets decline between generations. Time brought changes between immigrants and their descendants in three directions: (1) abandonment of ethnic occupation; (2) income mobility within ethnic occupations; (3) new ethnic occupations. Some of these changes occur more often in certain groups than others ( as an example, how Italians dominate construction industry in Toronto) levels of concentration appear to decline from one generation to the next; for the Jewish, they are more likely to be high across generations.

Successful ethnic businesses can generate positive employment opportunities within the group. A shift to new ethnic occupational specialities can lead to upward mobility in status as well as income. This change often occurs for the second, or native-born, generations because of education. The findings can be summarized for each group as follows:

The Germans are not extensively concentrated in the labour markets. They have achieved virtual equality with majority group. They illustrate a case where abandonment of their community leads to equality and upward mobility. The Ukrainians like the Germans, have low ethnic concentrations in the labour markets and have attained equality. The occupational concentrations for Ukrainians now, are in the lower status jobs. This finding represents one of the variety of situations that can emerge over time. The Italian men have achieved upward income mobility within low-status occupations, (1990, p.191). They have achieved their economic

success by developing businesses in the construction field. The Italians established an economic position, creating resources contributing to the economic incorporation of later immigrants. The findings for Italian women resemble very much the findings for Portuguese or West Indian women, showing rather negative effects of ethnic concentrations on income as well as status. Upward mobility for Jews has meant, not abandonment of ethnic occupations but finding new ones. Later generations gained professional and academic education. Many Jewish immigrants gained control of significant resources in the retail trade and industry in Toronto. The current situation of Portuguese may be closer to the earlier experience of Italians. They have similar low entrance status and high occupational concentration. Their income effects are quite different, possibly reflecting the relative lack of organizational control within the Portuguese community. The Chinese have high levels of education, their occupations are of a lower status. For men, there is a discriminatory income impact. Chinese businesses are small. There appears to be more discrimination against West Indian men and women, than any other group in this study in both occupational status and income.

### **Summary and Discussion of Literature Review**

The previous 16 pieces of research have investigated labour market outcomes of Canada's ethnic groups, twelve of them used data based on 1971 or 1981 Censuses, the other four studies used data from surveys undertaken by Statistics Canada. Most of these studies (such as those of Tandon, Marr, Richmond

and Kalbach, Richmond, Kuch and Haessel, Carliner, Chiswick and Miller, Meng, Beaujot and Rappak, Arnold de Silva, Morton Stelcner et. al. Boyed) have focussed on the relative performance of immigrants and non-immigrants, whereby performance is measured by their employment earnings. The other studies (such as those of John Porter, Borjas, Devortz and Fagnan, Boyed, Retiz) have focussed on social mobility and adjustment problems.

The first group has examined the determinants of economic success, such as the role of education and work experience in the labour market (pre and post immigration), the role of official language(s) proficiency and duration of residence in Canada among different ethnic groups in metropolitan cities such as Toronto.

The findings show sizeable differences in employment earnings between immigrants and native-born, and differences among immigrant groups from different origins. These earnings differentials can be explained in part in terms of human capital (especially education and work experience) plus variations in productivity. In addition, within each group are differences attributed to gender. Much of this unexplained variance has been attributed to discrimination.

The question why some ethnic groups are less successful than others in the labour market has preoccupied some of these studies in finding out whether or not ethnicity matters in the Canadian labour market. The findings are that there is no significant discrimination against immigrants in general, there is also no detectable general tendency to discriminate against immigrants originating from Third World countries. There was no evidence of widespread discrimination against immigrants on grounds of colour except for those of African origin. Differentials

in earnings of immigrants from Third World countries compared to native-born were attributed to the undervaluation of education and experience acquired outside Canada, (Stelcner, M. and Kyriazis, N. 1993 p.14, de Silva, A.1992, p. 34 and Boyd, M. 1985, p. 431).

The second group has focussed on the occupational mobility and difficulties which immigrants face in entering the labour market and achieving equal work opportunities. The findings from these studies have contributed to theoretical models of immigrants' adaptation and assimilation. The assimilation model may be the most appropriate model for Arab immigrants because it takes into account positions in the occupational hierarchy, mobility due to Canadian work experience, training, and education.

Research findings on relative success of immigrants in terms of earnings and occupational attainment are somewhat diverse. These different results are due, in part, to their different investments in training and education. However, all these studies agree that adjustments are also a consequence of the state of the economy, of the nature of training and of similarity of culture.

Some studies show that immigrants have done well in the host country, other studies claim that this is not true for all immigrants. They found that earnings of certain new immigrant groups, namely from Asia, Africa, and the Caribbean, have consistently lagged behind the earnings level of comparable Canadian-born persons even after many years of stay in Canada. The first explanation for this phenomenon is given by Borjas, Michael G. Abbott, and Charles M. Beach [1987] who claim that there is a decline in the quality of education of immigrants arriving in Canada as a

result of a less restrictive immigration policy, meaning that the immigration policy permits immigrants with low education and skills and lack of capital. The second explanation for the lower earnings of this group is the possibility of labour market discrimination against immigrants. But except for some "visible minorities" the evidence is not clear. Another issue which has been discussed in the literature on immigration relates to the inclusion of labour supply effects. Human capital theory assumes that an individual's objective is to maximize their lifetime earnings. Hence, as noted by Blinder [1976], the earnings are likely to vary due to the quality. The Canadian education and experience pay more than foreign education and experience. The quality differences may be genuine or based on employers' perceptions.

In concluding this brief review of previous studies, it is clear that most immigrant groups experience initial setbacks, but after varying periods of adjustment, they improve their economic position. However, it has been found that, immigrants from "traditional sources" earn more than immigrants from Third World countries.

Now, how do Arab immigrants earn their living in the Montreal labour market after their arrival, and what does "adaptation" to the labour market conditions mean for them? The concept "adaptation" is used in this research to describe the processes in which Arab immigrants become adjusted to the dominant labour market conditions for their survival in the new environment. When an immigrant adapts to the requirements of the labour market this does not necessarily mean that he/she has integrated into the Canadian society. An immigrant may work and earn

his living inside his community without feeling the need to learn languages or trade with the mainstream society. Although from the economic point of view this immigrant is successful, yet he has failed to integrate fully in the larger society. Therefore, if the labour market consists of one homogeneous pool of supply and demand, then adaptation to the labour market is a major step towards integration. However, if the labour market consists of ethnically segmented markets, adaptation does not necessarily lead to integration. Adaptation refers to economic adjustment, while integration means the socio-cultural adjustment.

The concept "integration" is used in this research to describe the process in which Arab immigrants are active participants in the larger non-Arab society. In other words, integration refers to the process by which Arab immigrants come to have closer social, economic, political and cultural ties with the mainstream society. It is a dynamic and ongoing process involving all members of society, the outcome of which may take more than one generation to materialize. Of course, language is the key to integration. It is either the greatest barrier or the main factor in achieving integration.

It is necessary to address the issue, "adaptation of Arab immigrants to the Montreal labour market conditions" in this chapter in order to explain whether one is dealing with "adaptation" within its simple meaning, i.e. finding employment, or whether one is dealing with issues of equity and mobility in the larger society. The issue raised here is one of adaptation versus integration; of simply finding employment, of finding employment commensurate with previous experience



and training; or being on an employment track of upward mobility, and accomplishing this beyond immigrant community enclaves.

My research on Arab immigrants' performance in the Montreal labour market, is related to the previous research in many aspects. Arab immigrants are, like other immigrant groups who came from Third World countries, relatively new to Canada. They increasingly immigrated after the regulation of the "point system" was formalized in 1967 to assess the admissibility of the economic category. Their reasons for immigration are mainly like other immigrant groups: economic, and/or humanitarian refugees, and/or family reunification. Their expectations are to achieve their goals to the best of their capacities employing their human capital and characteristics to adjust themselves to the Canadian environment. Labour market adaptation indicates the economic aspect of their interaction and their attempt for integration in Canadian society. Previous research on economic adaptation lighted our path of research procedure, in methods [selecting variables, formulating hypotheses, and constructing theoretical model ], and data analyses. The major findings of previous research act as benchmark guides to show whether Montreal labour market outcomes of Arab immigrants are consistent with others. How well they have adjusted themselves to the Canadian environment, and to what extent they have successfully integrated. What does "adapt to the Montreal labour market " mean to Arab immigrants?

The main objective of this study is to explore how Arab immigrants adapt to the Montreal labour market conditions. This, in turn, will reveal their degree of integration in the larger society. In other words, the nature of their adaptation to the

Montreal labour markets will say something about their integration in the whole society. This represents only one of the many dimensions which an immigrant has to deal with on a daily basis. Adaptation to labour market conditions is a complex process of daily life, It is not only finding employment, although finding employment and being on an employment track of upward mobility is the core of this process. It is a means by which to take an effective part in the society and to integrate into the mainstream of society as quickly as possible. Ultimately the contribution of immigrants to a host society depends not only on their human capital but also on the social context in which they become incorporated, (Porter, 1990).

Retiz's study helps to explore how recent Arab immigrants accomplish adaptation and mobility in the Montreal labour market. According to Retiz's analysis adaptation and mobility may be accomplished within a closed ethnic community, or it may occur outside that community. Some ethnic groups entrap individuals within their own system (Chinese, Portuguese, West Indians, and Italians to some extent); some serve as spring boards for integration in larger society (Jewish) ; and some barely exist as communities but consist largely of rather loose informal networks (the Dutch).

Which system do Arab immigrants employ? In other words: Are they caught in their own closed system of concentration? Do they form rather loose informal networks like most ethnic groups? Do they integrate into the larger society while adapting to the local labour markets.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

We have reviewed the available literature which consists of the studies and research work that deal with the immigrants in general and the processes of their adaptation in the labour market. We have concluded from the literature review that immigrants' adaptation to the labour market conditions is a complex process of *continuous interaction*. Many factors affect this process. The review of research literature helps to select the variables that affect the adaptation of Arab immigrants in the Montreal labour market.

Our discussion in this chapter will be the following: identify our research problem, reformulate the problem in terms of a research question, explain models of economic adaptation of immigrants, present a typology of factors contributing to the integration, provide a list of reasonable answers to the question [propositions], operationalize the concepts of the major propositions to derive the variables by which we will measure the relationships. Our methodology of sampling, questionnaire, and data collection will be the last topic to be covered.

Our objectives are to grasp the overall picture of Arab immigrants' integration in the Montreal labour market, and to have a clearer idea about the factors that contribute to their integration. The qualitative and quantitative approaches will be employed in our research.

## **The Research Problem**

Immigration affects the welfare of both Canadians and immigrants. Canadian immigration policy has placed considerable emphasis on economic objectives, particularly the role immigration plays in the labour market. Successive Canadian governments have viewed immigration as a source of labour force growth and as a mechanism for dealing with labour market needs, such as shortages of labour in particular occupations and industries, and the creation of new employment opportunities.

How do immigrants adjust and integrate into Canadian society after their arrival? This research examines the labour market experiences of recent immigrants. The focus will be on Arab immigrants who live in Montreal and have immigrated to Canada since 1980. We will explore the degree of their socio-economic adaptation, and attempt to investigate how Montreal Arab immigrants adapt to the conditions of the labour market. We will also examine the relationship between their expectations and the process of negotiation and compromise with conditions of the labour market that influence their integration.

## **The Research Question**

How do Arab immigrants integrate in the Montreal labour market? What are the factors that contribute to their integration?

This issue is important to explore for many reasons. [1] Immigrants' integration into Canadian society depends on their performance in the labour

market within a reasonable adjustment period. Immigrants who do not do as well as their qualifications would suggest may become discontented. That could cause social friction, especially if the gap between reality and expectations is greater for the so-called "visible minority" immigrants. [2] The need to know how immigrants face difficulties in surviving in a new society will be helpful for the development of new qualifying and training programs.[3] Canada has a good record of human rights. It is widely believed that immigrants do well by coming to this country. The feeling of doing good represents a genuine gain to the hosts if justified. [4] Canada gained 792,000 people through net immigration between 1981-1991. This was a consequence of the immigration of 1,374,000 people and the emigration of 582,000 people. So, most immigrants do become Canadians eventually. Their economic success or failure is of great interest to the nation.

This study is based on the interview responses of Arab immigrants. Since it is of an exploratory nature and due to the lack of figures of Arab immigrants in Montreal, I used a "convenience" sample, which includes subjects of different characteristics in terms of: sex, age, nationality, education, occupation, social class, marital status, etc. My purpose is to gather information about the causes of their immigration, their expectations, their characteristics, the difficulties they have faced in the process of their integration, and the process of their adaptation and compromise to the conditions of the labour market. This information was analysed, by both qualitative and quantitative approaches.

## **Theoretical Models of Economic Adaptation**

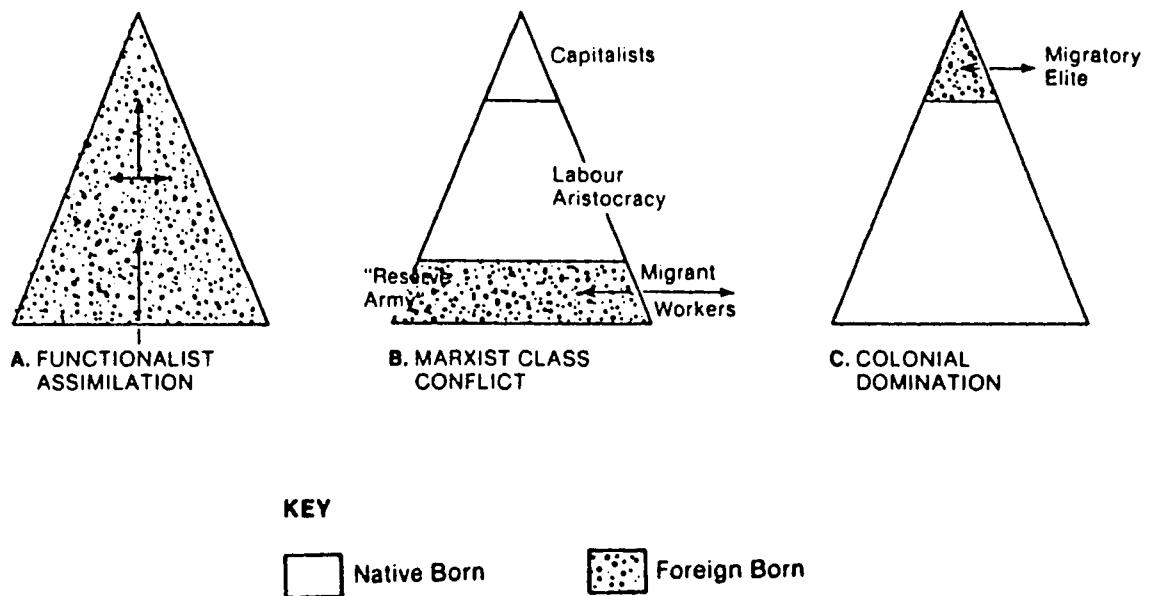
There are many ways of thinking about economic situations, and the process of adaptation of Arab immigrants. Arab immigrants were coming from different countries in Asia and Africa. Some countries are rich, their economy is oil based [such as: Saudi, Kuwait, Arab Emirates, Qatar, Libya ], other countries are poor, their economy is agricultural based [such as: Jordan, Egypt ,Syria, Tunis, Lebanon]. Immigrants were landing from these two different kinds of countries into Canada for personal reasons. The financial position for most of these Arab immigrants is reflected, to a great extent, by the economic condition of their countries of origin. It is extremely difficult to explain adequately the process of economic adaptation for all Montreal Arab immigrants in one model. I found that the process is complex, more complex than any one model can completely portray. Richmond and Zubrzycki [1984], derived six models of economic adaptation of immigrants. I think that all these models portray the possible ways of the economic adaptation of Arab immigrants in the Montreal labour market. We will discuss these six models in detail: The dots on the graphs on figure 1 show where the immigrants are thought to be concentrated in the status hierarchy, while the arrows show the direction of movement after their arrival.

The "assimilation model" is a portrayal of the traditional conception of immigration. At the time of their arrival, Arab immigrants are thought to be concentrated at the bottom of the hierarchy. They initially take positions that the Canadian-born population do not want. Subsequently, they move up in status, from one generation to the next. Some of Arab immigrants , especially those who came

earlier are more likely to fit this model because they have made use of their time spent in Canada in education, training, employment opportunities and upward mobility.

