

Improving Immigration

A Policy Approach for Western Canada

Jason J. Azmier, Senior Policy Analyst

March 2005



BUILDING THE NEW WEST

REPORT #42

BUILDING THE NEW WEST

This report is part of the Canada West Foundation's Building the New West (BNW) Project, a multi-year research and public consultation initiative focused on the strategic positioning of western Canada within the global economy.

Five key priorities emerged from an extensive research and consultation process and provide a framework for the Building the New West Project:

- the West must create the tools to attract, retain, and build HUMAN CAPITAL;
- the West must continue ECONOMIC DIVERSIFICATION;
- the West must strengthen its TRANSPORTATION INFRASTRUCTURE;
- the West must promote the global competitiveness of its MAJOR CITIES; and
- the West must develop new ways of facilitating REGIONAL COORDINATION.

To learn more about the BNW Project, please visit the Canada West Foundation website (www.cwf.ca).

Canada West Foundation recognizes and thanks the funders of the Immigration component of the BNW Project Human Capital Initiative: the Kahanoff Foundation, Western Economic Diversification Canada, BC Community, Aboriginal and Women's Services, Alberta Learning, Saskatchewan Government Relations and Aboriginal Affairs, Manitoba Labour and Immigration, and an anonymous philanthropic foundation.

Ongoing advice for the Immigration component of the BNW Project Human Capital Initiative is provided by an advisory committee consisting of Baha Abu-Laben (Prairies Centre for Excellence for Research on Immigration and Integration), Deborah Barkman (Government of Manitoba), Fariborz Birjandian (Calgary Catholic Immigration Society), Tom Denton, Don DeVoretz (Simon Fraser University), Darcy Dietrich (Regina Open Door Society), Herb Emery (University of Calgary), Carolyn Fewkes (Government of Alberta), Eric Johansen (Government of Saskatchewan), Rob Vineberg (Government of Canada), Patricia Woroch (Immigrant Services Society of BC), and Deb Zehr (Government of British Columbia). The views expressed in this document are not necessarily held in full or in part by advisory committee members or the organizations they represent. Thanks is also extended to Alberta Economic Development ,Marci Bearance (Government of BC), Susan Birley (Government of Saskatchewan), Citizenship and Immigration Canada (Prairies and Northern Territories Region), Dr. Liisa Cormode (L. Cormode & Associates Research Services/University of Emmanuel College), and Joe Kenney (Government of BC).

This report was prepared by Canada West Foundation Senior Policy Analyst Jason J. Azmier. The opinions expressed in this document are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Canada West Foundation's donors, subscribers, or Board. Permission is hereby granted by the Canada West Foundation to reproduce this document for non-profit and educational purposes. Copies are available for download from the CWF website (www.cwf.ca).

Improving Immigration presents the results of a year-long research study, that included consultations with 180 immigration professionals across the four western provinces. This report provides a mix of research and professional opinion to suggest a series of recommendations for improving the immigration experience in western Canada.

The findings of this study include:

- Immigrants in the West provide a host of economic, non-economic, cultural and humanitarian contributions to the region.
- Immigrants are a source of population growth, particularly in high needs areas.
- Immigration's critical role in meeting current and future labour shortages is not well understood by the general public.
- Even though there are proportionately fewer immigrants coming to the West, those who do settle in the region may fare better economically than do immigrants in other parts of Canada.
- Western Immigrants are most likely to have Asian and middle eastern backgrounds—distinctions that carry with them unique impacts on the cultural, language and community supports in the West.
- Proportionately more refugee class immigrants settle in the West and therefore offer additional humanitarian benefits for the western communities but they may have special needs upon coming to Canada.
- Provincial-Federal immigration agreements (Provincial Nominee Programs) offer a means by which specific
 provincial and regional population and labour needs can be addressed.

Recommendations drawn from a series of five consultations in western cities suggest that much can be done to make the region more welcoming to immigrants and, perhaps more importantly, to allow for the economic and non-economic potential of immigrants to be more fully realized. Immigrant struggles in the West include foreign skills recognition, application processing delays, employer prejudices, negative public attitudes, lack of affordable housing, and the need for more language training.

