

By Marshia Akbar^a, Brian Ray^b, Valerie Preston^c

Key Findings:

- Ontario is home to about half of all immigrants in Canada, while approximately fifteen percent live in Quebec. Individuals who came to Canada under the provisions of the economic class predominate in both provinces. Economic immigrants comprise just less than half of all immigrants living in Ontario, and slightly more than half of those in Quebec.
- In both provinces, **immigrants are disproportionately concentrated in large urban centres.** For each of the admission categories, the majority of individuals reside in Toronto and Montreal.
- More than sixty percent of all immigrants living in Ontario came from Asia. In Quebec, the representation of immigrants by world regions is more even, but the largest share comes from Asia (30.1%).
- Asians represent the majority of economic class immigrants in Toronto, Ottawa-Gatineau, Kitchener-Waterloo and Windsor. In contrast, Africans constitute the largest share of economic class immigrants in Montreal, while Europeans are the largest share of this admission category in Quebec City and Sherbrooke.
- The admission of economic class immigrants has grown since the late 1990s, but the number of family class and refugees declined after 2000 in selected metropolitan areas in Ontario and Quebec. However, in Windsor and Sherbrooke refugees comprise the largest proportion of all recent immigrants.
- Admission categories of immigrants differ by gender in Ontario and Quebec, and across selected metropolitan areas. **Most male economic immigrants are the principal applicant**; in contrast, female economic immigrants are much more likely to be secondary applicants.





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Introduction to BMRC-IRMU

Established in 2016, Building Migrant Resilience in Cities (BMRC) is a research partnership and a multisector collaboration. It draws on over 20 years of experience in bringing together a range of key actors working on issues of immigration and settlement through the Centre of Excellence for Research on Immigration and Settlement (CERIS), a leading Ontario network of migration and settlement researchers, practitioners, and policymakers.

Our unique initiative explores the concept of social resilience to examine how institutions can facilitate migrant settlement in urban areas across Quebec and Ontario. We are generating new knowledge about emerging trends in international migration and resilience for academic debate and discussion that will be made readily available to decision-makers and practitioners who strive to enhance migrant settlement.

We are deepening the links among academics, onprofits and government, creating new synergies that benefit from each sector's distinct knowledge and expertise. With partners across Quebec and Ontario, we are building a bilingual knowledge network that will train new generations of migration researchers. Our goal is to nurture a multidisciplinary partnership that will create and disseminate original and relevant knowledge about migration and settlement to researchers, policymakers and decision- makers throughout Canada and around the world at the times they need it. This research partnership succeeded because of its deep roots in CERIS, the successor to the Ontario Metropolis Centre funded by SSHRC, federal, provincial, and municipal governments and many of our current partners including the Ontario Committee of Agencies Serving Immigrants, United Way of Toronto and York Region, and Social Planning Toronto. The close ties among partners ensure a broad and sustained collaboration in which all participants contribute ideas and much more.

BMRC Reports are part of a series of research studies that examine how social, economic and individual factors affect migrants' settlement in different local contexts. The reports provide analysis of large-scale survey data, such as the Census and the National Household Survey, to contextualize settlement challenges and propose evidence-based settlement strategies. The findings and conclusions are preliminary and starting points for further and more detailed research.

For more information about the partnership, please visit the partnership website: (http://bmrc-irmu.info.yorku.ca/about/).

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"The views and opinions expressed in this report are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the official policy or position of the BMRC-IRMU partnership".



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Preface of the report

The admission categories by which immigrants¹ are admitted to Canada are reported for the first time in the census 2016. There are three broad categories under which immigrants are admitted to Canada according to technical-legal criteria: 1) economic immigrants, including skilled workers and business immigrants; 2) family class immigrants and 3) refugees. These categories correspond to the three major objectives of Canadian immigration programs: 1) economic development; 2) facilitating the reunion of families; and 3) fulfilling international legal obligations with respect to refugees and humanitarian considerations (Tastsogolu and Preston 2005). Immigrants' admission categories are crucial to understand their settlement needs and experiences (Hiebert 2015). This report presents a comparative analysis of the admission categories of immigrants living in Ontario and Quebec and in selected metropolitan areas in the two provinces at the time of the 2016 census of population. The analysis uses data from the 2016 census, which are available as aggregated counts on the Statistics Canada website².