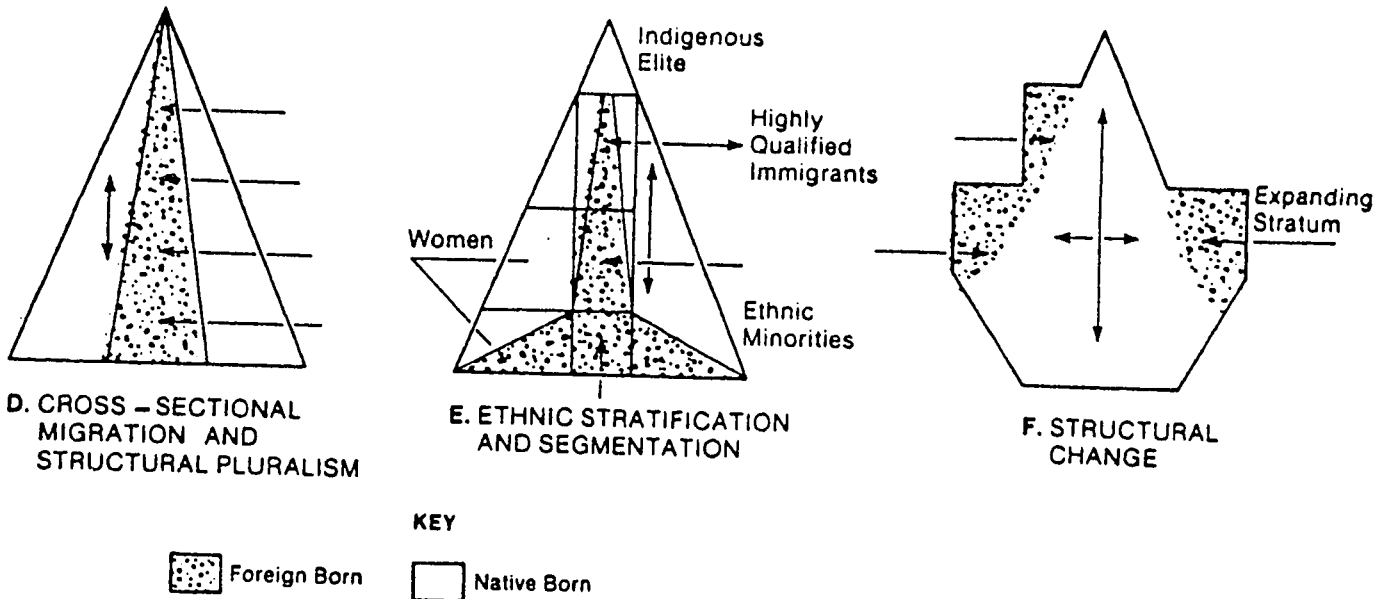
In the "Marxist class conflict model" it is proposed that class relations will prevent immigrants from moving up the hierarchy, thus they will be a permanent "reserve army" of labour, and have lower occupational status.

**Figure 1 Models of Economic Adaptation of Immigrants**



**Source:** Richmond, Anthony H. and Jerzy Zubrzycki, Immigrant in Canada and Australia; Vol. II, Economic Adaptation, York University: Institute for Behavioural research 1984, p.2

**Figure 2 Models of Economic Adaptation of Immigrants**



**Source:** Richmond, Anthony H. and Jerzy Zubrzycki, *Immigrant in Canada and Australia; Vol. II, Economic Adaptation*, York University: Institute for Behavioural research 1984, p.2.

Alternatively, in the "colonial domination model", it is proposed that a migratory elite, who are at the top of the hierarchy, controls the indigenous labour force. Some Arab immigrants from Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, and Arab Emirates have established themselves, on a relatively large scale, in different lines of business and industry as respondents' explained.

The first three models are rather simplistic or "idealistic" while those that follow attempt to represent a more complex reality. This doesn't mean that they are any less valid.



In the "structural pluralism model" it is proposed that Arab immigrants come in not only at the bottom as in the assimilation and class conflict models, and not only at the top as in the case of the colonial domination model, but also at various levels in the hierarchy.

In the ethnic "stratification and segmentation model" it is proposed that the labour market is segmented. While Arab immigrants can enter at various levels in the hierarchy, except at the very top, there are certain forces that push them to stay within given niches. These niches may correspond to specific ethnic minorities which occupy specific sectors of the labour market. Within these enclaves, there is the possibility of upward occupational mobility. This model explains what Retiz emphasised in the previous chapter that successful ethnic businesses can generate positive employment opportunities within the group, and a shift to new ethnic occupational specialities can lead to upward mobility in status as well as income, referring that this change often occurs for the second generation, or native-born, because of education.

In the "structural change model", it is proposed that immigrants primarily enter expanding occupational sectors. This implies that the selection criteria for immigrants should be specifically aimed at ensuring that there is an adequate supply of labour for the expanding sectors. The economic success of immigrants will depend on where these expanding sectors are located, relative to the overall hierarchy.

There is no single theoretical framework that will explain completely the economic adaptation of Arab immigrants. The assumption that immigrants enter

the labour market at the bottom is implied only in the first two models. When immigrants enter at low levels, it becomes important to study the extent to which they assimilate, and thus come to resemble the Canadian-born population. It is important to determine which of the first two models is most applicable.

In analysing data from the 1971 Census, Richmond noted that the economic status of the foreign-born population was often higher than that of the Canadian-born population. He suggested the "reverse-assimilation"; that the Canadian-born to display the characteristics of the foreign-born (Richmond, Anthony H., 1982). In this case, it is difficult to justify the use of the concept assimilation.

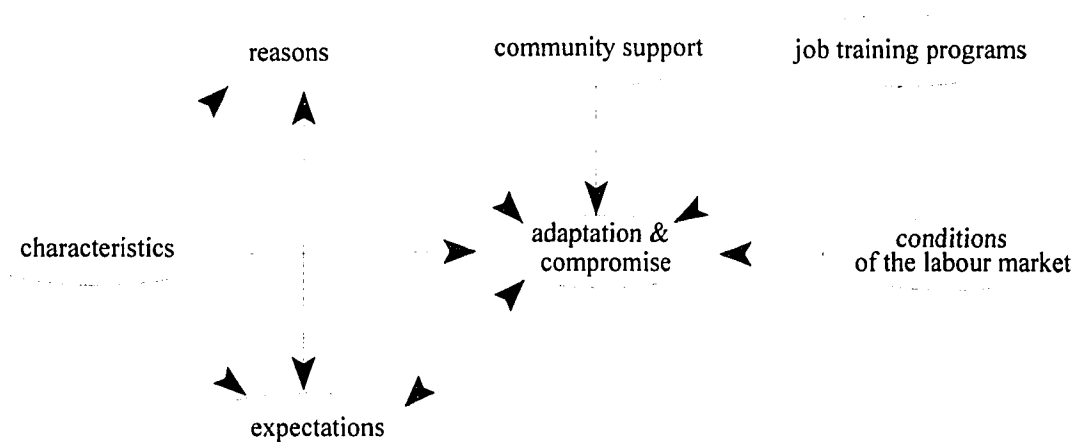
The last two models explain ethnic concentrations in specific sectors in the labour market. This ethnic work is segregated, in which immigrants may experience avenues of mobility. These niches may become specialized in specific areas of origin of certain immigrant groups. The concept of segmented labour markets is often used to explain the differential economic success of men and women in the labour force. Immigrant women, especially if they come as family class and lack language proficiency, may tend to occupy a niche in the lower levels of the hierarchy.

The "assimilation model" may come the closest to what is supported by the Arab immigrants' experiences in the Montreal labour market. According to interviewees' information, they have entered different levels of the occupational hierarchy, some of them, after arrival, entered at the bottom, others took lower positions than what they intended. The others were fortunate to take positions at a higher level. Subsequently, they moved up in status within different occupational

sectors. Relatively, they benefited from their time spent in Canada in obtaining higher level of education and updating their work experience, skills and training. This may explain why Arab immigrants who came in the 1980's were more likely to have higher occupational positions than those who came in the 1990's. Assimilation model takes different positions into consideration in the occupational hierarchy. It may be the most relevant model. Arab immigrants experience an initial disadvantage in entering the labour like any other ethnic group from Third World countries. For instance, their educational degrees and work experience may not be recognized, and also because of language difficulties. Over time, and with Canadian experience and education, they may obtain equal opportunity. Also, as it happens to most new entrants to the labour force, the lower seniority of immigrants in a given enterprise may mean that they would be the first to be released if the enterprise had to cut-back in times of recession. Therefore, relative assimilation over time may be relevant even if these immigrants do not all arrive at the bottom of the hierarchy. The reality of an immigrant economic adaptation is more complex than any one model can completely portray, especially when one adds to this the fact that Arab immigrants are a diverse group.

Figure 3 shows a typology depicts how Arab immigrants adapt to the labour market conditions. It shows how their characteristics, reasons for their immigration, and their expectations prior to immigration interact with the conditions of the labour market which they have to deal with as they arrive in Canada, and finally the processes of negotiation and compromise that characterize their pursuit of employment. The interpretation of this typology will be in two stages.

**Fig. 3: A Typology of Factors Contributing to the Integration Of Immigrants:**



**A TYPOLOGY OF FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO THE INTEGRATION OF IMMIGRAN**

**1. The first stage:** immigrants' characteristics affect the level of their expectations and reasons for immigration. Meanwhile reasons and expectations are tied together, each affects the other. This stage is prior to landing in Canada.

**2. The second stage** begins after landing into Canada. An immigrant starts his/her efforts to find the work that he intends and expects. Community support, desired occupation, networks, and governmental integration programs will help the immigrant to tune his abilities to enter the labour market smoothly. If that is not the case, the immigrant will face harder difficulties in the adjustment process.

This period of immigration has a great influence on the immigrant's life afterwards. Many factors play important roles in this period to select one choice of the available options. Financial necessity, number of dependants, condition of the labour market are among the factors that affect the immigrant's decision. The longer the period of unemployment, the harder the decisions are to be made regarding his /her occupational expectations. Finally , the immigrant's decision influences his/her career. Immigrants' decisions are likely to be personal compromises between what is intended and what is available. Some immigrants may accept any available work opportunity to feed their children, while others will find their way to the university to invest some years in Canadian education, because they are young and not burdened with dependents. In general, the possibility of finding work that matches their potential and their qualifications has the greatest impact on the way they assess their new situation and ultimately their integration.

### **Definition of Concepts of Typology:**

This typology includes the following factors contributing to the integration of immigrants in the labour market, each factor will be defined in order.

1. Reasons for immigration;
2. Expectations;
3. Conditions of the labour market;
- 4.Characteristics of recent Arab immigrants in Montreal;

5. Community support;
6. Job training programs;
7. Adaptation and compromise.

## **1. Reasons for Immigration**

International differences in economic and political conditions remain sufficiently strong to encourage the flow of millions of persons across countries. The political instability in the Middle East is the major reason for immigration to Canada. Economic reasons are another major issue. The collapse of oil prices in 1986 and the resulting recession led to a rapid decline in the Arab Petroleum Countries' economy. The resulting recession encouraged thousands of Arab immigrants to seek landing in Canada. The third reason is that there are some individuals who immigrated to join their families. The flow of Arab immigrants vary from one year to another. The main three reasons for Arab immigration into Canada are:

1. Political ;
2. Economic ;
- and 3. Family .

In general, for all those who immigrated in the hope of improving their economic situation, the question of employment is clearly an essential one. Although it may take a different form, employment is equally crucial for those who did not leave their country of their own free will but came to Canada as refugees. There are other secondary reasons that may lead to a landed immigrant status, such as: 1. Education; 2. Visiting and tourism; and 3. Medical treatment.

## **2. Expectations**

Arab immigrants' expectations emerge from their knowledge of Canada and their human capital. Their characteristics, reasons of immigration and knowledge of what Canada has to offer, are the main indicators which identify their expectations. These expectations are likely to be more realistic by more accurate information and knowledge about Canada before immigration. Some immigrants construct their aspirations on dreams and lack of official information. They will be frustrated after suffering longer periods of unemployment. Expectations are mostly categorised as "High", "Modest" and "Low".

## **3. Characteristics of Recent Arab Immigrants in Montreal**

Of the many characteristics that differentiate the Arab immigrants from the resident population of Montreal and affect their economic role, the following characteristics will be discussed:

**Country of Origin:** Statistics Canada puts the total number of people who declared a single "Arab Origin" in the 1991 Census at 57,250 for of Montreal. Table 14 provides a breakdown Arab immigrants in Quebec by origin, who arrived between 1986 -1991 who are living and working in Montreal. Country of origin can be used to gain an understanding of the demographic characteristics of the Arab population of Montreal, but it is insufficient as an indicator of membership in the Arab community. Indeed, this data comprises those immigrants who may have been

born in Arab countries but who do not necessarily identify themselves as Arabs and who tend to integrate into ethnic communities organized along non-Arab lines in the host country. This is the case with the many Armenian immigrants from Syria, Lebanon and Egypt.

### Periods of Arab immigration in Quebec

Before 1971	6525	14%
1971-1 980	8965	16%
1981-1985	4435	10%
1986-1991	26115	57%

Country of origin	Immigrants' Nos.	Arrive in 1986 - 1991	live in Montreal	Active people				Not active		Population 15 yrs +		Total
				working		Not working		M	F	M	F	
				M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
Algeria	3870	1325	3140	1430	535	420	150	430	570	2280	1255	3535
Egypt	9195	1715	8660	2665	1730	400	395	835	1535	3900	3660	7560
Iraq	1515	440	1485	410	215	125	55	255	395	790	665	1455
Lebanon	31580	14755	28490	8390	4080	2355	1445	3035	5265	13780	10790	24570
Morocco	14485	3565	13535	4620	2975	1030	825	1640	2340	7290	6140	13430
Palestine	1395	595	895	140	55	50	25	135	215	325	295	620
Syria	6830	1875	4175	1095	595	180	160	650	895	1925	1650	3575
Tunis	2325	850	1860	1025	275	170	75	325	275	1520	625	2145
Total	71195	25120	62240	19775	10460	4730	3130	7305	11490	31810	25080	56890

Sources: Profiles des Communautés Culturelles du Québec. Brian Aboud and Anna Mari



Arab immigrants left their countries for security and a better way of life in Canada. They came from different Arab countries, located in two continents. The first part is in Asia: Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, Iraq, Kuwait, Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia and Bahrain. The second part is in north Africa: Algeria, Egypt, Morocco, and Tunisia. Table 14 shows that recent Arab immigrants who came to Canada are mainly from Lebanon and Egypt. Lebanese, increasingly, came to Canada after 1965 and particularly after the outbreak of the civil war in 1975. Between 1978 and 1986 an additional 3,260 immigrants born in Lebanon arrived in Montreal. It has been noted that a majority of 60% of those who arrived between 1980 and 1988 were designated as "family class". It is noted that most of the immigrants who arrived during the civil war were young males. The early 1960's marked the start of Egyptian and soon thereafter Moroccan immigration to Canada. Many of the Egyptian arrivals were among the best educated and the most westernized of their society, (Nadia H. Wassef, 1978).

Table 15 shows Arab immigrants who arrived in 1992 by country of birth and gender. Since 1985 Lebanon has been among the top three countries of origin of all immigrants arriving in Quebec, and in recent years it has been a major source-country for refugee claimants. The last several years have shown not only an increase in the number of immigrants from Arab countries but also in the number of Arab countries from which the immigrants originated.

**Table: 15 Arab Immigrants by Country of Birth and by Gender. Canada, 1992**

Country of Birth	Total of Arrivals	Males	Females
Algeria	846	538	308
Egypt	1636	879	757
Libya	119	96	23
Mauritania	6	6	0
Morocco	1159	584	575
Sudan	631	395	236
Tunisia	339	191	148
Iraq	2159	1238	921
Jordan	419	257	162
Kuwait	1038	566	472
Lebanon	6619	3645	2974
Oman	9	6	3
Qater	56	34	22
Syria	1205	623	582
United Arab Em.	321	177	144
Yemen	69	34	35

**Source:** Immigration Statistics 1992, Citizenship and Immigration

**Language skills:** According to the 1991 Census, 40,670 people in the Quebec declared Arabic as their mother tongue. Language skills are distributed among Arab immigrants in Quebec as table 16 shows:

**Table 16, Arab Immigrants in Quebec by Language skills ,1991**

Languages	Nos. of immigrants	%
<b>French</b>	11600	18
<b>English</b>	3660	6
<b>Other</b>	42670	68
<b>Arabic</b>	40670	65
<b>Armenian</b>	1005	2
<b>Multiples</b>	5030	8

Source: Profiles des Communautes Culturelles du Quebec, Brian Aboud, Anna Maria Bibliotheque nationale du Canada ISBN2-551-16227

**Education:** A high percentage of Arab immigrants in Quebec have a university degree 45%, those with secondary education are the second category 29%, the third category is those with college education as you see in table 17.

**Table: 17, Arab Immigrants in Quebec by Levels of Education ,1991**

Level of Education	Nos. of immigrants	%
<b>No Formal Education</b>	1075	2
<b>Elementary</b>	4070	8
<b>Secondary</b>	14340	29
<b>College</b>	7645	16
<b>University</b>	21790	45

Source: Profiles des Communautes Cultureless du Quebec, Brian Aboud, Anna Maria Bibliotheque nationale du Canada ISBN2-551-16227

**Age:** The highest proportion of Arab immigrants are in the prime age (40%), the next age group are between 14 years old 22%, the third age group are those between 45-64 years old as table 18 shows.

**Table: 18, Arab Immigrants in Quebec by Age Groups. 1991**

<b>Age Group</b>	<b>Nos.</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>0-14 Years</b>	14045	22
<b>15-24 Years</b>	9090	14
<b>25-44 Years</b>	24840	40
<b>45-64 Years</b>	10995	18
<b>65+ Years</b>	3990	6

Source: Profils des Communautés Culturelles du Québec, Brian Aboud, Anna Maria, Bibliothèque nationale du Canada ISBN2-551-16227

**Principal Religions** : The ratio of Moslem Arab immigrants are 35%, are nearly the same quantity are Catholic 35%, the third category are the Orthodox, about 22%, the last category are the Protestant 8% as table 19 shows.