To address these concerns, the following recommendations are suggested to improve immigration policy in western Canada:

- Research and promote the contributions of immigrants in western Canada.
- Develop new measures by which to evaluate successful immigration outcomes.
- Provide employer education and information on the positive economic value of foreign experience and training.
- Make available more advanced language training for adults in jobs and for immigrant children in schools.
- Centralize information for immigrants regarding employment, education and regulation, provision of basic needs, and cultural opportunities.
- Collaboration between different areas of government, social service organizations, school systems and employers.
- Increase funding of the immigrant selection and screening process.
- Base immigration selection criteria on improved market data.
- Invest in building local capacities to welcome, integrate and retain immigrants.
- Enhance the policy focus on the needs of refugee immigrants in western Canada.
- Provide incentives and opportunities for immigrants to settle in areas other than the main urban centers.
- Use Provincial Nominee Programs to encourage more immigration in high need areas.

The broad theme of these recommendations is the need for more and better use of government and employer resources to improve the entire immigrant experience—from start to finish. The message highlighted by our consultations with those working in immigration related fields in western Canada is that more should be done to assist immigrants as they make the difficult transition from their former homes to their new home in western Canada. The expenditure of more public money on improvements to selection, processing and settlement services can pay off in higher economic returns and reduced social assistance demand, thereby improving the contribution that immigration makes to all Canadians.

Introduction

An aging labour force and a declining birthrate represent a muchdiscussed future challenge for the western provinces. Federal and provincial immigration policies aimed at addressing these labour and population needs often fail to meet high public expectations. The result is often criticism from all sides, including immigrants, community groups, businesses and the editorial pages.

For those who see immigration as a panacea for western Canada's current and future ills, the perceived policy failures are limiting immigrants potential. For those that see Canada's immigration targets as contributing to western decline, the policy failure is that immigration levels are too high.

This latter viewpoint has gained in popularity because of research that suggests immigrants who arrived over the last decade may now never earn as much as Canadian-born workers. For example, if immigrants, on average, do not equal or out-perform native-born Canadians, are Canada's immigration needs overstated? Or, if large numbers of immigrants are unable to plug into the economy in their areas of training, are current immigration selection criteria inappropriate for what are largely labour and trade-based market needs?

Critiques of this nature are shortsighted. First, the value of immigrants extends beyond their ability to generate higher levels of personal income. Immigrants also add economic value by increasing exports, bringing external problem solving experience to business, and acting as consumers for locally produced goods. Second, immigrants fill a number of crucial labour and service roles in the economy at lower paying positions. They are not able to achieve equivalent rates of pay to Canadian-born workers, but are just as important to the productivity of the economy. Third, measures of this type ignore all the non-economic value of immigration's cultural, political and community contributions. Like Canadian-born residents, not all immigrants will participate in the workforce, but this does not reduce their value to nothing. And finally, the value of immigration extends beyond the achievement of a single generation. Immigrant children achieve high levels of economic success and are critical for addressing labour shortages.

The recent relatively lower economic performance of immigrants is the product of a combination of failures on the part of employers, professional associations, governments and researchers to match immigration policy to labour market need. On the one hand, market need is a dynamic concept that is difficult to measure and track, and on the other hand, immigration policy is relatively static and the immigration process slow due to the high volume of demands on those involved in screening immigrants.

Settlement agencies, for their part, can help bridge some of this gap through efforts to match employers with skilled immigrants, but it isn't enough. Professional designations, poor research, employer biases and immigration procedural requirements combine to disrupt the fit between real market needs and the type of available labour. The mobility rights of immigrants, moreover, limit the ability to create a perfect match between immigrants and the needs of the labour market.

Addressing these substantial inefficiencies requires more than just a reworking of a few policies. The barriers to immigration success include discriminatory hiring practices by employers, professional associations with self-interested motivations, and negative attitudes towards immigrants among some of the Canadian-born population (and viceversa). Changing these attitudes and issues may take generations, but improving today's policies and regulations can play an important role in catalyzing this process.

Improving Immigration: A Policy Approach for Western Canada examines the main immigration issues in western Canada and offers a description of the solutions recommended by those dealing with "on the ground" immigration issues in western Canada. Specifically, the research questions posed in Improving Immigration are:

- What are the main immigration policy issues in western Canada?
- What are the primary local immigration needs in western Canada's large cities?
- What changes to immigration policy would best address these immigration concerns?
- What are the unique western Canadian immigration trends that influence policy development?