Only foreign-born individuals who landed in Canada as permanent residents are considered in the analysis. The census metropolitan areas included in this report are main sites for the BMRC-IRMU

partnership: Toronto. Ottawa-Gatineau, Kitchener-Waterloo and Windsor in Ontario, and Montreal, Quebec City and Sherbrooke in Quebec. They illustrate migration and settlement experiences in established gateway cities, high-tech centres, and border cities in each province. Four aspects of immigration class are compared between Ontario and Quebec as well as among the selected metropolitan areas: the distribution of people admitted by immigration class, immigration class by region of origin, immigration class by period of immigration, and immigration class by gender. The comparative analysis reveals how the admission categories of immigrants reflect distinct migration histories, policies and settlement opportunities in each province. Provincial and metropolitan differences allow us to capture the characteristics of foreign-born individuals in Ontario and Quebec that have different institutional structures for the selection of immigrants and in terms of settlement services.

While the analysis is based on the 2016 census data from the Statistics Canada, the findings reported do not represent the views of Statistics Canada.

¹ The term "foreign born" will be used synonymously with "immigrant" in this report. In this context, "foreign born" does not include individuals who were born outside of Canada but reside in the country on a temporary status ² Data link: <u>https://bit.ly/2GaVGrA</u>







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Research Question

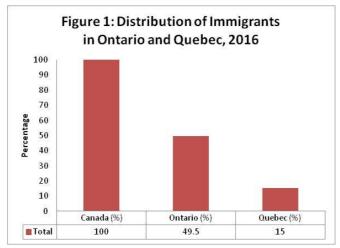
What are the characteristics of immigrants in Ontario and Quebec when analyzed as a function of admission class?

Findings

A. Immigration Class: Ontario and Quebec

Ontario continues to attract the majority of Canada's immigrants. According to the 2016 census, there are 7,540,825 immigrants in Canada who constitute 21.9% of the total population. The 2016 census shows that Ontario is still home to the largest number of Canada's immigrants and Quebec is the 3rd most important provincial destination as they have been in the past. Ontario is home to just less than half of all immigrants in Canada (49.5%), while 15% reside in Quebec (Figure 1). There is some evidence that settlement trends are shifting. Of the 1,212,080 foreign born who arrived in Canada between 2011 and 2016, 39% settled in Ontario and 17.8% in Quebec.

Immigrants make up a larger share of the total population in Ontario than in Quebec -- 29% versus only 13.7% respectively. The proportional representation of immigrants in Quebec is below the national average (22%), and the proportion of foreign-born individuals in Ontario speaks to the enduring importance of Ontario as a province of settlement. This report concentrates on the immigrant arrivals by admission category in Ontario and Quebec, as well as in the major cities of each province.



The total number of immigrants in Ontario is 2,825,480, which is more than three times greater than the number residing in Quebec (867,685). Economic immigrants represent the largest share of the foreign born in



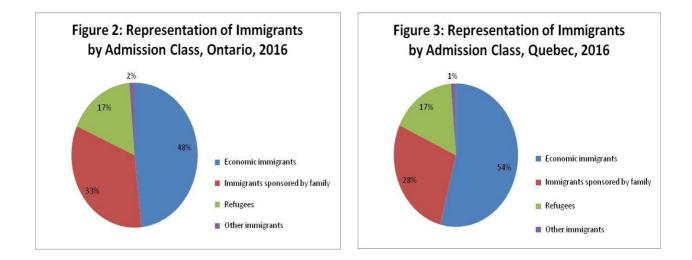
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Ontario and Quebec, followed by those who were sponsored by family, refugees and other immigrants.³ The proportional representation of immigrants in each admission category differs in important ways between the two provinces. Economic immigrants constitute less than half (48%) of all immigrants in Ontario, but more than half in Quebec (54%) (Figures 2-3). Family class immigrants represent 33% of Ontario's immigrant population; in contrast, only 28% of immigrants in Quebec were sponsored by family. An equal proportion of refugees are found in each province -- 17%.



The relative size of each admission class reflects the effects of different migration histories and policies in Ontario and Quebec. Unlike in Ontario, since the late 1960s Quebec has played a role in immigration management and over the years has signed a number of agreements with the federal government that pertain to selection, most recently the Canada-Quebec Accord (1991) (Knowles 2016). In conjunction with the federal government, the Government of Quebec sets annual targets for the number of immigrants admitted to the province, and plays a role in selecting economic immigrants with an intent to enhance aspects of Quebec's labour force and maintain the vitality of the French language.