**Table: 19 , Arab Immigrants in Quebec by Religion. 1991**

<b>Principle Religion</b>	<b>Nos. of immigrants</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>Islam</b>	21190	35
<b>Catholic</b>	21160	35
<b>Orthodox</b>	13550	22
<b>Protestant</b>	4685	8

Source: Profils des Communautés Culturelles du Québec, Brian Aboud, Anna Maria, Bibliothèque nationale du Canada ISBN2-551-16227

#### **4. Conditions of the Labour Market**

It is difficult to predict upon entry where an Arab immigrant will ultimately settle in the labour force. The interaction between the immigrant's characteristics and the labour market will clearly vary depending upon the state of the economy

and the skills and experiences required by the labour market. In general, most studies indicate that the following factors influence the integration of immigrants in the labour market. First; there is the supply and demand interplay, which changes from one economic period to another. Second, government labour policies reflect the absorptive capacity of the market. Third, attitudes and practices of professional associations and trade unions tend to restrict entry into certain occupations during a recession. And finally, there is the employers' hiring practices which may discriminate against particular types of immigrants.

## **5. Adaptation and Compromise**

Studies of immigrants have addressed the question of how expectations may be modified during their transition from their countries to Canada. Given the distribution of jobs in the Canadian labour market, many of the high career expectations of immigrants will not be satisfied. Many Arab immigrants had high career expectations. When I asked about the work they expected to do as an immigrant in Canada, a large majority specified high status managerial and professional jobs. One only needs to glance at the present occupations compared to intended occupations to conclude that not all occupational expectations were achieved. What happened to them? Did they remain high and unmet? Or are they modified to reduce inconsistencies between expectations and outcomes? I interviewed some Arab immigrants who have lowered their intended occupations due to their own circumstances and different levels of pressure, after they

experienced different periods of unemployment . I have examined the impact of the Montreal labour market conditions on the present occupations of the respondents as it is explained in findings and data analysis.

One of the findings is that Arab immigrants are more likely to follow a pattern of self-employed and entrepreneurial businesses. When interviewing the respondents, I have paid considerable attention, to the influence of the labour market conditions on the immigrants' employment, such as: Are they employed or not, if yes, what is their occupation? What is their income? Is it enough to meet their needs? How long was the unemployment period which they last experienced ? Does the unemployment period convince them to accept any available job offered to them? Why did they accept the job? Did they attend any training program to achieve their present job? Or, to improve their occupation? A simple comparison was carried out of the present occupation and income with old occupations and income to find out similarities and dissimilarities. What difficulties do Arab immigrants face which hinder their utmost participation in the labour market?

## **6. Community Support**

Arab immigrants brought with them to Canada more than their capital and physical possessions. They, also, brought their supportive network of social relations centring around their " kinsmen". This word refers not only to blood relations, but also to people of their own kind. Interviews, I conducted with Arab immigrants, revealed the number of people who came to Canada to join their

relatives and the number of joint economic ventures that were established. The strong support ties were not only between blood kin but also between fictive kin. This may explain the strong tendency of Arab immigrants from the same village or locality in the old country to reside in Montreal in the same area where their predecessors had located. In St. Laurent, Montreal North, Cote St. Luc and the west island the bulk of Arab immigrant population tended to originate from neighbouring villages in the old country.

Some examples of the help and receptivity which Arab immigrants have toward each other, and also patterns of support given to relatives will be discussed in chapter five. This supportive network of social and economic relations was an important resource influencing Arab immigrants in their integration in the Montreal labour market.

## **7. Training Programs**

Training programs to prepare newcomers for employment are essential for immigrants in order to facilitate their entry to the labour market. Many respondents consider learning French to be something which does a great deal to help them become integrated and find a good job. They stressed that knowing French is the first issue which any recent immigrant must cope with in entering the Montreal labour market. They emphasized that it is very hard to achieve vocational mobility and to obtain a better job without some proficiency of French. French language training appears to be one of the chief means for the Arab immigrants' integration

in the Montreal labour market, even in their workplace. From the interviews I have observed that the higher the immigrant's qualifications, the greater their need for good knowledge of the language in order to market their vocational potential.

### **Methodological Approach**

Our methodology is based on the following propositions:

1. Immigrants with higher levels of education are more likely to integrate in the labour market than immigrants who have a lower level of education.
2. Immigrants who have proficiency in French and English, are more likely to find employment than immigrants who lack proficiency in either language.
3. Younger immigrants are more likely to find employment than older immigrants.
4. The higher the financial demands, the more likely the immigrant is to participate in the labour force.
5. Arab immigrant women are less likely to seek work than immigrant men.
6. Married immigrants are more likely to seek employment than single migrants.
7. Immigrants who receive community support are more likely to integrate in the labour market than those who are left on their own.
8. Arab immigrants who have relatively modest expectations when they came to Canada are more likely to integrate in the labour market than immigrants who have high expectations.
9. Immigrants who have a longer period of residence in Canada are more likely to be better integrated than immigrants with a shorter period of residence.



10. Professionals and highly educated immigrants are less likely to be employed in their intended occupations unless they gain Canadian training and experience.

11. Immigrants who have occupational skills desired by employers are more likely to integrate in the labour market than those who do not.

These propositions are abstract claims about the relationship between two or more concepts. To test these propositions, they need to be measured on a concrete level to see if they provide reliable explanations of the research question.

### **Operationalization of Concepts in the propositions**

Operationalization is the part of the research that takes us from the abstract level to the concrete level or from concepts to measurements. More precisely, it is the specification of procedures or operations that must be carried out to measure a concept named in the hypothesis to be tested.

The main proposition is: immigrants with higher levels of education are more likely to integrate in the labour market than immigrants who have a lower level of education. This proposition has two main concepts: "level of education" and "level of integration in the labour market". To operationalize the concept "level of education" means how we can measure it. Of course we can measure "level of education" by different ways, such as : number of years of schooling, high school certificate, first university degree [B. A.], etc. So, we can choose the appropriate measurement [independent variable] in our hypothesis.

The second concept "integration in the labour market" can be measured by the following: "labour force participation rate", "unemployment rate",

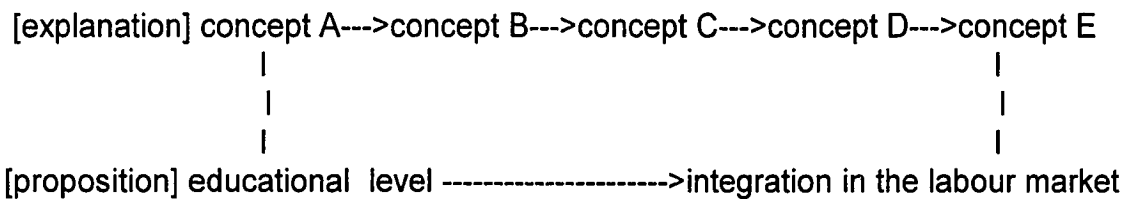
"dependence on welfare assistance", "self-employment", and "occupational structure". With regard to these variables, we are, mainly, interested in the employment status, meaning whether the immigrant is employed or not, or attempting to find employment. Information about the other variables are used to enrich our analysis.

There are different theories which explain the relationship of these concepts, "level of education" and "integration in the labour market", of this major proposition. Human capital theory, for instance, claims that individuals who increase their levels of education will be able to gain entry into more desirable occupations because education gives them the social skills they need. They will get better jobs and earn higher incomes because they will be more productive than people without the added years of education.

Another explanation [theory] is based on opportunities of work. Immigrants who came to Canada because of their economic situation, and/or to reunite with their families, and/or to seek resettlement, and who have a high level of education tend to be aware of their capabilities and the available opportunities in the Canadian labour market. Their education provides them with qualifications that facilitate employment and the insight to make reasonable decisions through negotiation and compromise. Immigrants who have grounded their expectations on the basis of their skills, occupation, level of education, reason(s) for immigration, characteristics [age, sex, marital status], and low income in their countries of origin are readily willing to take available work opportunities. They attempt to achieve upward mobility through their own efforts while gaining Canadian

experience. Immigrants, like native-born Canadians, have always played an important role in the development of Canada. It is generally believed that education is a major prerequisite for success in the labour market.

This theory is based on the desire of the immigrant to adapt to the conditions of the labour market. Awareness of the total circumstances leads the individual to make a free rational decision to compromise, and take the available opportunity. It explains how immigrants might integrate in labour markets using a multitrack technique, ( J. Smucker and J. Goldstein, 1986). They take the available work opportunity and search for a better one while gaining new Canadian experience and learning new skills.



Where:

- A represents educational level.
- B represents negotiation and compromise.
- C willingness to take any job.
- D represents the available opportunities.
- E represents integration in the labour market.

Another explanation is based on motivation. Immigrants with high levels of education tend to be highly motivated to integrate in the society at large. Their integration in the labour market by finding employment, creating business or being self-employed, is one important aspect of their integration in the society.

They attempt to achieve their goals gradually. Well educated immigrants are highly motivated economically, psychologically, socially, and morally to satisfy their needs and fulfill their commitments. They support their ethnic community members through associations and networks to maintain their culture and values.

Explanation:    concept A---->concept B----->concept C----->concept D

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Proposition: level of education ----->integration in the labour market  
Where:

- Concept A represents level of education.
- Concept B represents motivation.
- Concept C community support.
- Concept D integration in the labour market.

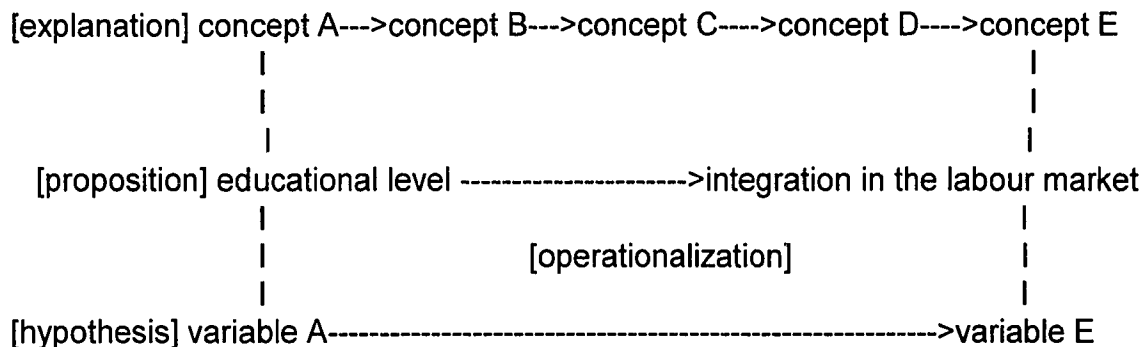
### Hypotheses Derived from Propositions:

Our proposition is : "Immigrants with a higher level of education are more likely to integrate in the labour market than immigrants who have a lower level of education". We have identified "level of education" and " integration in the labour market" as the main concepts in the proposition.

We can measure the first concept "level of education" by constructing the following categories: "elementary: grade six or less", "high school: completed grades 7 to 11", "College general or vocational " and "university degree". These categories match the normal break points of the Quebec education system, according to the Quebec Ministry of Education.

The following two hypotheses are examples which show how it can be derived from the opportunities theory. The first hypothesis claims that Immigrants

who have high school certificate, are more likely to have higher participation rates in the labour force than immigrants who have six years of schooling or less. The second hypothesis asserts that immigrants who have a university degree, are more likely to be managers than immigrants who do not have university degree.



Where:

variable A represents "high school certificate" in the first hypothesis.  
 variable A represents "university degree" in the second hypothesis.  
 variable E represents "participation rate in the labour force" the first hypothesis.  
 variable E represents " manager position" in the second hypothesis.

We will provide another two hypotheses derived from the motivation theory:

- [1] Immigrants who have a certificate in vocational education are less likely to be dependent on welfare assistance than immigrants who have elementary education or less.
- [2] Immigrants who have college certificate or higher are more likely to manage their own business [self-employed] than immigrants who have less than a college degree.



1. Educational attainment: (a) pre-immigration (b) post-immigration.
2. Work experience: (a) pre-immigration (b) post-immigration.
3. Official language(s) proficiency: French and/or English.
4. Reasons for immigration.
5. Level of expectations.
6. Immigration category: (a) Economic: self-employed, entrepreneurs, investors.  
(b) Humanitarian: refugee.  
(c) Social immigration: family reunification.
7. Year of landing, or the length of residence in Canada.
8. Occupation, or profession.
9. Occupational, or Professional skills.
10. Age group.
11. Marital status.
12. Religion and religious attitude.
13. Gender.
14. Family dependents.
15. Place of birth.
16. Country of citizenship.
17. Country of last permanent residence.
18. Official knowledge of life in Canada.

### **Variables Related to the Host Country:**

The following variables are related to the host country. The immigrant interacts with these factors after his landing. It may be related to the government, the labour market, society, community associations, professional associations and labour unions. The major variables that I have selected are:

1. Labour market conditions, or the supply and demand interplay.
2. Policy objectives and recent immigration trends. Governmental programs towards the "absorptive capacity" of immigrants, specially arrangements for new immigrants, training courses, teaching of languages, etc.
3. Attitudes and practices of professional associations and trade unions.
4. Hiring practices of employers.
5. The societal attitudes toward immigrants or towards specific ethnic group.
6. Community support, Arab Canadian associations and networks.

These variables, to some extent, affect the performance of the Arab immigrants in the Montreal labour market. We intend to explore whether Arab immigrants find employment, what kind of occupations they employ, how quickly they find jobs, and so forth. Labour market integration can be measured by employment, participation in the labour force, self-employment, and dependence on welfare assistance.

### **The Sampling**

Long before the actual research began, the researcher had been carefully collecting information on the Arab immigrants' activities in the Montreal labour



market. Particular efforts were made to contact leaders of Canadian-Arab associations.

The question of sampling was considered, given the exploratory nature of this research, I decided to rely on a convenience sample of forty respondents.

I included some leaders of Arab associations in order to have a broader picture of the situation of Montreal Arab immigrants and to evaluate my own findings. By knowing the experiences of Arab community's key-persons I hoped to be able to explain the function of networks.

### **The Questionnaire**

I used a standardized questionnaire, ( Appendix 1) which dealt with family background, pre-migratory experience, migratory patterns, socio-economic achievements at various stages of the respondent's career. The questionnaire has 111 questions, which included factual information, questions dealing with the period before immigration, family situation, languages prior to immigration and questions referring to the respondent's situation after immigration, settlement in Montreal, occupational and educational adaptation, language proficiency, and community networks. To collect this information I conducted semi-structured, face to face interviews. The respondents live in Montreal, twenty of them immigrated to Canada in the 1980's, and the others in the 1990's.

The sample includes subjects of different characteristics: sex, age, nationality, education, occupation, social class, marital status, religion, etc. Table 20 shows the characteristics of respondents who immigrated to Canada in the

1980's: birth place, gender, marital status [where "M" indicates married, " S" indicates single never married, "D" indicates divorced], educational qualifications and languages prior to immigration. Table 21 shows the characteristics for those who landed in the 1990's.

**Table: 20 Gender, marital status, educational degrees and languages' proficiency by country of birth of the selected sample who landed in 1980s.**

Birth Place	N.	Gender		Marital			Education			Languages		
		M	F	S	M	D	Sec.	Clog.	Univ.	Fren.	Eng.	Both
Morocco	3	3	0	0	3		1	1	1	1	0	2
Egypt	3	2	1	0	3		2	0	1	3	0	0
Syria	2	1	1	0	2		0	0	2	0	0	2
Lebanon	8	6	2	4	3	1	4	1	3	4	0	4
Jordan	1	1	0	0	1		1	0	0	0	1	0
Iraq	1	0	1	0	1		1	0	0	0	1	0
Kuwait	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0	0	0	0
Gaza Strip	2	2	0	0	2		1	0	1	0	1	1
<b>N=</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>9</b>

**Table: 21, Gender, marital status, educational degrees and languages' Proficiency by country of birth of the selected sample who landed in 1990's.**

Birth Place	N.	Gender		Marital			Education			Languages		
		M	F	S	M	D	Sec.	Clog.	Univ.	Fren.	Eng.	Both
Morocco	3	2	1	2	1		1	0	2	1	0	2
Egypt	2	1	1	1	1		0	1	1	2	0	0
Syria	1	1	0	1	0		0	1	0	0	1	0
Lebanon	3	1	2	1	2		1	1	1	1	2	0
Jordan	5	5	0	1	4		1	1	3	0	5	0
Iraq	2	1	1	1	1		1	0	1	0	2	0
Kuwait	1	1	0	1	0		0	0	1	0	1	0
Gaza Strip	3	3	0	1	2		2	0	1	0	3	0
<b>N=</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>11</b>		<b>6</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>2</b>

## **Data Collection**

Personal semi-structured interviews were conducted with each respondent. All the interviews were carried out in a face to face meeting. Each interview took between two to three hours. The interviews were scheduled ahead of time on a weekly basis. They took place usually at the respondent's home, although for mutual convenience, other locations, such as business offices were used.