The basis for this analysis is a year-long research study and a series of consultations held in October and November 2004 with over 180 immigration professionals across the four western provinces. This report provides a mix of research and professional opinion to suggest a series of recommendations for improving the immigration experience in western Canada.

Immigration Consultations in Western Canada

Immigration trends vary from city to city (and even within areas of a city) across Canada. Depending on where you look, these concerns can include too many or not enough immigrants, immigrants working in low pay jobs, insufficient language training availability, lack of affordable housing, international security concerns, or immigrant crime activity. These issues do not equally apply, and many are not reflective of the situation in all western Canadian centers.

To examine the improvements needed in immigration policy, a series of consultations was held in Calgary, Regina, Winnipeg, Vancouver and Edmonton in October and November 2004. The consultations involved 180 immigration professionals and immigrants from a wide variety of backgrounds including government, social service agencies, professional associations and immigration consultants. Participants in each consultation were separated into small groups to answer the same questions and develop priorities.

The text that follows provide an analysis and summary of the main concerns and recommendations drawn from these workshop participants. The opinions represented are those of the participants and professionals working in immigration related fields.

It is important to keep in perspective that these views were not evaluated for accuracy or completeness. A number of ongoing initiatives on behalf of governments recognize and are trying to address many of these same concerns, but may not have had enough time to influence perceptions of the problems.

Question 1:

What are the priority immigration issues in your community?

Despite immigration activity that ranged from several hundred new arrivals a year in Regina to many thousands in Vancouver, the immigration priorities addressed in each city are markedly similar. With only a few exceptions the main priorities in each consultation involved the need for more and better use of government resources to improve the entire immigrant experience—from start to finish. Participants in each session called for an increase in the amount and the accuracy of the information available to prospective immigrants; faster and more efficient processing

systems; more settlement and integration resources; greater efforts to make Canadian-born residents more welcoming of immigrants; and improved workplace transition and skills acquisition opportunities for immigrants.

The specific high priority and oft-repeated issues of concern related to the immigration experiences in western Canada included (see Figure 1):

- More employment-specific language instruction for immigrant adults and similar levels of school-specific instruction for children.
- Underemployment of immigrants because of mismatched skills and credential issues, and poor labour market information informing the immigration process.
- The need for more public education and information on the value of both the economic and non-economic contributions of immigrants. Current public attitudes (including those of governments and employers) towards immigrants are not as welcoming as needed to maximize immigration's potential benefits.
- Providing a broader and deeper range of settlement services to meet cultural needs and improvement in the basic needs (e.g., higher minimum wage, more affordable housing, higher social assistance rates) to assist immigrants make the transition into communities.
- The need for linkages and coordination between immigrant support services (e.g., employment services, the school system, social service agencies).

Beyond the areas of commonality shared by participants, there were some high priority regionally-specific issues that tended to relate to the wide disparity of immigration levels among western Canada's cities. Participants in Vancouver, Winnipeg and Calgary—cities with proportionately higher rates of immigration—mentioned issues related to settlement and funding as a high priority. Those in Edmonton and Saskatoon—cites that draw less than their share of immigrants—mentioned the need for creating a welcoming atmosphere and making immigration a priority for their communities.

Figure 1: What are the priority immigration issues in your community?