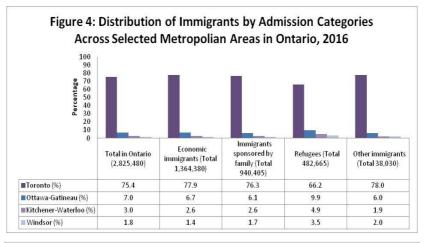


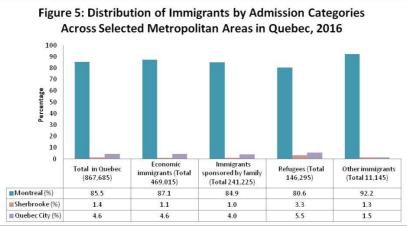


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A.1: Immigration Class in Selected Metropolitan Areas in Ontario and Quebec

Immigrants in Ontario and Quebec are still disproportionately concentrated in large urban centers. Toronto receives three quarters of all foreign-born individuals in Ontario, and more than 85% of Quebec's immigrants reside in Montreal. This unevenness is also reflected in the distribution of immigrants by admission category. Toronto is home to 78% of all economic immigrants in Ontario, followed by Ottawa-Gatineau (6.7%), Kitchener-Waterloo (3%) and Windsor (1.8%) (Figure 4). The dominance of Toronto as a destination is also evident among family-sponsored immigrants and refugees. The largest share of family-sponsored immigrants resides in Toronto (76.3%); in contrast, only 6.1% immigrants in this class reside in Ottawa-Gatineau, 2.6% in Kitchener-Waterloo and 1.7% in Windsor. In comparison, a slightly larger share of refugees live outside of Toronto – only 66.2% live in Ontario's largest city.





To an even more important degree than is the case for Toronto in Ontario, Montreal stands out as the leading destination for immigrants living in Quebec. In Quebec, 87% of economic immigrants, 85% of family



sponsored immigrants, and 80.6% of refugees live in Montreal (Figure 5). Quebec City has the second most Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada





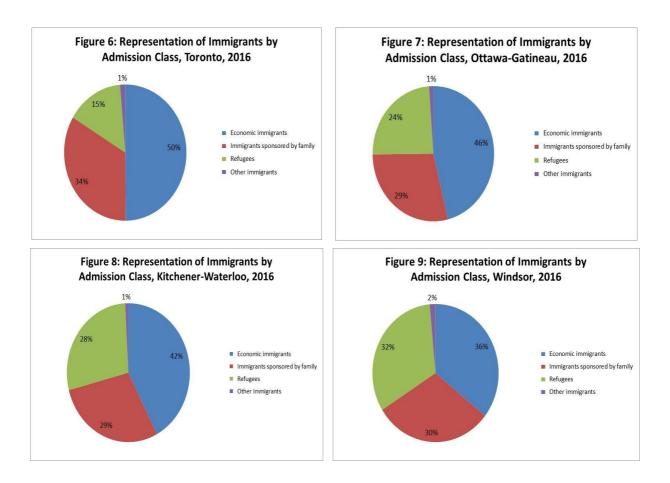
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important destination for immigrants but the proportion of the foreign born in each admission class is small relative to Montreal (4.6% economic, 4% family sponsored and 5.5% refugees).

A.2: Immigration Class within Selected Metropolitan Areas in Ontario

Toronto receives the largest number of immigrants (2,129,485) among the major metropolitan areas in Ontario. The number of immigrants in Toronto (2,129,485) is more than ten times higher than that in Ottawa-Gatineau (198,425). Comparatively, very small number of immigrants resides in Kitchener-Waterloo (84,495) and Windsor (51,900).

The representation of each admission class varies within the metropolitan areas. Economic immigrants constitute one half of all immigrants in Toronto, but less than half in Ottawa-Gatineau (46%). In comparison, the proportion is slightly lower in Kitchener-Waterloo (42%) and significantly lower in Windsor (36%).



Family sponsored immigrants represent more than one-third of the foreign-born population in Toronto; the proportion is slightly lower in Windsor (30%), Ottawa-Gatineau (29%), and Kitchener-Waterloo (29%). In contrast, refugees represent large share of the foreign-born population in Windsor, Kitchener-Waterloo and



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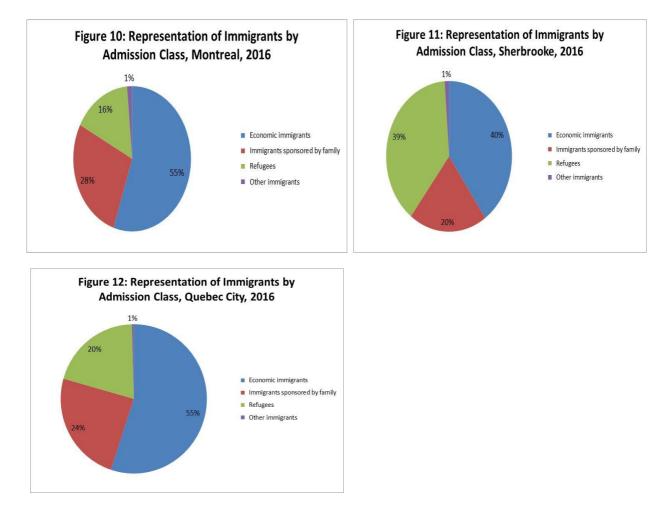
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Ottawa-Gatineau (36%, 28% and 24% respectively), while in Toronto the proportional representation of refugees is much smaller, 17%.