The Questionnaire was translated into Arabic. Some interviews were held in Arabic, others in English. Most of the respondents refused to have their interviews taped, but all were carried out in a friendly, rather than in a formal atmosphere. Probing for accurate knowledge of the Arab immigrants experiences in the labour market was the main reason behind the lengthy interview. The investigator asked the respondents for the facts of their immigration and their experiences in the Montreal labour market. Different sources of evidence were incorporated with interview data such as direct observation and informal visits to some Arab immigrants in their workplace.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### ECONOMIC ADAPTATION OF ARAB IMMIGRANTS IN THE MONTREAL LABOUR MARKET, 1996

Economic factors play a major role in the adjustment of new immigrants. Arab immigrants who left their countries for Montreal expect to find what they need in their new place of permanent residence. Successful entry to the labour market has significant impact on their evaluation of the results of immigration. All those who immigrated to improve their economic situation, seeking safety, and/or for family reunification are involved, directly or indirectly, either by participating in the Canadian labour force or by depending on the earnings of someone who is in the labour force. In other words, the employment question is a fundamental one for an Arab immigrant.

This chapter is an attempt to find out the major factors affecting the integration of Arab immigrants in the Montreal labour market. I will try to specify the most influential variables on their occupational pursuits and analyse their labour market experiences, as the respondents narrate their economic adjustment problems.

#### **What does an Arab Identity mean?**

From an Arab point of view, an Arab identity is the product of many centuries of political, economic and social developments which have occurred in and/or affected the lives of the inhabitants of the region known as the Arab world. To many westerners, the word Arab means a nomadic way of life. But, in fact, nomads now

account for no more than five to eight percent of the total Arab population. The present-day Arab world extends from the Atlantic coast of Morocco eastward across northern Africa and the Red Sea, to the part of western Asia which comprises the Arabian Peninsula and the Fertile Crescent. The Arab League is a political organization which has twenty four independent-states. The inhabitants of this region do not share a single common citizenship, but citizens of the nation-states within the borders they were born. Arab identity acquired its cultural and linguistic dimensions as a result of the Arabic-Islamic civilization. Thus, when we use "Arab" as an adjective for a community or association, we presuppose the interaction between people. "Arab communities" have been organized on the basis of national identification: Egyptian, Lebanese, Algerian , Jordanians, Syrians, and so on.

### **Economic Adaptation of Early Arab immigrants**

#### **THE EARLY IMMIGRANTS**

Economic improvements are considered a main vision of Arab pioneers to Canada. They expect to take advantage of work opportunities and to struggle for financial gain. Arab immigrants who arrived by the turn of the century, were prepared to work at almost anything. They considered their immigration as an escape from poverty. The majority, upon arrival, worked as unskilled industrial labourers. In general, their entry status was at the bottom of the occupational hierarchy. They were trying to establish themselves gradually to climb up the occupational ladder. Farming attracted a very small proportion of them. They were

found in shopkeeping and pedlary, other forms of self-employment rather than in industrial work. Abu-Laban [1980] gave a detailed account of Arab history in Canada until 1975. He explained several reasons for their concentration in ethnic work;

" the socio-cultural background of early Arab immigrants being radically different from that of the host society, strengthened ethnic bonds and enhanced moves towards joint economic ventures designed for mutual economic benefits" and " because of kinship ties or clearly defined social networks established in the old country, newer waves of Arab immigrants tended to gravitate toward those who preceded them, seeking and/ or expecting their advice and help. Thus, the twin elements of necessity and social imitation were present in the situation"(p.105).

Historically, the Arab immigrants' first major destination in Canada was Montreal, (p.60). Upon arrival in Montreal, many started as peddlers or unskilled workers in a variety of service jobs. Peddling was a way of social life in addition to an ethnic work. It was like an institution meeting economic and social needs. Montreal was the main centre for Arab peddlers perhaps because it was a large city and a major commercial centre.

Thereafter Arab business in Canada diversified further and spread more widely. Some people of second and later generations followed in the footsteps of their parents and kept their parental occupational careers. Others have taken advantage of education , in order to choose from a wide range of occupations. Their main concentration is in free "self-employment".

In general, Arab immigrants and their descendants experienced upward economic mobility within the life span of the immigrant generation whose entry status was at the bottom of the occupational hierarchy. This experience of rapid upward economic mobility in Canada was explained by Abu Laban: "in orientation towards kinsmen, devotion to hard work and self-employment, and risk-taking, resourcefulness and self-denial, reciprocal support." (p.111)

All immigrants brought their culture with them to Canada, in addition to their capital and physical possessions. One of the significant resources which Arab immigrants brought to Canada was a supportive network of social relations centring around their kinsmen. "Kinsmen" is used to refer not only to blood relations, but also to people of their kind. There was an element of communalism sufficient to serve as an important resource in their economic adaptation to the Canadian environment. There were strong support ties among immigrants. This may explain the tendency of Arab immigrants from the same village in the country of origin to reside in Canada in the same area or city of their predecessors. The bulk of Arab immigrants tended to originate from neighbouring villages in the countries of origin.

A second element influencing the early Arab immigrants' entrepreneurial ventures was devotion to work. For many of them, devotion to work was tied to a concrete goal. Their future plans were intimately linked to financial success. Their preference was for self-employment. They did not like working for someone else and they were usually busy many hours of the day in their own work and related activities that made them independent employers. Many recent immigrants also expressed their preference for self-employment .

Arab immigrants' commitment to hard work meant the subordination of many other values to work. Women's supportive economic role was related to family unity within the context of economically productive activity. Certain values and ethical principles such as unique orientation towards family and kinsmen, preference for self-employment guided the behaviour of Arab immigrants. It is noteworthy that even when many immigrants realized, that they were here to stay, they did not retreat from their commitment to work. The work ethic had already been internalized, and the goal of returning back was replaced by the goal of a better life in Canada for them and their children.

## **THE POST-WAR ARAB IMMIGRANTS**

A large number of Arab immigrants came after World War II. They were significantly different from their predecessors in terms of educational and occupational characteristics, although they were similar in economic adaptation.

### **Intended Occupations of Post-War Arab Immigrants**

Table 22 shows the intended occupations of immigrants from the Arab world by country of last permanent residence for the period 1956-74. In this table, "Lower white collar" includes bookkeeper or cashier, sales clerk and kindred occupations. "Service" occupations include food and beverage preparation, lodging and personal service. "Blue collar" includes all those who work with their hands- whether skilled, semi-skilled or unskilled.



Of the total of 44,120 Arab immigrants who came to Canada during the period 1956-74, about 47% had planned to enter the labour force. The percentage of Arab immigrants destined for the labour force is almost identical to that reported for other immigrant groups. The percentage of entrants to the labour force varies considerably among Arab national groups. It is highest among immigrants from Tunisia and Algeria, and lowest among immigrants from Bahrain, Morocco, Libya, Mauritania, and Yemen. For the two countries which sent the largest majority of Arab immigrants to Canada, namely Egypt and Lebanon, the percentage is about the same as the average for the total Arab immigrant population. Table 22 shows wide differences in the occupational intentions of post war immigrants from the Arab world. For example, of the five Arab countries which supplied over 90% of these immigrants (Egypt, Lebanon, Morocco, Syria, Jordan), Egypt provided the most highly professionalised immigrant labour force.

The results of interviews with Arab ethnic leaders as well as informed opinions regarding occupational choice patterns suggest that post-war Arab immigrants, at all levels of the occupational hierarchy, had a preference for self-employment and trade. Like their earlier counterparts, some of them have gravitated around self-employment, often starting on a small scale and later expanding the enterprise as opportunities arose. These enterprises, even they are small by Canadian standards, secure the economic needs and prosperity for their owners, (Abu-Laban, 1980, p.118).

The relatively high occupational intentions of post-war Arab immigrants to Canada resembled those of other immigrant groups during this period. Relevant to this, the first report of the longitudinal survey of the Department of Manpower and Immigration states: "By occupation, the largest proportion of all the new workers entered managerial, professional or technical fields, followed by craftsmen and sales occupations....To a large extent, immigrants were able to realize the occupational intentions they held prior to arrival in Canada", (Department of Manpower and Immigration, 1974, p. 6).

Overall, the intended occupations of post-war Arab immigrants to Canada were high ranking. The main similarities in occupational choice between the earlier and more recent waves concern the small proportions who went into farming and continued preference for trade and self-employment, (Abu-Laban, 1980, p.119).

**TABLE 22**  
**Intended Occupations of Arab Immigrants to Canada by Country of Last Residence, 1956-1974**  
**PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION**

<i>Country of Last Residence</i>	<i>Professional</i>	<i>Lower White collar</i>	<i>Service</i>	<i>Farm</i>	<i>Blue collar</i>	<i>Not Stated</i>	<i>Total Percent</i>	<i>Total Workers</i>	<i>Total Immigrants</i>	<i>Percent Non-Immigrants workers</i>
Algeria	57.97	17.39	10.14	3.62	9.42	1.45	100	138	221	37.56
Arabia	19.49	16.91	13.60	8.09	40.07	1.84	100	272	536	49.25
Bahrain	31.43	48.57	2.86	—	14.29	2.86	100	35	92	61.96
Egypt	39.21	37.15	3.44	0.17	17.71	2.32	100	8,033	17,104	53.03
Iraq	39.56	23.59	3.44	—	30.47	2.95	100	407	892	54.37
Jordan	20.31	20.69	5.11	0.38	46.36	7.15	100	783	1,562	49.87
Kuwait	47.77	22.68	3.78	—	24.74	1.03	100	291	579	49.74
Lebanon	21.65	17.22	12.37	4.88	38.82	5.06	100	6,863	14,396	52.33
Libya	56.64	27.43	2.65	—	12.39	0.88	100	113	274	58.76
Mauritania	60.00	40.00	—	—	—	—	100	5	12	58.33
Morocco	20.76	45.70	8.95	0.30	22.12	2.16	100	1,989	5,139	61.30
Qatar	9.09	54.55	—	—	36.36	—	100	11	22	50.00
Saudi Arabia	56.76	23.42	—	1.80	17.12	0.90	100	111	247	55.06
Sudan	55.10	33.67	2.04	—	9.18	—	100	98	228	57.02
Syria	22.56	17.24	5.83	1.20	47.77	5.40	100	1,166	2,391	51.23
Tunisia	40.07	14.80	18.41	1.08	23.10	2.53	100	277	406	31.77
Yemen	50.00	37.50	—	—	12.50	—	100	8	19	57.89
<b>Total</b>	<b>30.17</b>	<b>28.30</b>	<b>7.50</b>	<b>1.96</b>	<b>28.54</b>	<b>3.53</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>20,600</b>	<b>44,120</b>	<b>53.31</b>

Source: Abu-Laban, Baha.

1980" An Olive Branch on the Family Tree: The Arabs in Canada": p. 117  
 McClelland and Stewart Limited, Toronto, Ontario.

## **Problems of Economic Adjustment**

While the majority of post-war Arab immigrants to Canada appear to have adapted well to the Canadian economy, a certain number of them have faced difficulties. The average time taken for Arab immigrants to start work in Canada was not available from previous research. The Arab Community Centre in Toronto, which was established in 1972 to assist Arab immigrants in their adaptation to the new environment, showed that there were many cases of immigrants requiring job placement assistance. This type of assistance was sought by nationals from different Arab countries, and by both men and women, of varying age. Language difficulties and lack of skills were often the main problems underlying poor economic adjustment. The high unemployment rate in recent years, was added to the previous factors. The other main problems facing new immigrants, are lack of recognition of their educational attainment and work experience acquired abroad. Some of these difficulties are within the control of the individual immigrant (such as language proficiency, work skills) and can be overcome within an appropriate period. Other barriers are beyond the individual immigrant's control; (such as: recognition of qualifications, high unemployment rate, and lack of Canadian experience).

Annual income was most strongly associated with occupations. Abu-laban conducted a survey on incomes of Arab immigrants in 1973, (Abu-Laban, 1980, p.121). Table 23 shows the relationship between occupational status and income. It is observed that respondents with high status occupations were seven times as likely as those with low status occupations (21% of the former

compared to 3% of the latter group) to report an annual income of \$20,000 or more. On the other hand, 19% of those with low status occupations and only 6% of those with high status occupations earned less than \$5,000 per year. Income tends to improve considerably with length of residence, For example, of those who had been in Canada five years or less, 4% reported an annual income of \$20,000 or more; of those who had been here 6-10 years, 12% earned a similarly high income; and of those who had been in Canada more than ten years, as many as 27% had an annual income of \$20,000 or more.

**Table 23, Relationship between Occupational status and Income, 1973**

Annual income	Occupational Status	
	Low	High
Less than \$ 5,000	19%	6%
\$ 5,000- \$ 9,999	50	26
\$10,000 - \$ 19,999	28	48
\$20,000 or more	3	21
<b>Total %</b>	100%	100%

Source : Abu-Laban [1980], p.121"

Overall, the economic adaptation of the early Arab immigrants was often linked with a desire for economic and occupational success. Throughout the years, Arab immigrants and their descendants have entered all levels of the occupational hierarchy, (Ibid.,125).

## DATA ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

The analysis is carried out at two levels: [1] the answer to each question is the smaller unit of analysis. [2] The story of each immigrant is the larger unit of analysis (the whole immigration story of the individual as one case). The immigrant's answer may be one word, a sentence, a paragraph or more. It depends on the nature of the question. Analysing interview material requires understanding the context in which these words are said. The concern should be with the meaning behind what is being said. All parts of the immigrant's story are explained within the context of the whole immigration process.

**Table 24, Gender, Entry in Canada, Educational Degrees and Languages Proficiency by Country of Birth of the Selected Sample.**

Birth Place	N.	Gender		Entry in		Education			Languages		
		M	F	80's	90's	Sec. Colg.	Univ.	Fren.	Eng.	Both	
Morocco	6	5	1	3	3	1	3	2	2	0	4
Egypt	5	3	2	3	2	3	0	2	5	0	0
Syria	3	2	1	2	1	1	0	2	0	1	2
Lebanon	11	7	4	8	3	7	1	3	5	2	4
Jordan	6	6	0	1	5	2	0	4	0	6	0
Iraq	3	1	2	1	2	1	2	0	0	3	0
Kuwait	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0
Gaza Strip	5	5	0	2	3	1	0	4	0	4	1
<b>N=</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>11</b>

The resulting sample includes subjects of different characteristics by: sex, age, nationality, education, occupation, social class, marital status, religion, etc. Table 24 shows some characteristics of our sample such as birth place, gender, entry to Canada, educational qualifications and languages prior to immigration.

My purpose is to gather information about the reasons for their immigration, their expectations, their characteristics and the difficulties they have encountered in the process of their adaptation to the conditions of the Montreal labour market. To collect this information I have conducted semi-structured, face to face interviews with forty Arab immigrants. They live in Montreal, twenty of them immigrated to Canada in the 1980's, and the others in the 1990's.

This study aims at answering the research question by analysing the available data. Both qualitative and the quantitative approaches are employed. Utilizing the two techniques in different stages of the research gives more clarification. The goal is to develop systematic and objective criteria for transforming the information from the interviews into reliable qualitative data. A coding plan is applied to all respondents by following these steps:

- [1] Identifying the categories into which the answers are to be coded;
- [2] defining the categories according to objective criteria,
- [3] coding the answers in terms of these criteria, and
- [4] reporting the frequency of the categories into which the answers have been coded.

To carry out the analysis, the hypotheses derived from our theory have to be revised. I propose to test the following hypotheses:

- Immigrants who have a longer period of residence in Canada are more likely to integrate in the labour market than immigrants with a shorter period of residence.
- Immigrants with a higher level of education are more likely to integrate in the labour market than immigrants who have a lower level of education.

- Married immigrants are more likely to seek employment than single immigrants.
- Immigrant women are less likely to experience work than immigrant men.
- Younger immigrants are more likely to find employment than older immigrants.
- Immigrants who have proficiency in French and English, are more likely to find employment than immigrants who lack proficiency in either language.
- Immigrants who receive community support are more likely to integrate in the labour market than those who are left on their own.

I predict that several factors contribute to the integration of Arab immigrants in Montreal labour market. These factors can be classified in two categories:

[1] Factors related to the immigrant himself or herself prior to immigration, such as: sex, age, education, work experience, number of dependants, reasons for immigration, expectations etc.

[2] Factors related to the host country such as labour market conditions, governmental policies regarding immigrants absorption in the labour market, attitudes of professional associations and labour unions' policies etc.

All these factors affect the immigrants' participation in the labour market. The dependent variables are measurements of integration in the labour market: labour force participation, unemployment, occupational structure, self-employment and dependence on welfare assistance.

To differentiate the strength of the impact of major independent variables on the dependent variables, I have designed the sample to be equally divided between those who landed from 1980 -1989 and those who have landed since



1990. This will clarify the impact of longer residence in Canada as a control variable. The frequency distribution of each variable among its categories is studied carefully to find out where the concentration of each variable is situated, and the variables' relations with each other. Those variables of great impact are reexamined. This process is done through cross tabulation.