Calgary	Regina	Winnipeg	Vancouver	Edmonton
Recognition of skills of	Attraction and retention of	Settlement services have not	Recognition of skills of	Attracting immigrants and
immigrants by employers.	immigrants by building and	kept pace in accordance with	immigrants by employers.	competing with Calgary for
Language instruction for	enhancing support network.	successfully increased rates of immigration.	Lack of Canadian work experience among immigrants.	immigrants
immigrant adults and children.	Immigration policy made in	minigration.	penerioe among immigrants.	Migration of immigrants
3	Ottawa that is not responsive	Language training at all levels,	Skill shortages in doctors,	from other provinces stress-
Social services for immigrant	to regional areas.	reduce wait list for training.	trades and technical jobs.	ing local supports
children and families with focus	l,			N 1901 1 1 1 1
on long-term integration issues.	Language instruction for im- migrant adults and children.	Foreign embassies promoting smaller centers and providing	Need to develop an economic base to attract	Very little involvement by municipal government and
General public perception	migrant addits and children.	realistic information about	immigrants to rural areas.	municipal organizations in
of immigration - still view	Resources for immigrant set-	resettlement here, educating	High concentration of immi-	immigration issues.
immigration as humanitarian	tlement community groups.	potential immigrants abroad.	gration to lower mainland/	
rather than economic	There are insufficient funds		urban areas.	Public education needed
advantage.	needed to attract people to SK.	Recognition of skills of immigrants by employers and more	Building social, emo-	on economic importance of immigration and value of
Lack of readiness of institutions	Need to shift immigration	services to support and assess	tional, practical supports for	intercultural competence.
and the public to integrate new	policy focus away from "polic-	skills to speed the process.	integration/adaptation of	
immigrants.	ing" who gets into Canada and		children and families.	Helping newcomers make
	toward a "facilitative" role for	Under-employed immigrants		connections with Canadians
Need for complete and correct information about immigrant	immigrants here.	creating low earnings, poor living conditions.	High expectations among immigrants of economic,	at the individual/personal level as well as the institu-
services available in community	Shortages of skilled labour	iiving conditions.	social, environmental condi-	tional level.
and a central place where this	(e.g., truck drivers).	Publicizing the good news	tions and job opportunities.	adriai iovoii
information can be obtained.		and benefits of immigration to		Recognition of skills of im-
	Public recognition of im-	Canadians.	Need for more education	migrants by employers.
Working with employers in terms of allowing opportunity	portance of immigration in economic development.	Access to affordable housing	of Canadian employment standards in country of	Need bridging programs to
for immigrants at proper level.	economic development.	that is culturally appropriate.	origin prior to immigrating.	help immigrant transition to
l l l l l l l l l l l l l l l l l l l	Overcoming the size and popu-		g pgg-	the labour market.
Managing immigrant	lation disadvantages working	Retention of immigrants lost	Language training, par-	
expectations vs. the realities of	against Saskatchewan.	to other provinces, especially	ticularly at the advanced	Language training focused
life in community.	Learning how to effectively	PNP immigrants.	level for transitioning to workforce.	on skill mastery and on children in schools.
Attracting and retaining	market Saskatchewan as a	Inability of Canada to process	WOIRIOIGG.	Ciliaren in Schools.
immigrants because of low	desirable destination.	immigrant/refugee applica-	Publicity and information on	Settlement services (e.g.,
minimum wage and politicians		tions in a timely manner.	how Canada/BC can benefit	ESL) that are underfunded
projecting a negative image of	Length of time to process im-	B 11 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	from immigration.	or inadequate.
Alberta to immigrants.	migrants through system.	Poor labour market infor- mation creating mismatch	Resources for most small	Length of time for process-
Incongruency between labour	Barriers in the entrepreneurial	between what skills are actu-	business employers to prop-	ing applications for im-
market needs and policies on	class of immigrants (e.g., farm-	ally needed and immigration	erly give immigrants the	migration.
recruitment.	ers not having money to qualify	selection.	needed on the job training.	
More provincial autonomy for	to immigrate).	No clear picture or strategy for	Coordination of support	Need for a one-stop source of good information on
addressing immigration labour	High immigration targets	integration creates a system of	services for immigrants	employment issues and
market needs.	would overwhelm most support	handing off problems to other	(employment, schools, social	marketing.
	groups and agencies.	organizations and agencies.	services have no linkages).	
No success measures available	Marilla di ancesta di di	O contrary desired	Discourse the second	
for recording the non-economic contributions of immigrants.	Need to change the perception that refugees are an economic	Overt discrimination and lack of sensitivity among the public	Disconnect between immi- grant selection, education,	
contributions of militigrants.	burden.	to cultural differences.	employment and community	
Lack of collective effort at the			needs (skills/people) and	
municipal government level to	Base numbers of immigrants	Qualified immigrants disap-	information/marketing of	
encourage immigrants to City.	are so low it is difficult to build	pointments and demoraliza-	immigration opportunities	
	up a critical mass.	tion in realities of Canadian job market not meeting their	internationally.	
		expectations.		
	l			

In Winnipeg, the success associated with its rapid increase in immigration over the last three years has created a number of high profile issues related to the funding of settlement services, available housing and wait lists for training. Interprovincial competition for immigrants, and the climate and urban appeal of other destinations within Canada are recognized as a threat to retaining the positive aspects of immigration. Participants spoke of particular concerns about losing immigrants to Ontario and Alberta.