A.3: Immigration Class within Selected Metropolitan Areas in Quebec

Within Quebec, the number of immigrants in Montreal (741,595) is much larger than in either Quebec City (39,570) or Sherbrooke (12,515). Each admission category as a proportion of the foreign-born population in each city is also distinct. With a large proportion of refugees, Sherbrooke stands out. Unlike in the other cities, economic immigrants (40%) and refugees (39%) constitute almost equal proportions of Sherbrooke's foreign-born population (Figure 11). In comparison, refugees constitute a much smaller proportion of the immigrant population in Montreal and Quebec City (16% and 20% respectively) (Figure 10 & Figure 12). In these two cities, economic immigrants are more than half of the foreign-born population. Finally, family sponsored immigrants comprise between 20% and 28% of the foreign-born population in Quebec's three largest metropolitan areas.





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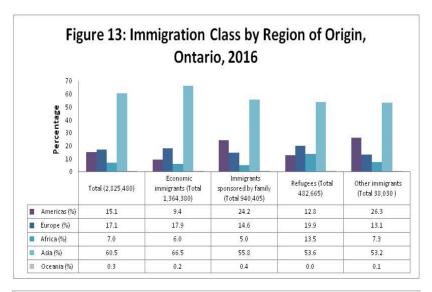


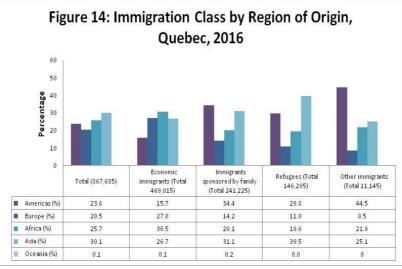


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B. Immigration Class by Major Region of Origin

Immigrants from Asia are the largest single group in Ontario and Quebec, and are the numerical majority in Ontario. More than 60% of Ontario's foreign-born population came from Asia, followed by Europeans (17%) (Figure 13). In Quebec, there is a more even distribution of immigrants by major region of origin relative to Ontario: 30% Asia, 25.7% Africa, 23.6% Americas and 20.5% Europe (Figure 14). The importance of African immigration for Quebec is hard to underestimate – the proportion of Africans in Quebec is more than three times greater than in Ontario (7%).





Immigrants from Asia comprise the largest share of economic class (66.5%) in Ontario, while African economic immigrants represent the largest share (30.5%) in Quebec. By comparison, African immigrants in



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Ontario represent very small proportion of individuals in the economic class – only 6%. European immigrants make up the second largest share of economic class in Ontario (18%), while in Quebec European and Asian immigrants constitute almost equal shares of the economic class (approximately 27%).

Unsurprisingly, Asia is the top source region among family class immigrants in Ontario (55.8%). Immigrants from the Americas⁴ (24.2%) and Europe (14.6%) constitute the next two largest groups, while family class immigrants from Africa are a relatively small share of the total (5%). In contrast, in Quebec the proportional representation of family class immigrants by region is quite different. The majority of immigrants in this class are from the Americas (34.4%), followed by Asia (31%).

Asian immigrants make up the majority of all refugees in Ontario (53.6%) and Quebec (39.5%). Europeans (19.9%) and individuals from the Americas (29.8%) comprise the second largest refugee groups in Ontario and Quebec respectively.

B.1 Immigration Class by Major Region of Origin in Selected Metropolitan Areas in Ontario

Given that Ontario is dominated by Asian immigrants, it is not surprising that this group represent the majority of all immigrants in Toronto, Ottawa-Gatineau, Kitchener-Waterloo and Windsor, as well as the majority of all admission categories in these metropolitan areas.

Among the metropolitan areas in Ontario, Ottawa-Gatineau stands out due to its relatively large proportion of African immigrants (19.6%) (Figure 16). In comparison, African immigrants represent much smaller proportions of the foreign born in Toronto (6.2%), Kitchener-Waterloo (7.7%) and Windsor (7.1%).

Asian immigrants comprise more than half of all economic immigrants in Toronto (71%), Ottawa-Gatineau (52.7%), Kitchener-Waterloo (52.3%) and Windsor (60.7%) followed by European immigrants who make up the second highest proportion of economic immigrants in these metropolitan areas.