I compare the different categories of the Arab immigrants one to the other in terms of their employment. I aim to detect any trend in the process of integration, to offer sociological explanations of the relationships between the immigrants' expectations and the occupational status they have achieved in the process of their adaptation and compromise. The analysis is done in the light of our theoretical model. Here are the main results that the data analysis has shown and their explanations:

Data analysis shows that the following factors have influenced the dependent variable:

[1] Education: Pre-immigration and post-immigration;

[2] Length of stay in Canada: This variable is designed to be as a control variable to specify the impact of different durations of residence in Canada, particularly on differential incomes and generally on the speed of integration. To achieve this, our sample has been equally and carefully selected between those who landed in the 1980's and the 1990's.

[3] Official languages proficiency:

[4] Work experience: Pre-experience and post-experience;

[5] Marital status and number of dependents;

[6] Community support;

[7] Expectations and compromises.

The combined effects of certain factors such as length of residence in Canada, education, and occupation have a greater impact on the dependent variables.

## **1. EDUCATION**

Pre-immigration educational attainments of the sample were distributed as table 24 shows: 40% have secondary school certificate, 15% have college degree, 45% have university degree. Respondents who immigrated in the 1980's and who had secondary school certificate were ten persons, four of them found employment in less than three months, the other six immigrants found employment in less than six months. In other words, all respondents who landed in the 1980's and who had secondary school education found jobs in less than six months, while only 67% of their counterparts who arrived after 1990 were able to find a job within the same period.

This may be due to the prolonged recession; or to the higher level of education and skills required by the labour market in the 1990's. Immigrants with secondary education who arrived in the 1980's were facing less competitive employment situations, while their counterparts of the 1990's have faced harder situations. This finding shows that low skilled workers were willingly ready to accept any sort of work offered to them; because they knew their capabilities, their possibilities, and the hard consequences if they missed the available opportunity.

Among 1980's respondents, all college graduates were able to find work within six months, where as for the 1990's arrivals 50% were able to find work within six months, (see tables 25 & 26). This indicates that early arrivals with college education were faster in obtaining work.

Among the 1980's arrivals who had university education, 25% were able to find work within six months, where as for the 1990's arrivals 70% were able to find work within the same period (see tables 25 & 26). An explanation of this finding may be that, the earlier arrivals of university graduates were less likely to compromise their intended occupations, therefore they waited longer to find a better job; or, it may be due to the need of more specialized skills and higher levels of education in the 1990's labour market.

In comparing the three categories of education; immigrants who came in the 1980's with a higher level of education were less likely to accept lower status jobs than their qualifications. However, those who came in the 1990's had to lower their expectations and to accept the available work opportunities because of the economic situation.

We also found that the Canadian labour market, in the 1990's, requires workers with higher skills more than in the 1980's. Table 25 and 26 show the time Arab immigrant respondents spent to find a first job by educational qualifications for both arrivals in the 1980's and the 1990's.

**Table 25: Educational qualifications by time spent to find the first-full time job for 1980's arrivals**

<b>Time to find 1st Full-Time Job</b>	<b>Secondary</b>	<b>College</b>	<b>University</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Less than 3 months</b>	4	0	1	5
<b>3 - Less than 6 months</b>	6	2	1	9
<b>6 - Less than 9 months</b>	0	0	3	3
<b>More than 9 months</b>	0	0	3	3
<b>Total</b>	10	2	8	20

Tables 25 and 26 show that educational qualifications are higher for the 1990's arrivals than those who came in the 1980's. The explanation is that the higher educational qualifications of the recent immigrants reflect the tightening of the selection rules by the immigration authorities. The "points system" was made more difficult in order to encourage the immigration of the business and the highly educated and highly skilled categories.

The findings show that 31 immigrants out of 40, received some Canadian education after their arrival, 11 of them received a university degree. The other 20 immigrants received vocational training certificates. Eleven immigrants also received training in the workplace. Arab immigrants realize the need for Canadian education in order to improve their occupational status. In brief, the findings show that Canadian education has a significant impact on employment status of immigrants.

**Table 26: Educational qualifications by time to find the first-full time job for 1990's arrivals.**

<b>Time to find 1st F/T Job</b>	<b>Secondary</b>	<b>College</b>	<b>University</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Less than 3 months</b>	1	2	5	8
<b>3 - Less than 6 months</b>	3	0	2	5
<b>6 - Less than 9 months</b>	1	2	2	5
<b>More than 9 month</b>	1	0	1	2
<b>Total</b>	6	4	10	20

The differences in the adaptation to the labour market of the two immigrant groups are attributed to the following factors:

1) Reasons for immigration: In general Arab immigrants who came in the 1980's were mostly of the economic and family categories (see Table 27); in other words, they came to work or to join other family members. Whereas, those who came in the 1990's, did so mainly for safety reasons, given the war in Lebanon and the gulf war.

**Table 27: Reasons for immigration by arrival period**

<b>Reasons for immigration</b>	<b>Arrivals of 1980's</b>	<b>Arrivals of 1990's</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Economic</b>	9	6	15
<b>Family</b>	3	2	5
<b>Safety</b>	5	10	15
<b>Education</b>	3	2	5
<b>Total</b>	20	20	40

2) Country of origin: Most Arab immigrants who immigrated in the 1980's came from Lebanon, Egypt and Morocco, which are French speaking countries.

Whereas those who immigrated in the 1990's, came from all Arab countries, especially from English speaking countries. Furthermore, the countries of origin of the 1990's arrivals were undergoing political and economic turmoil (see Table 20).

3) Education: Arab immigrants who came in the 1990's had attained a higher level of education than those who came in the 1980's (See Tables 25 & 26). As we explained earlier, this is attributed to the tightening of the selection process by the immigration authorities.

4) Occupational status: According to the data obtained from the interviews, whatever the immigration reasons were, all types of immigrants were, directly or indirectly involved, in the labour market. Those who were directly related expected to find a job in their intended occupations.

Among the sample of forty, I found that only 26 immigrants worked in their intended occupations (13 self-employed + 7 employers + 6 employees), another 9 immigrants worked in different occupations, the remaining 5 immigrants were unemployed (see table 32). When I controlled for length of residence, the findings showed that 75% (15 out of 20) of the 1980's arrivals were in their intended occupations, while, only, 55% (11 out of 20) of the 1990's arrivals were in their intended occupations. This indicates that the longer the period of residence in Canada, the more likely immigrants will realize their expectations

5) Expectations and adaptability: Arab immigrants who came in the early eighties did so of their own free will and therefore were more prepared to adapt

and integrate into the Canadian society. They were planning for permanent settlement in Canada.

6) Canada's economic situation in the 1990's became worse than the 1980's, due to the prolonged recession. As a result, there was less demand for labour.

These differences have influenced the process of adaptation of the two categories of interviewees.

As an illustration, Sami who came to Montreal as a political refugee, and who had a secondary education expressed his opinion by answering :

" I don't have high education, and I am not ready to study again. I am ready to work at any sort of work to live and save some money to send for my family. I have a mother and a sister living in a lonely a refugee camp in Syria waiting for my monthly assistance. That is why I am working in a restaurant (dishwasher) in the day-time and working another job at night reshelving books in a library. I have to keep working to save something for them."

I also interviewed some Arab immigrants who are highly educated, well trained and experienced in their countries such as medical doctors, engineers and others in different technical fields. They were not allowed to practice their profession without passing qualifying exams. As a consequence of this, some professionals have lowered their intended occupations and accepted some sort of compromise relevant to their personal situations. As an illustration of the effects of not obtaining recognition for educational skills acquired prior to immigration, I will present the work experience of some typical cases drawn from the sample.

Nabeel entered Canada in 1990 and settled in Montreal because he knew some friends here and he spoke French better than English. Prior to his immigration, he had received a diploma in medicine from Russia. He worked as

a medical doctor in his country of origin, Lebanon, for three years as a general practitioner. He married in 1987 and had two children. Because of the Civil war, Nabeel applied for immigration to Canada in 1989 and was admitted in 1990. Prior to immigration, Nabeel had high expectations and he intended to pursue his career as a general practitioner. Upon arrival he contacted the medical association to find out how he can practice medicine in Canada. To his shock and surprise, he was told that he had to pass three consecutive medical exams in order to qualify for membership in a hospital. The fees of each exam were about \$1000. Furthermore, successfully passing these exams, as well as, the French language proficiency test did not guarantee his entry to work and admission into the medical system, given the critical situation of Montreal hospitals and the critical state of Canadian medical sector in general. He was told that this process of adjustment to the requirements of the medical profession may take three to four years and he not only had to pass these exams, but also had to rank in the top 10% of successful applicants. Nabeel could not believe that his previous education and experience were not officially recognized by all levels: government, and professional associations. After six months of his immigration, he realized that his financial situation was difficult. He found that it was impossible for him to, immediately, pursue his intended occupation. Therefore, he began reconsidering lowering his expectations and started looking for an appropriate type of work that did not diminish his occupational and social status in the community. He asked all his friends to help him find any suitable work through their personal efforts or through their friends and community networks. Since Nabeel was under



pressure to feed his family and was running short of money, he had to lower his expectations even further. The only available job was a cashier in a restaurant, which he refused. After another 3 months of looking for a better job, his financial situation became extremely difficult. He said "I found that there was no other option. I was forced to accept what was available".

When I asked him how he felt about his ordeal, he replied: " if I knew before immigration that this was going to happen, I would have stayed in Lebanon and risked being killed by bombs. The problem and my main reason for immigration was to save the lives of my children". Then I asked him about the future of his medical profession, he said: "I heard that in the States the situation is better than here. Therefore I want to apply for the American Medical Exam, and if I do not pass then I will have to consider going into business" It is for my children's future that I intend to change my present occupational condition."

Nabeel's story is the story of a male immigrant, but it does not only depict the male condition. It represents issues faced by other immigrants regardless of sex. Nadia is a female physician with 5 years medical experience. She expressed her extreme disappointment because she was not able to practice her profession in Montreal. When I interviewed her and her husband in their house on Cote-Vertu, I admired her determination to re-establish her career. She joined University of Montreal in 1992, and obtained a Canadian university degree in Biochemistry and is,now, employed as a laboratory technician.

Nabeel's and Nadia's stories illustrate the following traits which are common among some of the interviewees:

1) Lack of recognition of educational degrees and work experience acquired prior to immigration. This is a very important subject. The more qualifications an immigrant has acquired abroad, the more steps he or she must take and the more difficulties and obstacles he or she must face, in having their educational degrees recognized (Conseil des Communautés Culturelles et de L' Immigration, July 1993, p.33). Many interviewees described their problems in having their qualifications acquired abroad recognized, whether it be educational degrees or work experience. Some of the frustrated immigrants, whom I interviewed, expressed their anger on the issue of equivalence and recognition of educational attainment and work experience. Equivalence of diplomas and recognition of work experience are vital elements, especially in securing a job corresponding to the immigrant's qualifications and expectations.

2) Access to professional corporations: This subject is also linked to the recognition of training and experience acquired abroad. Some suggested that "corporations tend to discredit experience and training acquired abroad, if they did not actually accuse corporations of trying to use this means to prevent immigrants from practicing their profession" (Conseil des Communautés Culturelles et de L' Immigration, July 1993 p. 50). The same criticisms have been discussed at an Ontario Institution, (see: Study Group on Access to professions and trades in Ontario, 1989, p. 545.)

3) Lack of information on how the labour market and its institutions operate. Many new immigrants seem to suffer from lack of real information about the labour market procedures before arriving from their countries. This may explain why

their expectations are much higher than real possibilities and what they will realize after arrival. Counselling new immigrants on how the labour market operates, the steps required in order to have their qualifications recognized and how to find a job is essential in order to compensate for their lack of information. Furthermore, providing exact information about the Canadian labour market conditions for each applicant abroad may alleviate integration problems and minimize the number of frustrated immigrants.

4) Canadian university education facilitated Nadia's entry into the labour market. According to the interviews conducted for this study, there are strong indications that education and experience acquired abroad are less valued and pay much less, than they do if obtained in Canada.

I found that some of the interviewees who came with higher education were more likely to adapt to the conditions of the labour market, but on the other hand some of them were less satisfied. When I enquired on the reason for this contradiction, they expressed their disappointment from the lack of recognition of their educational degrees and experience, which prevented them from achieving their intended occupations.

## **2. OFFICIAL LANGUAGES PROFICIENCY**

Montreal is well known for its multicultural nature. Various languages can be heard in crowded places, especially big restaurants. Proficiency in official languages, French and/ or English, are considered to be one of the prerequisites for successful entry into the Canadian labour market, especially in Montreal.

Table 28 shows that Arab immigrants who came from Morocco, Egypt, Syria, and Lebanon were proficient in the French Language because it was their second language. Immigrants from English speaking countries were less likely to have a knowledge of the French language. The findings show that Arab immigrants realize that bilingualism is a prerequisite for active participation in the labour market, this explains why 31 immigrants out of 40 are bilingual. Speed of adjustment for immigrants from French speaking countries was clearly recognized through interviewing respondents.

**Table 28, French, English Proficiency ,Before and After Immigration, by Citizenship**

Country of Origin	French only		English only		Both language		Total
	Before*	After*	Before*	After*	Before*	After*	
<b>Morocco</b>	2	0	0	0	4	6	6
<b>Egypt</b>	5	1	0	0	0	4	5
<b>Syria</b>	0	1	1	0	2	2	3
<b>Lebanon</b>	5	1	1	0	4	9	10
<b>Jordan</b>	0	0	8	4	0	4	8
<b>Iraq</b>	0	0	3	0	0	3	3
<b>Gaza Strip</b>	0	0	4	2	1	3	5
<b>Total</b>	12	3	17	6	11	31	40
<b>* Before arrival, After arrival</b>							

Bilingualism is a main prerequisite for successful business in the Montreal labour market, table 29 shows how close the relationship is between income and official languages proficiency. It also shows clearly that bilingual

immigrants are more likely to earn higher incomes than immigrants who know only one official language, French or English. For instance, none of those who know only one official language were able to earn \$30,000 or more.

**Table 29: Proficiency of official languages by income for 40 Arab immigrants**

Annual income	Only French	Only English	Both languages
\$60,000 and more	0	0	3
\$50,000 - \$59,999	0	0	4
\$40,000 - \$49,999	0	0	9
\$30,000 - \$39,999	0	0	8
\$20,000 - \$29,999	1	4	5
\$10,000 - \$19,999	1	1	0
Less than \$10,000	1	1	2

An illustration of the importance of bilingualism is demonstrated by Emad's experience. He is an Arab immigrant who came from Egypt in 1985, his reason for immigration was economic. His settlement in Montreal was due to many factors: his proficiency in the French language; his culture in general is mostly French; all his educational life in Egypt was in private French schools and his relatives and friends were living in Montreal. Emad's highest educational degree prior to immigration was a B.A. from Cairo University in accounting. He narrates his experiences in the Montreal labour market as follows:

" I felt happy when I reached Montreal. Everything was arranged for me except employment. I discussed this issue with my cousin who is my host and has been working in Montreal for five years as an accountant and shareholder in an auditing office. He explained the formal procedure to be a chartered accountant, and advised me that it will be more useful to continue my graduate

studies in accounting at the University of Montreal. He promised to help regarding the cost and expenses during the study period. Even though his offer was appreciated I tried to find a job through other friends and community associations. In 1985, finding a job was not as difficult as it is now, but the job was not related to my education. My cousin's promise to help and his encouragement convinced me to enroll at the University of Montreal to do a Masters in Accounting. Immediately after graduation in 1989, an accountant position in my cousin's company awaited me. There I found the training, experience, professional access, generous monetary returns, and on the top of that my beloved wife, Muna. She shared with me the same field of work. Muna and I, worked for five years in my cousin's office as accountants. After that we established our own new company of auditing accounts in 1994. We are very happy with our work, our income and our customers." When I asked Emad what percentage of his clients were Arabs, he answered " they represented 15% to 20%".

When I asked Emad about his personal opinion, as an auditing accountant, about the financial outcomes of Arab immigrants' businesses in Montreal, he answered

"in general the figures of their net incomes and economic performance are within the Canadian average".

Although Emad's case is unique in terms of success in his occupational career, which was supported by more than one factor, such as Proficiency in the French language, Canadian education, Canadian experience and training, community networks, etc, it illustrates the following:

[1] Proficiency in the French language for an Arab immigrant in Montreal does a great deal to help them integrate and find a good job.

[2] Canadian education in Emad's story shows that it was very helpful to market his occupational potential, in other words it is his Canadian education, among other factors such as language(s) proficiency, networks, etc; that facilitated his entry into the Montreal labour market.

[3] Canadian experience and training: Emad's story shows that the experience of five years which he and his wife acquired in his cousin's company motivated them to establish their own business. Some respondents reported similar cases of remarketing their acquired Canadian experience to maximize their returns and to improve their occupational status.

[4] Community support: In Emad's case his cousin's support was a very influential factor. It is very fortunate for a new immigrant to find everything pre-arranged upon arrival; to find the exact information and true reliable advice available, in addition to financial aid during three years of education. Abu-Laban (1980) explained that Arabs' kinship ties or clearly defined social networks were very influential factors and newer Arab immigrants tended to gravitate toward those who preceded them, seeking and/ or expecting their advice and help [p.,110].