For Regina, interprovincial competition for immigrants is described as making it difficult for Saskatchewan to appear as an appealing destination. Participants indicated that more flexible immigration policies might enable the area to more easily attract immigrants. For example, finding rural immigrant farmers is hindered by high financial qualification criteria. Lowering the bar might encourage more immigrants to settle in rural areas and take over rural farms. Another specific community problem mentioned in Regina is that the current low numbers of immigrants make it difficult to develop the kind of critical mass of services which will offer a welcoming place for immigrants.

Calgary draws a great deal more immigrants that its share of the national population, and participants in this session focused on issues related to concentration. In particular, secondary migration from other provinces was a concern for participants as settlement funding is not as available for secondary migrants. Alberta's low minimum wage was also mentioned as a specific challenge for Calgary immigrants. Many immigrants occupy the lowest paying jobs in community and may have difficulty meeting their basic needs in an increasingly costly city. Also unique to Alberta, participants felt that immigration suffers from negative perceptions among the public and elected officials, giving the impression of Calgary as an unwelcoming community.

These concerns were largely echoed by Edmonton participants. The low wages and the perception of negative attitudes represented even more of a barrier to attracting and retaining immigrants in Edmonton as it is not a major port of entry for immigrants. Edmonton respondents felt that greater municipal government awareness of immigrants' value to the city would go a long way to making it more attractive.

Vancouver participants' priority issues are reflective of the region's experiences with high volumes of immigrants. However, it's important to note that high concentrations of immigrants were not described as a problem for the area. Rather, the priority issue was better distribution of the benefits of immigration into the surrounding rural areas outside the Vancouver region. Otherwise, despite much higher volumes of immigrants in the region, the main priority issues are similar to those in other western cities.

Question 2:

How are current immigration policies addressing/failing to meet local immigration needs?

Although given the opportunity to discuss the good and bad in the current systems of immigration, more often than not, participants focused on the perceived failings of current immigration policies. However, the unbalanced presentation of these concerns is perhaps more reflective of the sentiment that a vast number of improvements are needed and not that the system is fatally flawed. A number of opinions were that "more" of some already good ideas and policies are required.

Nonetheless, the majority of the feedback from workshop participants with knowledge of and experience with immigration policies is that a great deal of improvement is in order. The common policy failings arising from the workshops were (see Figure 2):

- Lack of availability of accurate information on the climate, culture, living costs, and job markets prior to immigration so that the experiences of immigrants upon arrival better match their expectations regarding job qualifications, expected income level, demographic profile of the community, etc.
- Long time delays partially due to the under-funding of the immigrant selection and screening process.
- Selection criteria that do not give enough consideration to current western labour market and population needs.
- Lack of coordination or a single overarching body to integrate and improve the various systems that deal with immigrant issues (e.g., overseas immigration offices, governments, employers and professional associations, school systems, social services, community groups).

Figure 2: How are current immigration policies addressing/failing to meet local immigration needs?