Asians dominate the family class category in Toronto (60.6%), as well as in Windsor, Ottawa-Gatineau, and Kitchener-Waterloo (51.3%, 46.7% and 44% respectively). Individuals born in the Americas are the second largest share of the family class category in Ottawa-Gatineau and Toronto, while in Kitchener-Waterloo and Windsor, European immigrants comprise the second highest proportion in the family class. African immigrants comprise very small proportions of family class immigrants in all of these metropolitan areas.

⁴ 'The Americas' include the Caribbean. It is also a really complex category because it includes the world's richest nation (USA) and some of the world's poorest (e.g., Haiti).



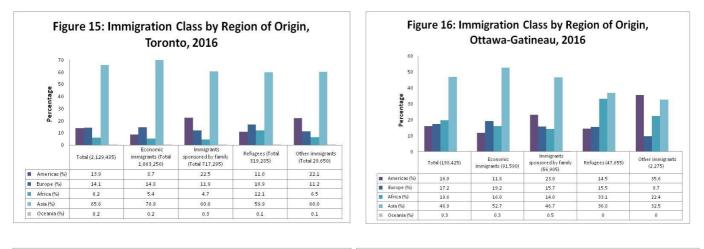


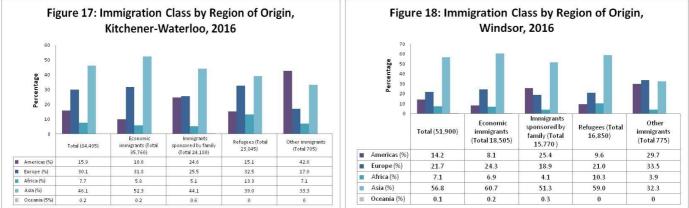


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Individuals with origins in Asia make up more than half of refugees in Toronto and Windsor, and more than one third of refugees in Ottawa-Gatineau and Kitchener-Waterloo. European immigrants make up the second largest proportions of refugees in Toronto (17%), Kitchener-Waterloo (32.5%) and Windsor (21%), while African refugees are the second largest group (approximately one-third) in Ottawa-Gatineau. In comparison, a relatively small proportion of Africans are found among refugees in Kitchener-Waterloo (13.3%), Toronto (12%), and Windsor (10.3%).





B.2 Immigration Class by Major Region of Origin in Selected Metropolitan Areas in Quebec

Asians (32%) make up the largest share of all immigrants in Montreal, but they comprise a much smaller proportion of the foreign-born population in Quebec City and Sherbrooke. In contrast, Africans, Europeans and immigrants born in the Americas are proportionately much more important in Quebec City and Sherbrooke (Figures 19-21).

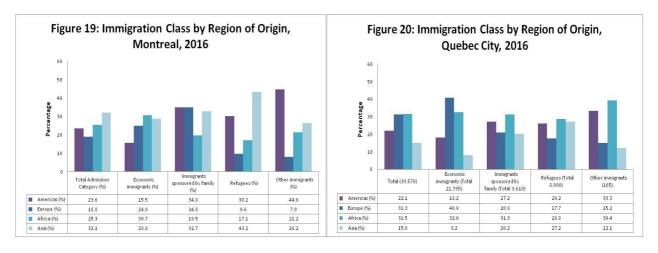


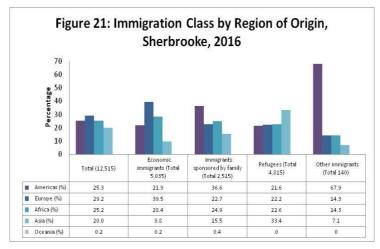
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Asian immigrants do not dominate the admission categories in Montreal, Quebec City and Sherbrooke in the same way that they do in Ontario's major metropolitan areas. In Montreal, African immigrants make up the largest share (30.7%) of the economic class, and Europeans are the largest share of economic class in Quebec City (41%) and Sherbrooke (39.5%).

Immigrants from the Americas constitute a large share of the family class in each metropolitan area, followed by Europeans in Montreal and Africans in Quebec City and Sherbrooke.

Asian immigrants make up the largest share of refugees in Montreal (43.2%) and Sherbrooke (33.4%), but Africans make up the largest share in Quebec City (28.8%).