### **3. WORK EXPERIENCE**

The findings show that immigrants who have university education and 13 years or more work of experience prior to their immigration were less likely to achieve their intended occupation. Only six immigrants out of ten were able to achieve their intended occupation. Others had lowered their intended occupation in order to reach a compromise after relatively longer periods of unemployment. The explanation is that they did not update their education and experience with Canadian education and training. To show the value of Canadian experience compared to foreign experience, I will present Ibrahim's case.

Ibrahim is a male Arab immigrant who narrates his experience in the Canadian labour market as follows:

" I immigrated from Kuwait to Canada in 1992, accompanied by five dependents, my wife and four children aged 20, 18, 15, 10 years old . I worked there as a manager of a well known bank for 20 years. The reason for my immigration was for safety and also for political reasons. We settled in Montreal unpurposefully without specific reason. My immigration visa was conditional, to make any sort of business, in which at least two jobs for Canadian or landed immigrant were to be created, within one year or maximum two years after my arrival. Within six months of my arrival, after I arranged for my children's education which I considered my first concern, I began searching to buy a business. I failed in this respect and tried to convince the immigration authorities to cancel this condition because all whom I knew had lost their capital in their businesses. My request was rejected and I found it was necessary to create a business, otherwise, the immigration visa for my family and myself would be cancelled. The business was opened for 15 months as a shop of watches and accessories, in which I lost 85 thousand Canadian dollars, in addition to my work and efforts of more than two years realized after this failure that my financial situation had become critical and I had to search for employment in the field of my experience in banking. I applied to all banks in Montreal, but unfortunately I was not able to have any work opportunity because my proficiency in French language was weak. The needs of my family burdened me and the financial situation was extremely tight, so I decided to search for any job in Toronto, since it is an English province. I went there for four months and stayed with my son who was studying at the University of Toronto, and investigated all possibilities for employment but nothing was achieved except interviews. I do not know why I cannot find a job !!!, I consider my experience in banking very valuable , but no interviewer discussed this issue with me. Really, I do not know why this is my situation. Now, I feel that I have done every thing possible for search for a job in Montreal and Toronto, but I have failed. I will never work in a very low job which will diminish my social class. The only available work opportunity still open is in the Middle East . Two weeks ago, I received an offer from the Housing Bank in Jordan. I am not happy leaving my family here and going there alone to work, but I have no other option, I am leaving for Jordan next week."



Ibrahim's difficulty in entering the labour market was to some extent, similar to that of Nidal. Nidal is an immigrant married engineer, who came to Canada in September 1988. He said, when I asked him about his work experience prior to immigration,

"I worked for four years in Saudi Arabia as a civil engineer, 5 years as a project manager with National Housing Authority in Kuwait, and 2 years in Libya as a quality engineer for construction materials. I consider that I have good experience in civil engineering". He was unable to find any job related to his education and experience. He answered the following when I asked him about his labour market experience in Montreal, "I was introduced to an Arab immigrant who is also in need to fulfill the conditions of his immigration visa, we created a company and bought an existing supermarket for a total value C.\$ 185,000. This business lasted only two years, costing each one of us a loss of C.\$ 65,000. After that, I found myself in difficult financial situation, because I had also bought a house in which my family lives. I tried my best to find any reasonable job, but nothing was found. I also failed to sell my house at the price I had bought it and its value decreased by about 25%. I feel that misfortune is always my companion. So I have decided to go back to the Gulf area for work, to have an employment position there is easy for me. I have received some offers through my friends there, but I am thinking of the outcomes of leaving my four children and wife here alone!!!. This is my experience of the labour market."

The above mentioned cases of Arab immigrants' experiences in the Montreal labour market illustrate the following:

[1] Employers view Canadian experience as more essential and useful for their work than foreign experience. This may explain why some immigrants who have long professional experience in their countries were unable to find employment in their fields of experience in the Montreal labour market. They may find themselves obliged to leave Canada for search for work abroad like what Ibrahim did, especially when their savings vanish.

[2] Proficiency in French and English languages is a condition for employment in Montreal public firms and corporations like banks and may be necessary in most occupational positions in the Montreal labour market. This illustrates that bilingualism is a prerequisite for success in the Montreal labour market, or even more, knowing French is of greater importance in order to live comfortably in Quebec.

[3] Some recent Arab immigrants are facing serious difficulties in entering the labour market. Recognition of their work experience as well as educational qualifications would facilitate their entry into the labour market. Special programmes are required to improve and facilitate their transition into the labour force, would help them understand the mechanisms, rules and operation of the labour market and they should be given greater access to available resources. These programs ultimately incorporate more integration.

#### **4. AGE**

The age of each respondent of the sample at arrival in Canada was between 25 and 44 years except three immigrants [one male and two females] as table 30 shows. The age of each of them was between 15-24 years old, one came especially for university education, the other two immigrants came with their parents. These three immigrants received part of their secondary education and all of their university education in Canada. They graduated in mathematics, commerce and administration, and computer science from Montreal universities.

They applied for occupations within their education specialty and, within three months of graduation, got their intended occupations, one (male) in a bank, the other two (female) in corporations

The male immigrant answered me when I asked him: How did you get your position?

" By competition, I have a university degree from McGill, and the skills required for my work, I am bilingual, I can do my work perfectly."

Within six months of working for corporations, the two women left to join family businesses.

Table 30 shows the breakdown of age groups by employment status of our sample. Seventy two percent of the respondents are between 25 to 34 years of age (29 out of 40 respondents). Four of them are unemployed, six are self-employed, fourteen are employees and five are employers totalling 29 respondents. For those who are between 35 to 44 years of age: one respondent is unemployed, five are self-employed and two are employers totalling 8 respondents. In general the sample is distributed as follows: five are unemployed, thirteen are self employed, fifteen are employees and seven are employers totalling forty respondents. The unemployment rate of Arab immigrants in the Montreal labour market is 12% as by the sample. It is consistent with the Montreal labour market unemployment rate.

The analysis of interview information shows that the differential role of education, based on age at arrival, supports the view that Arab males experienced a disadvantage in occupational attainment due to problems in

obtaining recognition for their educational skills acquired prior to immigration. Ibrahim's, Nidal's and Ehab's cases could be used to provide the evidence.

**Table 30: Kind of work "businesses" by arrival age group of Arab immigrants.**

Age Group	Not working	Self-employed	Employee	Employer	All
15-24 year	0	2	1	0	3
25-34 year	4	6	14	5	29
35-44 year	1	5	0	2	8
All	5	13	15	7	40

## 5. Marital status

Married men were more likely to find employment in a shorter period than unmarried men. This is true for both those who arrived in the 1990's as well as those who arrived in the 1980's. The explanation is that, unlike unmarried men, married men are burdened with dependants. This entails continuous efforts to fulfill their obligations. The experiences of some married immigrants, who are burdened with dependents and lack Canadian experience, are represented by Emad, who said:

" I suffered from unemployment, for more than 4 months. Now, I have to accept any sort of work because I am burdened with two small infants and my wife. I want to feed my children and get Canadian experience by working in any job."

It is worth mentioning that most of the female respondents were not seeking employment, especially the married ones. The reasons can be attributed to cultural and religious values in the Arab world, which regard men as the main

breadwinner of the family. However, it seems that these attitudes are diminishing gradually with their descendants.

**Table 31: Time spent upon arrival to find first full-time jobs by marital status**

Marital status	Less than 3 months	3 -Less than 6 months	6- Less than months	More than 9 months	Total
Never married	3	6	3	1	13
Married	10	7	5	4	26
Divorced	0	1	0	0	1
<b>Total</b>	13	14	8	5	40

Table 31 shows that 10 married men out of 26 found jobs within the first 3 months, while 3 unmarried men out of 13 found jobs within the same period. It is noteworthy that married Arab women were more likely not to work outside the home, especially if they have children. The sample consisted of 40 immigrants, 26 of them are married. Nine of the spouses are employed, the other 17 are unemployed, they are taking care of their children. This means that about 65% of the spouses are staying home while married men were employed. The married Arab men were more likely to take the full responsibility of the household.

## **6. Reasons, Expectations and Compromises**

Table 32 shows employment status of immigrants by reasons of their immigration. It is obvious that 5 immigrants out of 40 are not employed, 2 of them receive financial welfare from the Government. On the other hand, 35 immigrants out of 40 are employed (13 self-employed, 15 employees, 7 employers) and 20 immigrants out of 40 are involved in their own businesses.

The interviews, which I conducted for this study in 1996, showed that 15 immigrants came for economic reasons. Another 15 came as refugees seeking safety, ( it may be due to the Middle East wars, civil war in Lebanon 1975-1990 and the Gulf war). Another 5 immigrants came for family reunification, and 5 came for education. The immigrant's reasons for immigrating have a considerable impact on their efforts to realize their expectations to the best of their capacities. The interviews which I have conducted for this study show that, whatever the immigration reasons were, all types of immigrants expected to find a job in their intended occupations. Among the sample of 40, I found that only 26 immigrants worked in their intended occupations (13 self-employed + 7 employers + 6 employees), another 9 immigrants worked in different occupations, the remaining 5 immigrants were unemployed. When I controlled for length of residence, the findings showed that 75% (15 out of 20) of the 1980's arrivals were in their intended occupations , while 55% only (11 out of 20) of the 1990's arrivals were in their intended occupations. This indicates that the longer the period of residence in Canada, the more likely immigrants will realize their expectations.

**Table 32: Type of Present Work by Reasons of Immigration**

Reasons	Unemployed		Self-employed		Employee		Employer		Total	
	80's	90's	80's	90's	80's	90's	80's	90's	80's	90's
<b>Economic</b>	0	2	4	1	2	2	3	1	9	6
<b>Family reunification</b>	0	1	2	0	1	1	0	0	3	2
<b>Safety for refugees</b>	1	1	2	3	0	5	2	1	5	10
<b>Education</b>	0	0	0	1	3	1	0	0	3	2
<b>Total</b>	1	4	8	5	6	9	5	2	20	20

The reason why 50% of these immigrants have their own businesses is that they started their employment upon arrival at the bottom of the job ladder in any available work opportunity. After an appropriate period they gained Canadian experience and a sufficient amount of money. They established their own business, and devoted their time and efforts to their own work.

Expectations are divided into three categories: low, modest, and high. The low expectations refer to a situation whereby an immigrant is ready to accept any job opportunity even if it is lower than their educational or occupational experience. Modest expectations refer to a situation whereby an immigrant wishes to maintain the same occupational status as the one they had prior to immigration. High expectations refer to a situation whereby an immigrant intends to achieve an occupational or financial status higher than the one they had prior to immigration.

Compromise is the process by which the immigrant tries to reconcile between his personal characteristics and experience, on the one hand, and the requirements of the labour market, on the other. This process involves rationalization, i.e. the weighting of the advantages and disadvantages of each employment opportunity, and decision making. Of course, prior to immigration, knowledge of the in Canada and of how the labour markets function is decisive in determining an immigrant's level of expectations. Without this knowledge, the immigrant's expectations would be detached from reality and may lead them to frustration. This sort of unrealistic expectation is harmful for the immigrant and the society as a whole because of its consequences.

Many different determinants affect the immigrants' level of expectations. Moreover, these expectations are qualitative, meaning that an individual rationalizes their decision according to their individual circumstances. Two immigrants who have similar characteristics, work experience and expectations prior to immigration may behave differently in face of the obstacles that prevent them from achieving their intended occupation. It may occur, under hard conditions such as bad need for money, that an immigrant would lower their expectation to the extent whereby they would be willing to accept any sort of job to feed their family. Sami is an illustration of this experience. An immigrant may sacrifice his or her prestigious occupation for the sake of their children, especially when their lives are at risk, like the story of Nabeel, who worked as a cashier in a restaurant, while his professional career, in his country of origin, was as a medical physician. The main observation we can draw from analysing the individual path of each one of the interviewees is that the process of compromise is a complex one, it involves a web of personal and social factors. Let us consider the following examples taken from the interviews.

Omar is an Arab immigrant who graduated in business administration from the United States and who worked in Kuwait for a company for 4 years before he immigrated to Canada in 1988. His intended occupation was to create his own business as an international business consultant. When he arrived in Montreal, he was relatively young, single, and was financially well to do (he brought \$200,000 with him) . In addition he was highly educated by Canadian standards,



he was fluent in English and he had the right connections to set up an import-export business with the Arab countries. After 3 years of hard work, he managed to expand his business into the area of immigration and investment consulting. In his company he employed 20 persons. He married after achieving success in his business venture. The story of Omar shows that all factors helped him to achieve his expectations. Omar did not have to lower his expectations because he was financially independent, he had no dependents, and his US education prepared him to integrate easily into the labour market.

Rami is another Arab immigrant who came from Jordan where he had graduated in Mechanical Engineering and worked for a construction company for 6 years. When he arrived in Montreal in 1991, accompanied by his wife and 3 children, he only had enough money to survive for 6 months. Rami had high expectations, being an engineer with 6 years experience, he thought he could find work in his field upon arrival. He applied to several companies but with no luck, they did not even grant him an interview. Later, he learned from an immigration and employment centre that in order to be employed as an engineer, he had to show equivalence for his education and experience, and had to register with the Order of Engineers of Quebec. When he enquired from the Order of Engineers about certification, he was told that equivalence was not enough and that he had to take university courses and training. Rami applied to McGill University thinking that the degree and experience he had from Jordan were enough to qualify him for a Masters program. To his surprise, he was asked to do 2 years of undergraduate courses before he could start his Masters.

Rami was in a difficult situation; his money was running out, he had a family to support, and he had no connections that could help him find a decent job. Given this situation, he considered changing his intended occupation without, however, losing his occupational prestige. But he failed to find any reasonable employment opportunity. Wherever he went, he was asked for Canadian education and experience. Eventually he ended up as a courier distributing flyers from house to house

Rami's experience indicates that the process of compromise was a difficult one. He had to weigh his expectations against his obligations toward his family. His rationalization was that working as an engineer was almost impossible, and that his high aspirations were unattainable. Perhaps the courier job is a new beginning that he can get accustomed to.

In comparing the experiences of Omar and Rami, we can conclude that although both were university graduates and both had experience in their field, Omar had advantages that Rami lacked. Omar was successful because of the capital he had money to invest in his own business, he was not required to obtain educational equivalence, nor to be licensed and he had no dependants to support. Rami had no financial capital to start his own business, nor did he have connections or community support to help him. Besides, he had the burden of family responsibility. Although Rami is capable of earning his living and his standard of living is now better than that he left behind in Jordan, he feels deep resentment for his situation. What keeps him going is the hope that his children will be able, with Canadian education, to achieve what he could not achieve.

On the other hand, some Arab immigrants who are highly educated and financially well to do can be flexible in their expectations, some may launch their own business (e.g. export, import, shipment, investment, sales, real estate, trade) dealing mostly with the Arab world.

An illustration of this, is the story of Rashid. He is an Arab immigrant, 44 years old, with PhD degree in Chemistry and 15 years of work experience as professor in a Saudi university. His expectation was to have the same type of job he had before, so he applied to McGill University. They interviewed him and rejected him, so he changed his expectation from university professor to entrepreneur. However to be successful in business in Quebec he had to learn French. He stated:

"It was difficult to go back to school to study after I worked for more than 15 years as a professor. When I applied to work in my field, they told me: we are sorry, you are overqualified. I was not in a bad need to work, so I did not have to accept any sort of work which is not suitable for me". He resumed saying, "This is the main reason, why, seven years ago I established this " export - import" company with countries. I, now, feel very happy with my company, and my income is much better, than any other employment". When I asked him if he was in need to work, to what extent could he accept a less prestigious occupation. He simply answered me: " I will accept any reasonable offer, while studying to improve my skills, looking for better work".

We see that Rashid and Omar were able to enter the Labour market smoothly. Omar in his intended occupation and Rashid in a highly favourable compromised occupation, but poor Rami is obliged to accept an unfavourable compromised occupation, although he is still trying to find a better position.

As an illustration of a different pattern of expectations in Canada Ahmad's story of immigration shows that some Arab Immigrants who had relatively low

levels of education, had low expectations when they came to Canada. Ahmad came from Lebanon as a political refugee in 1995. He narrates his story, as follows:

"I was born to poor parents in a small village in Lebanon. My parents were sick. I was not able to finish my secondary school, because my parents pushed me for work early to help them. I did there, many types of manual work. While in Lebanon, the last job was as an assistant carpenter in construction for two years. I was earning very little money supporting my family as their only source of income. When I was twenty years old my father died and our family situation collapsed. My mother became extremely ill and needed medical treatment to the extent that, the income could not afford her medical expenses.

Even going through the agony of my mother's poor health, the war brought extra trouble to my employment situation. Work was never regular nor consistent so living was hard as basic daily needs were very scarce. Therefore, I was advised by some friends to leave Lebanon for Canada.

I arrived at Montreal in May, 1995. Upon arrival I sought political asylum in Canada, so that I can live in peace and pursue my goals in life. The process for the approval of my case as a political refugee took 3-4 months. During that time, I searched for any sort of work and tried to contact others in the Montreal Arab community, so they can properly guide me.

To add to my troubles, nobody offered me employment and the most difficult time for me was the first three months after my arrival. I had no friends or relatives in Montreal, also my French and English was very poor and the persons whom I met were not helpful. Fortunately, I received social aid from the Government to bear my living expenses. I also had to look at my mother's situation and support her. After four months of being in Montreal, an Arab guy helped me find work in construction, but less than the minimum wage. I accepted the offer without hesitation because I had no choice and must send some money to my seriously ill mother in Lebanon. For the time being I'm satisfied in my working as a construction worker.