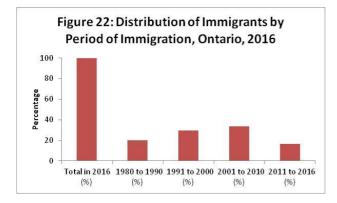


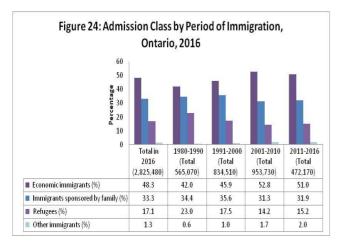


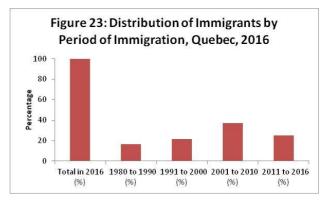
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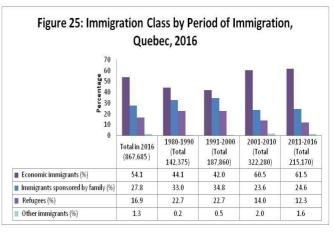
C. Immigration Class by Period of Immigration

The relative importance of individual admission categories tends to change over time, in part reflecting immigrant policy priorities, economic and social conditions in particular settlement locations, and ever evolving world conditions that generate migration flows. This section describes the changes in the relative number of immigrants in each admission category over time. Analysis is presented in ten-year intervals between 1980 and 2010, and in a five-year interval for the most recent period (2011 to 2016). Individuals who arrived between 2011 and 2016 are referred to as recent immigrants.









A relatively small proportion of all immigrants in Ontario and Quebec arrived in Canada between 1980 and 1990, which in part reflect immigration policy objectives at the time and demographic attrition through aging (Figures 22-23). In both provinces, the largest share of immigrants arrived in Canada between 2001 and 2010, and this is consistent with the federal government's objective of increasing admissions. Recent immigrants are an important component of the foreign-born population in both provinces, and most especially

in Quebec where they constitute 25 percent of all immigrants.



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In all time periods, the immigrants in the economic admission category dominate in both provinces (Figures 24-25). The proportion of individuals arriving through family sponsorship in both provinces has generally declined over time, most especially after 2000.

Economic class immigrants have steadily grown as a component of Quebec's foreign-born population, and most especially after 2000 (Figure 25). Among all immigrants in Quebec who arrived between 2001 and 2010, 60.5% were economic immigrants. The proportion is much larger in this admission category than among individuals admitted between 1991 and 2000 (42%) and between 1980 and 1990 (44%). In comparison, the proportion of individuals in Ontario admitted as economic immigrants has remained more constant over time. In Ontario, economic immigrants comprised 42% of all foreign-born individuals who entered Canada between 1980 and 1990, and the proportion grew to 46% during 1991-2000 period, and then 52.8% for the 2001-2010 period (Figure 24). Economic immigrants remain a large proportion of Quebec's recent immigrant population (61.5%), and are just over one half of all foreign-born individuals living in Ontario who arrived in the 2011-2016 period.

Family class admissions are a declining share of the immigrant population in both provinces over time. For instance, in Ontario family class immigrants declined from 34.4% among individuals admitted between 1980 and 1990 to 31.3% for the 201I-2010 period. The decrease of family class after 2000 is especially notable in Quebec. Family class immigrants decreased from 33% of the foreign-born who migrated to Canada between 1980-1990 to 23.6% in the 2001-2011 time period.

Over time, refugees have come to constitute a smaller proportion of immigrants settling in Ontario and Quebec. In Ontario, refugees have declined from 23% of all immigrants who arrived in the 1980-1990 period to 14.2% between 2001 and 2010. The pattern is similar in Quebec with the proportion of refugees decreasing after 2000. From 22.7% of immigrants in the 1980-1990 period, refugees comprised only 14% of immigrants who arrived between 2001-2010.



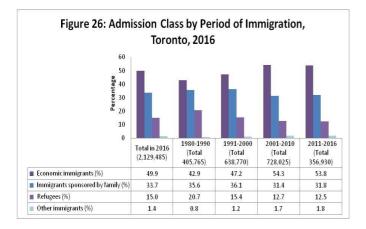


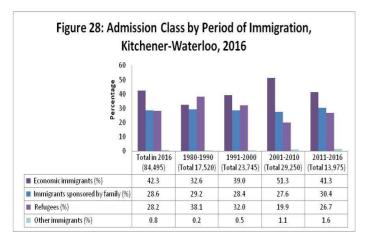


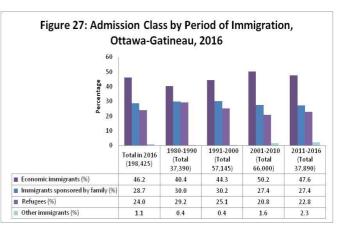
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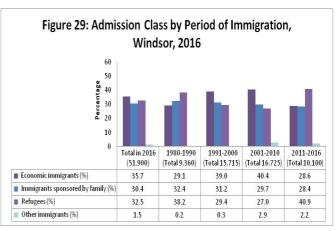
C.1: Immigration Class by Period of Immigration in Selected Metropolitan Areas in Ontario

Mirroring the provincial trend, after 1990 economic immigrants grew as a proportion of the foreign-born population in Ontario's major metropolitan areas. By the 1991-2000 period, more than half of all immigrants in Toronto, Ottawa-Gatineau and Kitchener-Waterloo, and 40.4% of immigrants in Windsor arrived as part of the economic class. As might be anticipated, the proportion of individuals in the family class decreased after 2000 in the metropolitan areas.









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Refugees as a proportion of the immigrant population also declined in many of the metropolitan areas over time. The decrease is most notable in Kitchener-Waterloo where refugees declined from 38% of all 1980-1990 arrivals to only 20% of the foreign-born individuals who arrived in Canada between 2001 and 2011.

Economic class admissions are the largest share of recent immigrants followed by family class and refugees



in Toronto, Ottawa-Gatineau and Kitchener-Waterloo. Windsor, however, stands out as refugees are the Social Sciences and Humanities Conseil de recherches en Research Council of Canada sciences humaines du Canada



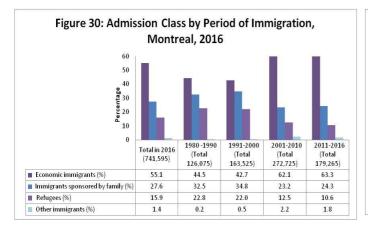
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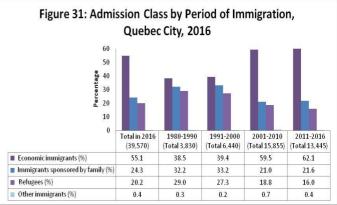
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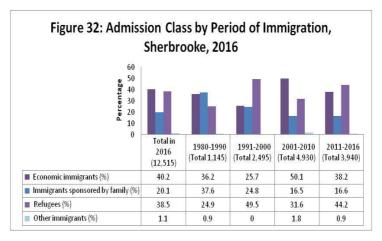
largest proportion (41%) of recent immigrants. Economic class (28.6%) immigrants in Windsor are a much smaller proportion of the recent foreign-born group relative to other Ontario cities.

C.2: Immigration Class by Period of Immigration in Selected Metropolitan Areas in Quebec

The trends observed in Ontario's cities are broadly similar in the three Quebec cities, although the proportion of immigrants in the economic class is even stronger in the most recent time periods. The largest proportion of economic class (62%) immigrants is found in Montreal in the two most recent time periods (just over 60%) (Figure 30). The immigrant population in Quebec City and Sherbrooke is also largely made up of economic class immigrants – in Sherbrooke, economic immigrants comprise half of the foreign-born population admitted between 2001 and 2019, while in Quebec City their share is on par with that in Montreal (59.5%) (Figures 31-32).







It is important to note that Sherbrooke is somewhat exceptional in that the relative size of various admission categories changed significantly over time (Figure 32). Among all immigrants in Sherbrooke admitted during







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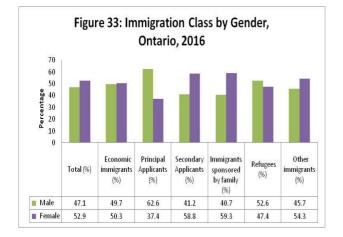
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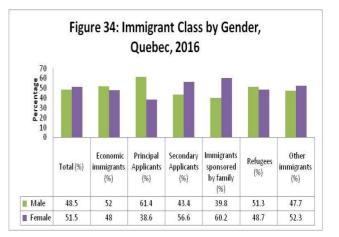
1980-1990, the majority are in the family class (37.6%) followed by individuals in the economic class (36.2%) and refugees (25%). In the following decade, among those who arrived in Sherbrooke during the 1991-2000 period, refugees comprised almost half of all immigrants, while the proportional size of individuals in the economic and family classes decreased. In the following decade (2001-2011), however, the relative size of the economic class rebounded reaching 50% of all foreign-born individuals who arrived in this period. Refugees remained an important part of the flow of immigrants to Sherbrooke, but their relative size declined to 31.6% immigrants who arrived in the 2001-2011 period.

Among recent immigrants, the vast majority in Montreal (63.3%) and Quebec City (62%) are part of the economic admission class. In contrast, refugees comprise the largest proportion (44.2%) of recent immigrants in Sherbrooke.