Every month I save a small amount of money for my mother in Lebanon. The work I do is very hard and physically exhausting. I can work peacefully and earn my living in a good way. I have been satisfied and happy living and working in Canada. Over the time I have made some friends and I'm satisfied and happy."

Ahmad's case illustrates that all categories of immigrants are involved for job search in the labour market. It also illustrates that, the time in finding work depends on the immigrants needs and the labour market conditions. This is Ahmad's story from a war torn country to a life of security, work and new hope in Montreal. His case shows that Arab immigrants who have dependents are more likely to find employment faster to fulfil their family commitments. Their relatively, low level of education and work experience does not prevent their endeavour to find employment and earn a living by grabbing any available work opportunity. The nature of Ahmad's expectations was within the range of his capabilities and the labour market conditions. His low income in his country prior to immigration, motivated him to immigrate to Canada. His modest expectation provided him with the ability to accept the available opportunity for work in Montreal. He expressed his satisfaction about his life and earnings in Canada.

These four stories illustrates the range of different "expectations" and the degree to which "compromises" were accomplished, and the reasons for that.

## **7. Community support**

Many instances emerged in my interviews with respondents concerns with their culture and traditions. One of the significant resources was a supportive network of social relations centring around, what Abu-Laban (1980 p. 110) called "kinsmen" referring not only to blood relations, but also to people of their own kind. Strong kinship ties or clearly defined social networks established in

the old country are considered a main source of support among Arab immigrants. This may explain the tendency of Arab immigrants from the same Village in the old country to reside in Canada in the same area or city where their predecessors had located.

The explanation is that the new arrivals have different socio-cultural background from that of the host society. They tend to gravitate toward those who preceded them, seeking and/or expecting their advice and help. Two motivations may explain their situation: necessity and social imitation. Emad's case is a typical model of how Arab immigrants support each other, it illustrates how community support can be positively influential.

The findings show that Arab immigrants' economic integration is affected significantly by their Canadian education, proficiency of official languages, length of residence in Canada, Canadian work experience, marital status, age, supportive networks and individual reason(s) of immigration. The analysis of the Arab immigrants' experiences of the Montreal labour market, helped us to understand that their "adaptation" is not simply finding employment, but it is an issue of equity and mobility. They perceive "economic adaptation" as one view of their total integration in the Canadian society.

One more step, may shed some light on this subject. It is to analyse the consequences of respondents' "becoming a Canadian citizen" as a sign of their integration in the Canadian society. Question (no. 106), form in the questionnaire, was asked to the respondents in the following form: "In your opinion, What will be the consequences of becoming a Canadian citizen"

According to Citizenship and Immigration Canada, being a Canadian citizen,, means being a part Canada, sharing all Canadians rights and responsibilities that are based on Canadian laws, traditions and shared values. The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms is the part of the constitution that legally protects the basic rights and freedoms of all Canadians. Some of these rights are democratic: such as voting; mobility rights, such as to live and work anywhere in Canada; to have a Canadian passport, enter and leave Canada freely; equality rights such as protection against discrimination and basic freedoms, such as thought and speech. Also sharing the responsibilities of : obey Canada's laws, vote in elections, express opinions freely while respecting the rights and freedoms of others, work to help others in the community, eliminate discrimination and care for Canada's heritage. Being a Canadian citizen means getting involved in your community and being proud of your country. This subject is important because immigrants are future citizens, and citizenship is not an end to integration, but a means to integration, ( Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1994, p. 45).

This question aims to identify the consequences of "becoming a Canadian citizen" according to Arab immigrants' perceptions. This means to specify the most important effect(s), or result(s) for the respondents. Their answers may be personal, or most important in their view, or the first that comes to the mind and so on. So, I will analyse their answers according to specific categories.

My observation as a researcher, and experience in Arab immigration affairs, in addition to knowledge of their reasons, may give me enough justification to assume these categories.

I will use the responses to question 106 to explore their consequences. The unit of analysis will be their answers' phrases. Of course understanding the context in which these phrases were said and the meaning behind what was being said is taken into consideration in analysing interview material.

I assume that the "consequences of becoming a Canadian citizen" for any Arab immigrant, will indicate one or more of the following categories:

[1] Work opportunity: it will include any word related to work, employment, jobs, part-time, full-time, occupations, wealth accumulation.

[2] Educational opportunity: it will include any word related schools, colleges, university, study, read, etc.

[3] Freedom and safety: it will include any word related to democracy, policy, vote, political party, travel, mobility rights, Canadian passport, war, identity.

[4] Medical security and social security, it will include any word related to medicine, hospital, sickness, pension, age, handicapped.

Table 33 shows that 20 Arab immigrant respondents out of 39 (51%) are looking for freedom and safety as their major consequence of being a Canadian citizen. This finding is not surprising, since the Middle East and the Arab World have been in wars for more than 25 years. In the second category are 11 respondents (28%) "looking for work opportunity"



**Table 33, Consequences of becoming "A Canadian Citizen" of Arab Immigrant Respondents in 1996.**

<b>Category</b>	<b>No. of cases</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>Work opportunity</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>28</b>
<b>Educational opportunity</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>Freedom and safety</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>51</b>
<b>Medical and social security</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>100</b>

Throughout the years, Arab immigrants and their descendants have accomplished their adaptation and mobility in all levels of the occupational hierarchy, some of them have achieved good reputations in their fields, their generally successful economic adjustment has had consequences in other spheres. For example, it has facilitated the development of a favourable attitude towards Canada and provided the resources necessary for the development of ethnic institutions, both religious and secular (Abu-Laban, 1980, p.125).

## CHAPTER SIX

### CONCLUSION

Since 1967, when a "point system" for the selection of independent immigrants was established, there has been a major change in the composition of the immigrant population in favour of new immigrant groups from Asia, Africa, South and Central America, and the Caribbean. During the same period, the Arab world and the Middle East were undergoing wars, disasters and poverty. Some Arabs were encouraged by Canada's economic and political conditions, and therefore decided to escape from their danger and misery. Some of them have come to Canada for economic reasons and others as refugees seeking safety especially from Lebanon during the Civil war 1975-1990.

This study is of an exploratory nature. It aims at answering the following question: How do Arab immigrants integrate in the Montreal labour market? What are the factors that contribute to their integration?

The data was obtained from interviewing in depth a convenient sample of forty Arab immigrants. The "story" of each immigrant was analysed at two levels: the answer to each question as the smaller unit, and the immigrant's story as the larger unit. Both qualitative and quantitative approaches are employed. The hypotheses derived from propositions have been revised. our theoretical model lightened our path in the analysis.

According to the findings of interviews I have conducted, a certain number of Arab immigrants who arrived in recent years have faced difficulties in entering

the labour market. Finding a job is one of the most pressing problems. Proficiency in official languages, French and/or English, especially sufficient command of French is essential to finding employment in Montreal. Some difficulties have existed for more than ten years as respondents indicated, such as: lack of vocational guidance and information on how the labour market operates; evaluation and recognition of educational degrees, training and work experience acquired abroad. The question of equivalence and recognition of the immigrants' credentials are emphasized many times by the respondents because of its importance and necessity for employment.

Another problematic aspect of the economic adjustment is the underemployment which may result from equivalence and recognition of credentials. As we have seen there are some professionals who are mismatched or even unemployed. In this respect Canadian experience is of great importance in finding a job, but the question for the newest arrival is how to obtain this experience. Certain job difficulties are within the control of individual immigrants (such as language proficiency, work skills), they can be overcome within an appropriate period. Other barriers are beyond the immigrants' control (such as: recognition of qualifications, high unemployment rate, and lack of Canadian experience).

The main conclusions are that the key human-capital variables " education and experience" are positively related to integration into the labour market. There are strong indications that education and experience acquired in Canada are more efficient in finding employment, and getting promoted. The Canadian

education and experience pay more than foreign education and experience. The quality differences may be genuine or based on employers' perceptions. Immigrants who came young enough to obtain education and experience in Canada performed as well as Canadians.

Duration of residence in Canada is a central element in the process of adaptation to the labour market conditions. Those who came earlier are more likely to have higher earnings in the labour market. Their participation in the labour force tends to increase with the duration of their residence.

Further analysis of the combined effects of such factors as country of origin, length of residence in Canada, education, and occupation account for differences in adaptability to the labour market conditions. Those who came from French speaking countries, are found to be more adaptable and faster in finding employment. After controlling for length of residence and gender, we found that immigrants who arrived in the 1990's have average incomes below those who arrived in 1980's. Also, incomes tended to be slightly higher among men than women respondents.

Arab Immigrants with high education, longer experience prior to immigration and financial capability are less likely to lower their expectations, and are more likely to engage in their own businesses, making use of their education, knowledge and experiences prior to immigration.

Our findings support our hypotheses, these findings are also supported by most of the empirical research such those of Tandon, Richmond, de Silva and Abu Laban. The significance of our findings is that younger immigrants who went

through the Canadian educational system have shown a higher degree of adaptability than the older immigrants. This indicates that the descendants of these young immigrants will integrate faster than their parents.

This research emphasizes the various kinds of obstacles that Arab immigrants in particular have encountered in the process of their integration in the labour market, obstacles which can be attributed to economic, social and cultural variables.

The evidence shows that recent Arab immigrants experience a relatively short period of unemployment, and that is mostly immediately after their arrival until they get acquainted with the system. The proportion of recent Arab immigrants on welfare assistance is small. I found that Arab immigrants' economic performance is affected significantly by their education, proficiency of official languages, length of residence in Canada, work experience, marital status and reason(s) of immigration. These factors have influenced the speed of their adjustment in the Montreal labour market. Other independent variables such as public/private sector employment, and nationality have less impact.

I found that Arab immigrants have accomplished their adaptation in all levels of the occupational hierarchy, some of them have achieved a good reputation in their fields. Arab immigrants have contributed significantly to the development of the Montreal labour market.

In general Arab immigrants integrate reasonably well to the Montreal labour market, in spite of the overall averages hiding much diversity among Arab immigrants of different countries.

The question is: what can be done to improve the immigrants' integration? The notion that integration should begin abroad before immigrants arrive into Canada may help for smooth and faster integration. Giving the immigration applicants exact information and knowledge of how the labour market operates to construct reasonable expectations, will save a lot of integration costs. Since, immigration policy is selective for independent immigrants according to the specific needs of economy, and the immigrants are future citizens, equivalence and recognition of their educational degrees, training and work experience acquired abroad is essential. Clear rules to access and practice all professions controlled by corporations is a major requirement. Providing the immigrants with the necessary tools to enter the labour market; i. e. language(s) training, upgrading their skills, equivalence and recognition of their educational degrees and work experience acquired abroad on which they were admitted; will be necessary to facilitate their entry into the labour force and to accelerate their integration in the whole society. Otherwise another question may be asked as one respondent did: what is the real value of all these educational qualifications and experience certificates, listed in the points system if they are not translated into an equal opportunity to enter labour market?

Due to the exploratory nature of my research, I have gathered a vast amount of material from the interviewees, which has given a good background on the subject and enriched the analysis quantitatively and qualitatively. However, the analysis of some of the material is beyond the scope and research interest.

Further research on the Arab immigrants' contributions to the social and economic development of Montreal compared with other ethnic groups and native-born Canadians, is clearly needed. All these issues of new immigrants' integration are in need of further research, since the source of immigrants for Canada has shifted from Europe and United States to Third World countries.

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1973 "The longitudinal Study of the Economic and Social Adaptation of  
Immigrants." University of Waterloo, Ontario.

## **APPENDIX 1**

### **CONCORDIA UNIVERSITY**

#### **DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY**

#### **ARAB IMMIGRANTS IN THE CANADIAN LABOUR MARKET: EXPECTATIONS AND COMPROMISE**

This questionnaire is part of M.A. thesis in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, at Concordia University. This thesis examines the labour market experience of Arab immigrants in Montreal.

The purpose of this study is to explore the degree of their socio-economic adaptation.

This study will investigate the causes of their immigration, their expectations, their human capital prior to immigration and after. It attempts to identify the processes of negotiation and compromise they undergo as they look for employment and work.

The facts of your experience will enrich this research. It is your choice not to answer any question you want. All information obtained in this study is treated confidentially.

Your co-operation is most appreciated.

Researcher: Mahmoud Al-Hihi

Department of sociology, Concordia University

DATE :

COMMENTS:

## SURVEY OF ARAB IMMIGRANTS IN MONTREAL

### PART I: Factual information

START TIME: \_\_\_\_\_

1. Interviewee number \_\_\_\_\_
2. Gender: [ 1 ] Male [ 2 ] Female
3. Age : 1 [15-24], 2 [25-24], 3 [35-44], 4 [45-54]
4. Country of birth:  
[1] Mauritania , [ 2 ]Morocco, [ 3 ]Algeria, [4 ] Tunisia,  
[ 5 ] Libya, [ 6 ] Egypt , [ 7 ] Sudan, [8 ] Syria,  
[9] Lebanon, [10] Jordan, [11] Iraq , [12] Kuwait,  
[13] Saudi Arabia, [14] Yemen, [15] Oman,  
[16] United Arab Emirates, [17] Canada, [18] Palestine,  
[19] France, [20] USA , [21] U. K.
5. What is your country of origin? [ According to categories in Q.4]
6. Citizenship(s): [ According to categories in Q.4]
7. Religion: [1] Moslem, [2] Christian, [3] Other
8. Mother tongue: [Arabic, [2] French, [3] English, [4] Other

### PART II: The following questions refer to the period before immigration: Your family situation prior to immigration

9. Marital status  
[ 1 ] Never married [ 4 ] Widowed  
[ 2 ] Married [ 5 ] Separated  
[ 3 ] Divorced [ 6 ] Other: \_\_\_\_\_
10. If married what is your spouse's:  
Country of origin \_\_\_\_\_ Citizenship \_\_\_\_\_  
[ According to categories in Q.4]  
Age \_\_\_\_\_ Religion \_\_\_\_\_ Mother tongue \_\_\_\_\_  
[ According to categories in Q. 3, 7, 8 ]  
Other languages known \_\_\_\_\_



Highest educational diploma \_\_\_\_\_ Graduation Date \_\_\_\_\_

- [ 0 ] Not Formal Education,
- [ 1 ] Elementary,
- [ 2 ] Secondary,
- [ 3 ] College
- [ 4 ] University,

\*Occupation \_\_\_\_\_, Working Now :[1] Yes , [2] No,  
 Relation to education: [1] Related, [2] Not related.

\*The following occupational distribution based on "Canadian Classification and Dictionary of Occupations" will be used in this study:

- [1] Managerial, entrepreneurs, investors.
- [2] Professional.
- [3] Sales occupation.
- [4] Service occupations.
- [5] Product fabricating.
- [6] Construction.
- [7] Other

11. If you have children, give the following information:

Child's number	Gender	Age	School level	Language known
1st	.....	.....	.....	.....
2nd	.....	.....	.....	.....
3rd	.....	.....	.....	.....
4th	.....	.....	.....	.....
5th	.....	.....	.....	.....

12. Number of other dependants (other than spouse and/or children):

---

13. Relation of other dependants to you: \_\_\_\_\_

**Your education prior to immigration**

14. What is the highest level of education you achieved prior to immigration?

- 0 [ ] No formal education
- 1 [ ] Elementary
- 2 [ ] Secondary
- 3 [ ] College
- 4 [ ] University

15. If you obtained college or university diploma/ certificate, state:

- 1 Area of specialization: \_\_\_\_\_
- 2 Date of graduation \_\_\_\_\_
- 3 Country \_\_\_\_\_

16. If you had vocational training, give:

- 1 Type of vocation \_\_\_\_\_
- 2 Diploma/ certificate: [ 1 ] Yes, [ 2 ] No
- 3 Date of graduation \_\_\_\_\_
- 4 Country of graduation \_\_\_\_\_

**Your occupation prior to immigration**

17. List in order all major occupations you had the last ten years, beginning with the last one. [Use the same code in Q 3, Q 10.]

Country	Occupation	Duration	salary\$/year	Relevance to education
				[ 1 ] Yes [ 2 ] No
				[ 1 ] Yes [ 2 ] No
				[ 1 ] Yes [ 2 ] No
				[ 1 ] Yes [ 2 ] No
				[ 1 ] Yes [ 2 ] No
				[ 1 ] Yes [ 2 ] No
				[ 1 ] Yes [ 2 ] No

18. Among these occupations, which one(s) did you hope to follow in Canada?

Explain why: \_\_\_\_\_

19. Explain which occupation gave you most satisfaction in terms of salary and occupational rank?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

**Languages you knew prior to immigration**

20. How well did you know the following languages:

Language	Excellent	Fair	Poor	None
[1] Arabic	.....	.....	.....	.....
[2] French	.....	.....	.....	.....
[3] English	.....	.....	.....	.....
[4] Other: __	.....	.....	.....	.....

**Your Travels Prior to Immigration**

21. List in order all countries where you stayed for one year or more (during the last 10 years before your immigration), the duration and purpose for that stay, beginning with the last country, from which you immigrated to Canada.