D. Immigration Class by Gender

With the exception of refugees, women comprise more than half of all immigrants in Ontario and Quebec. In both provinces, the most extreme gender differences are seen in the economic class in terms of whether an individual is the principal or secondary applicant (Figures 33-34). Although slightly more women than men are admitted in the economic class overall (50.3%), men overwhelmingly are the principal applicants (62.6%) in Ontario. In contrast, women predominate as the secondary applicant (58.8%). Although the proportions vary slightly, in Quebec the gendered qualities of primary versus secondary applicant among individuals in the economic class follows the pattern found in Ontario.





Women also comprise a larger share of individuals in the family class than men. Women are approximately 60% of all family class immigrants in both provinces. In contrast, slightly more men than women in both provinces enter Canada as refugees – 52.6% in Ontario and 51.3% in Quebec.



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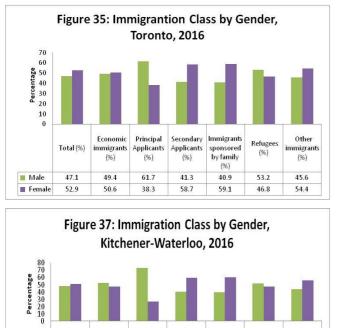


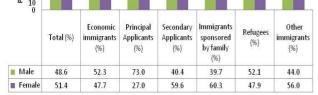


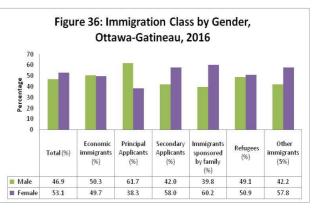
By Marshia Akbar[®], Brian Ray[®], Valerie Preston^e

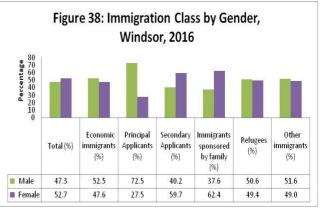
D1. Immigration Class by Gender in Selected Metropolitan Areas in Ontario

The distribution of women and men by admission class in Ontario's largest cities generally follows the provincial trend (Figures 35-38). Most notably, a larger proportion of men than women are in the economic class in Windsor and Kitchener-Waterloo compared to Toronto and Ottawa-Gatineau, and a much larger proportion of men are principal applicants (approximately 73% compared to 62%). In all four cities, women predominate in the family admission class. As was true at the provincial scale, in Toronto and Kitchener-Waterloo men are a larger proportion of the refugee class. In the other two cities, the gender composition of this admission class is even.









D2. Immigration Class by Gender in Selected Metropolitan Areas in Quebec

As is true provincially, men comprise the majority of economic immigrants and women make up the majority of family class immigrants in Montreal, Quebec City and Sherbrooke (Figures 39-41). Among economic immigrants in these metropolitan areas, the majority of principal applicants are men (61-66%) with the proportion of male applicants being smallest in Montreal (60.8%). There is basic gender parity in the refugee category in the three Quebec cities. Only in Montreal is there a meaningfully larger proportion of male refugees (51.6%).

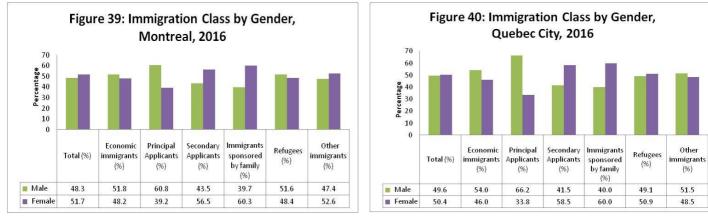


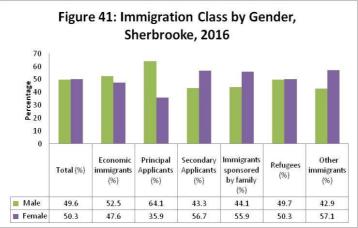
Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada





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Conclusions

Analysis of immigrants by admission class from the 2016 census reveals some broad similarities, as well as important differences between Ontario and Quebec. While differences between the provinces are important, the report highlights many specific characteristics of the immigrant population in individual cities that are often camouflaged by a provincial analysis. Importantly, this is the first time that a detailed analysis of immigrant populations by admission category has been undertaken. It is clear that the foreign-born population in both provinces and across large cities is highly differentiated by admission category, and subsequent analysis should consider this key identifier when trying to understand qualities of resilience. The analysis presented here is simply a prelude to more detailed analyses of the immigrant experience in Ontario and Quebec cities. The findings presented here certainly need to be contextualized in relation to distinct migration histories and policies that have affected each province and city over time. Understanding patterns of settlement by admission class also demands analysis of the complex economic opportunities, as well as social and familial relations, that influence immigrants' decisions about where to build a life in Ontario and Quebec.



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