Country	Duration	Purpose of the stay

**Reasons and expectations prior to immigration**

22. Explain the reasons for which you decided to immigrate? [Probe for reasons]:

- [1] Economic reasons, \_\_\_\_\_
- [2] Family reunification, \_\_\_\_\_
- [3] Safety: refugee, \_\_\_\_\_
- [4] Education, \_\_\_\_\_
- [5] Other. \_\_\_\_\_

23. Why did you choose to immigrate to Canada? \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

24. What did you know about Canada before immigration?  
 [Probe for 1.visit, 2.friend, relative 3.safety 4.work 5.Social security  
 6.Medical security, 7.education.]  
 \_\_\_\_\_

25. Where did you learn this information from? \_\_\_\_\_  
[1] Reliable, [2] In between, [3] Not reliable

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26. If you visited Canada before immigration, what was the nature of your visit?  
Did this visit influence your decision to immigrate? In what way?

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27. What citizenship did you use to apply for immigration to Canada? \_\_\_\_\_  
[Use categories in Q.4]

28. When did you apply? \_\_\_\_\_

29. Where did you apply from? [1] Country \_\_\_\_\_ [2] City \_\_\_\_\_

30. How long did it take to process your application?

---

31. Did you apply as?

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> [ 1 ] Independent. | <input type="checkbox"/> [ 2 ] Family reunification |
| <input type="checkbox"/> [ 3 ] Student visa | <input type="checkbox"/> [ 4 ] Refugee              |
| <input type="checkbox"/> [ 5 ] Other        |   |

32. If independent, did you apply as:

- |   |
|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> [ 1 ] Self-employed. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> [ 2 ] Entrepreneur   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> [ 3 ] Investor       |
| <input type="checkbox"/> [ 4 ] Other: _____   |

33. If you applied for family reunification, who sponsored you? \_\_\_\_\_

---

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34. If you had relatives and/or friends in Canada, how did they affect your decision  
to immigrate to Canada? \_\_\_\_\_

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35. Did your relatives or friends promise you a job on arrival?  
[ 1 ] Yes, [ 0 ] No.

36. Had you received a job offer before arrival to Canada?  
[ 1 ] Yes, [ 0 ] No.

37. Did you hear or read that jobs were available in Canada?  
[ 1 ]Yes, [ 2 ] No. Explain \_\_\_\_\_

38. If you answered positively to any one of the three previous questions, explain how that supported your final decision to immigrate to Canada?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

39. Did you make special preparations before your arrival to facilitate your integration? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

(Probe for: 1. Language courses, 2. updating your skills, 3. training course to refine your occupational experience, 4. visited Canadian Embassy at your country to have reliable information, 5. contacted other immigrants from your country in Canada, or 6. Canadian companies to have information about your desired occupation in Canada). \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

40. If you immigrated for safety reasons, explain the situation that endangered your safety? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

41. If you immigrated for economic reasons, explain the situation that motivated you to seek immigration? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

42. If you immigrated for family reunification reasons, explain your family situation before you sought immigration? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

43. What were your expectations prior your immigration to Canada?  
Probing for:  
[1] educational opportunities: \_\_\_\_\_  
[2] work opportunities : \_\_\_\_\_  
[3] medical security: \_\_\_\_\_  
[4] social security: \_\_\_\_\_  
[5] wealth accumulation: \_\_\_\_\_  
[6] Other \_\_\_\_\_

**PART III: The following questions refer to your situation after immigration.  
Settlement in Montreal**

44. When did you come to Canada to live? \_\_\_\_\_

45. Who came to Canada with you? \_\_\_\_\_

46. What was your first city of residence in Canada? \_\_\_\_\_

47. If your first residence was not in Montreal, when did you move to Montreal?  
\_\_\_\_\_

48. Why did you choose Montreal? [Probe for 1. speak French. 2. visited Montreal before 3. relatives or friends 4. for work 5. education 6. metropolitan city  
\_\_\_\_\_

49. On arrival in Montreal, explain whether you received help from any of these people:

1. Family member(s): \_\_\_\_\_

2. Friend(s): \_\_\_\_\_

3. Other: \_\_\_\_\_

50. How did you arrange the following living accommodations on arrival?  
(Probe for :1. housing 2. transportation 3. schooling 4. banking & financial affairs 5. government papers (social & medical insurance, family allowances, etc.)  
\_\_\_\_\_

**Occupational and educational adaptation**

51. Explain how long did it take you to start looking for work? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

52. Explain the difficulties you encountered in looking for work?

Probe for 1. Professional association licensing authorities.

2. Misleading information.

3. Employers' attitudes.

4. Union and corporations attitudes

5. Racism, discrimination

6. Exploitation .

7. Insecurity and lack of self-confidence.

8. I don't know French , English, both.

9. I have not encountered any difficulty  
\_\_\_\_\_

53. How long did it take you to find your first job? Explain how did you get that job? \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

54. List in order the type of jobs you have held since your immigration to Canada, beginning with the first one and ending with the present occupation?

City	Job title	Part - time/ Full-time	Type of business	Duration	Annual salary\$	Relation*	Support**

\*Related to your intended occupation prior to immigration (1: Yes/ 0: No)  
 \*\* Group who assisted you in finding that job: (1) Relatives (2) friends (3) community assoc. (4) employment centres (5) newspapers (6) others: \_\_\_\_\_

55. If any of these occupations corresponds to your intended occupation:  
 - Explain how you got into this occupation \_\_\_\_\_  
 - What type of difficulties you encountered in the process of achieving it:  
 [Use Q.52 Coding] \_\_\_\_\_

56. How did you manage to overcome these difficulties? \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

57. If none of these occupations were intended prior to immigration, explain why did you accept them? \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

58. If there has been any change in your marital status since coming to Canada, explain these changes? \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

59. Explain whether your marital status has had any influence on your occupational choices? (Probing exactly for spouse's work with relation to education) \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

60. What are the barriers that have prevented you from achieving your intended occupation ?[Use Q. 52 code] \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

61. In your opinion, what do you need to achieve your intended occupation?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

62. Explain whether the education you had acquired prior to immigration was sufficient for achieving your intended occupation in Canada?  
\_\_\_\_\_

63. If you answered negatively, explain whether you have taken any courses to upgrade your education? \_\_\_\_\_

64. If you have taken any courses in Canada, what is the highest level of education you have achieved in Canada?

1. Highest degree \_\_\_\_\_
2. Area of specialization: \_\_\_\_\_
3. Year of graduation \_\_\_\_\_

65. May you explain educational situation with relation to work for your spouse?  
(If applicable) \_\_\_\_\_  
Area of specialization: \_\_\_\_\_, Year of graduation \_\_\_\_\_

66. Explain whether the work experience you had acquired prior to immigration was sufficient for achieving your intended occupation in Canada?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

67. If you answered negatively, explain whether you have enrolled in any job training program to upgrade your skills? and why?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_



68. If you have received vocational training in Canada, give:

- 1) Type of vocation \_\_\_\_\_
  - 2) Diploma/ certificate: [ 1 ] Yes [ 2 ] No
  - 3) Date of graduation \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_

69. How do you evaluate the influence of Canadian vocational training, and your new skills, on your occupational status that you have achieved so far?  
[Give grade from 1-10] \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

70. If you have upgraded your educational and job skills and is still unable to achieve your intended occupation, explain why and what do you plan to do or your occupational future?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

71. If you have changed your intended occupation, explain the newly desired occupation and the circumstances that led you to this compromise?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

72. Are you presently working? (1): Yes, (2): No

73. If you are not working presently, how do you earn your living?(Probing for other earning sources) \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

74. If you are presently working, explain type of work and how did you get into this work? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

75. Are you paid in cash or cheque?

- ( 1 ) cash \_\_\_\_\_
- ( 2 ) cheque \_\_\_\_\_

76. In your present work, what is your employment status:

- [ 1 ] self-employed \_\_\_\_\_
- [ 2 ] employee \_\_\_\_\_
- [ 3 ] employer \_\_\_\_\_
- [ 4 ] Other: \_\_\_\_\_

77. Indicate the percentage of business in your company conduct with customers of Arab origin:

- (1) None                      (2) Lt 25%                      (3)25% to Lt 50%  
(4) 50 to Lt 75%              (5)+75%

78. Is the company Arab-owned? (1) Yes,                      (2) No.

79. What is the ethnic background of the majority of the executives / management of the company, or institution, or organization?

- 1 \_\_\_\_\_ 2 \_\_\_\_\_ 3 \_\_\_\_\_  
4 \_\_\_\_\_ 5 \_\_\_\_\_ 6 \_\_\_\_\_

80. Please, tell me the ethnic background of your closest colleagues at work?

- 1 \_\_\_\_\_ 2 \_\_\_\_\_ 3 \_\_\_\_\_  
4 \_\_\_\_\_ 5 \_\_\_\_\_ 6 \_\_\_\_\_

81. Every thing taken into consideration. Explain how satisfied or dissatisfied are you with your present work? [Give a grade out of 10] \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

82. What would be the ideal occupation you wish to get? In what field?

- [1] Ideal occupation-----  
[2] Ideal business, industry or service-----  
[3] Ideal position or title-----

83. Some immigrants judge their occupational achievement by comparing themselves with other persons having the same education and experience that you have [ probe for friends, schoolmates, neighbours, Arab persons, Canadians, etc.]. With what kind of people do you usually judge your own occupational achievement in Canada? Please explain the similarities and dissimilarities:

\_\_\_\_\_

84. What was your own total earning for 1995 from all sources including wages? Salaries, rents, investment income and so on ( before taxes)?

- 1 -----\$60,000 and more  
2 -----\$50,000 and more  
3 -----\$40,000 -\$49,999  
4 -----. \$30,000-\$39,999  
5 -----\$20,000- \$29,999  
6 -----\$10,000- \$19,999  
7 -----Less than \$10,000  
8 -----NA

85. Do you think that an Arab immigrant or Arab-Canadian who is qualified can get as good a job, a better job, or not as good a job as an average Canadian with the same qualification?

- 1. Better job-----, 2. As good a job-----, 3. Not as good a job, \_\_\_\_\_
- 4. Depends on occupation and/or employer -----,
- 5. Not as good a job because of language -----, 6. NA -----

86. How many people are presently living in your household including yourself?

---

87. What was your family annual income for 1995 from all sources including wages salaries, rents, investment income and so on ( before taxes)?

- 1 -----\$60,000 and more
- 2 -----\$50,000 - \$59,999
- 3 -----\$40,000 - \$49,999
- 4 ----- \$30,000-\$39,999
- 5 -----\$20,000- \$29,999
- 6 -----\$10,000- \$19,999
- 7 -----Less than \$10,000
- 8 -----NA

88. How would you rate your standard of living in Canada compared with the standard of living you had in ( your country of last residence)?

- 1. Very much better off in Canada-----
- 2. Little better off in Canada-----
- 3. No difference-----
- 4. A little worse off in Canada-----
- 5. Much worse off in Canada -----
- 6. N A -----

89. Regarding one's position in society, people judge other people not only by their income, education, or occupation, but also by general acceptance and respect they receive in the society. Thinking in this way, is your social position in the community higher, lower or the same now in comparison with that in your country?

- 1. Higher \_\_\_\_\_, 2. Same \_\_\_\_\_,
- 3. Lower \_\_\_\_\_, 4. NA \_\_\_\_\_,

Explain \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

**LANGUAGES, COMMUNITY NETWORKS,**

90. Did you attend or are you attending language courses?

Yes [ 1 ]      No [ 2 ]      NA [ 3 ]

91. What language courses did you attend or are attending since coming to Canada?

1) English-----, 2) French-----, 3) Other (specify)-----

92. Here in Canada, what languages do you use when speaking to:

1. spouse\_\_\_\_\_, 2. children\_\_\_\_\_, 3. brother and sister \_\_\_\_\_

4. in mosque or church \_\_\_\_\_ 5. close friends\_\_\_\_\_, 6. people at work \_\_\_\_\_

93. If you read books, do you read [1] English, [2] French, [3] or Arabic books?

\_\_\_\_\_

If you read magazines or newspapers do you read

[1] English,    [2] French    or [3] Arabic    Ones?

94. Please explain what kind of festival do you celebrate here in Canada?

Canadian or Arabic festivals? \_\_\_\_\_

95. When you watch T.V., do you watch [1] English -Language programs or

[2] French Language programs? \_\_\_\_\_

96. How often do you listen to Arabic news' bulletin? Why? \_\_\_\_\_

[1] Yes, always----- [2] Yes, frequently----- [3] Yes, occasionally -----

[4] Yes, seldom----- [5] No, never----- [6] NA-----

97. Do you feel that Canadian-born Arabs should learn Arabic language?

Yes [ 1 ]      No [ 2 ]      NA [ 3 ],      Why?

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

98. Do you think that second generation [ Canadian- born Arab] will resume or abandon their parents' ethnic work? Why?

Yes [ 1 ]      No [ 2 ]      NA [ 3 ]

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

99. Do you think it is necessary for a son or a daughter to work in the same type of occupation as their parents, or do you think they are restricted to their own communities in the practice of their occupation? Please explain  
Yes [1], No [2], NA [3].

---

100. Do you think that Canadian-born Arab will have equal opportunities in the labour market and jobs?

1. Definitely yes----- 2. probably yes----- 3. uncertain -----

4. probably not ----- 5. definitely not----- 6 . NA -----

101. Please think of four close friends that you have. To what ethnic origin does each of them belong?

1. \_\_\_\_\_ 2. \_\_\_\_\_ 3. \_\_\_\_\_ 4. \_\_\_\_\_

102. Are you a member of any Arab association or club? Which one?

Yes [ 1 ] No [ 2 ] NA [ 3 ]

---

103. How often do you attend meetings and activities? Explain the services and support offered to community members? \_\_\_\_\_

---

104. Do you attend regularly prayers in mosques or churches, either for Moslem or Christian? Explain the effect of these gatherings with your friends and brothers on your social life, in general, and work and jobs, in particular?

Yes [1], No [2], NA [3]

---

105. Have you obtained the Canadian citizenship?

Yes [1], No [2], NA [3]

106. In your opinion, what will be the consequences of becoming a Canadian citizen?

[1] \_\_\_\_\_

[2] \_\_\_\_\_

[3] \_\_\_\_\_

[4] \_\_\_\_\_

107. There are some people who regret coming to Canada; Are you happy being in Canada? Yes [ 1 ], No [ 2 ], NA [ 3 ], Why?

---

108. Do you feel that your career in Canada so far has been successful?

Yes [1], No [2], NA [3], Explain why? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

109. In general, do you feel that your expectations prior to immigration have been met? ( Probing for 1 educational opportunities, 2 work opportunities, 3. medical, security, 4 social security, 5 wealth accumulation, other)

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

110. Finally, what is your advice for new Arab immigrants to help them for a smooth access into labour the market and jobs?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

111. Thank you very much for your co-operation. Do you have any comment you want to add regarding your work and immigration in Montreal?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Thank you for Co-operation

FINISH TIME.....

## APPENDIX II

### Definitions

The following terms have been defined by Citizenship and Immigration Canada on Immigration Statistics 1992, page 89, to provide a common base of understanding and a working interpretation of the study

- 1) **Admission** :Entry or landing.
- 2) **Country of birth** :Country in which a person was born.
- 3) **Country of citizenship**: The country of which the person is a citizen or national and issued the person's passport.
- 4) **Country of last permanent residence**: The country where the applicant has resided on a permanent basis for one year or more .
- 5) **Immigrants**: An immigrant is a person who seeks landing.
- 6) **Entrepreneur**: An immigrant

(a) who intends and has the ability to establish, purchase or make substantial investment in a business or commercial venture in Canada that makes a significant contribution into the economy, and whereby employment opportunities will be created or continued in Canada for one or more Canadian citizens or permanent residents, other than entrepreneur and his dependants,

(b) who intends, has the ability to provide, and on-going participation in the management of the of the business or commercial venture.

- 7) **Immigrants from Traditional Sources**: Immigrants from Europe and North America.

8) **Immigrants from Non -Traditional Sources:** Immigrants from Asia, Africa, Caribbean, Bermuda, Central and South America, and other. The vast majority of these countries are developing countries. The exceptions include Japan, Australia, and New Zealand.

9) **Intended occupation:** In the case of permanent residents, is based on a statement of intention only, and there is no guarantee that the intention was realised.

10) **Investor:** An immigrant who: (a) has successfully operated, controlled or directed a business or commercial undertaking; (b) has made a minimum investment , since applying for an immigrant visa, that will contribute to the creation or continuation of employment opportunities for Canadian citizens or permanent residents, other than the immigrant and the immigrant's dependents;(c) has a net worth, accumulated by the immigrant's own endeavours; (i) where the immigrant makes an investment referred to in (a) or (b) of the definition "minimum investment",of at least \$500,000, or where the immigrant makes an investment referred to in (a) or (b) of the definition "minimum investment" of at least \$700,000.

11) **Landing:** lawful permission to come into Canada for permanent residence.

12) **Permanent resident:** A person who has been granted landing, has not become a Canadian citizen or has not lost his permanent residence status.

13) **Province of intended destination:** In the case of permanent residents, is based on a statement of intention only and there is no guarantee that the intention was realized.