Calgary	Regina	Winnipeg	Vancouver	Edmonton
Not Working:	Not Working:	Working:	Not Working:	Working:
Immigration is not on	Federal policy not focused on rural and	Settlement system good,	Immigration is very slow, cumbersome,	Fed/provincial/
municipal agenda.	small centre immigration needs.	but not without gaps.	bureaucratic; policy is not addressing	agency partnerships
		0 1	long waiting times and insufficient	work well and are a
Corporate sector not	Retention and attraction of immigrants.	Addressing, but not fast	capacity.	creative approach.
encouraged to participate in		enough, higher order	Regulatory and immigration policies	
assisting integration.	Immigration policy is not reflective of	language needs (level 7 &	often in conflict.	International
	Saskatchewan's urgent population and	8) to be able to work/get		Qualifications
Lack of coordination	labour concerns.	job.	Point system is not as relevant to current	Assesment Services
between embassies, overseas	l		needs or may not meet needs of rural	(IQAS) very valuable,
immigration offices, and	More flexible selection criteria would		areas—may even be prohibitive to rural	it needs more profile.
government services,	help the province to attract those who	Not Working:	areas.	Not Moulinus
employers, and communities. No single collective body	are willing to live in SK. Need to be able to use tax incentives and other	Point system of choosing professionals means that	Mismatch of skills and qualifications	Not Working: K-12 ESL not
looking after immigrant policy.	strategies to attract immigrants.	immigrants are higher	of immigrants with what's needed in	meeting needs of
looking after ininigrant policy.	strategies to attract inimigrants.	qualified than realities of	various geographical areas.	children and families.
Lack of leadership from	Provincial Nominee Program needs to	the job market.		Ciliaren ana lamines.
the federal/provincial	establish itself, it is growing and it has		Not addressing current sector specific labour shortages.	Inadequate, under
governments to encourage	a bit of a successful track record to	Need initiatives to allow	labour shortages.	funded language
associations/licensing bodies	build on. Must be better marketed to	better opportunities for	Credential recognition not working and	training, particularly
to have fair, objective centers	employers to really get going.	foreign students to work	a lack of prior learning assessment	for an immigrant
for recognition of foreign		while in Canada.	programs.	population (Asian)
credentials.	There are a lot of organizations in SK			that needs more
	working on immigration, but not in	Lack of affordable housing.	Lack of adequate ESL services.	language learning
Lack of engagement of	any organized or systemic way.		Questionable recruitment strategies and	opportunities.
employers/associations in	<u> </u>	Lack of matching labour	misinformation found abroad.	
recruitment and integration	Being able to accommodate the needs	supply and labour		Lack of awareness
of immigrants. Policies need	of immigrant students whether ESL,	demand skills.	Settlement funding has decreased	that immigrants also
to inform and encourage	social, emotional, or limited learning	Immigration is a non	but immigrants needs have increased.	have a non-economic value.
employers to hire immigrants.	capacities, and attitudes towards	Immigration is a non- integrated and coordinated	Funding is not at par with Toronto and Montreal. Levels in Vancouver are	value.
Government not focused	culturally-specific backgrounds.	system; immigration	insufficient.	Lack of integration/
on integrating people who	Marketing our province, our	is handed off to the		coordination
immigrate, providing a sense	communities, so that potential	province, city, schools once	Inconsistent policy enforcement by	between government
of belonging.	immigrants overseas understand	immigrant arrives.	federal government.	departments.
	what kind of specific opportunities	-	Controlized immigration processes are	
Children of immigrants fall	SK offers.	Need recruitment strategy	Centralized immigration processes are automated, therefore no human contact.	Regionalization
into the cracks with respect to		to sustain ethnocultural	dutomatou, thorotoro no maman contact	incentives needed to
provision of education; no one	Balancing immigrant needs and	and regional communities.	Poor coordination and connection of	draw immigrants out
wants to pay for ESL education	concerns against the needs of the		municipal governments with provincial	of big 3 cities.
and services for children.	Aboriginal community.	Extra merit/weight should	& federal governments on immigration	
l		be given in federal	issues.	More help with
Immigration policies deal with	Federal selection and processing	immigration to sponsoring	Need more local involvement in policy	family reunification
only immigrants, but fail to	system needs to be better integrated	communities, labour	development, e.g., services/activities	immigrants.
help institutions/communities	into the provincial one, so it takes less	needs, and capacity of	tailored to groups in need.	Municipal
to adapt to immigration.	time to get people through the system.	community to integrate.		Municipal government not
Refugee immigrants need	Lack of consultation with schools,	Not trying to retain foreign	Immigrant transition is the current policy	seeing benefit of
more support in terms of	committees and agencies (e.g.,	students.	focus instead of a long-term integration policy focus.	immigration as
trauma counseling, etc.	language issues in the schools).		policy locus.	priority; immigration
3, 222		School age ESL needs	Lack of flexibility or policy tools to re-	seen as a federal
Government under-funding	Backlogs and delays in getting	improving	distribute concentration of immigrants,	policy issue.
of multiculturalism, ESL,	language training. Immigrants cannot	-	especially to rural areas.	
advanced education and trade	get the skills for language purposes to	Resource tensions	Look of publicity on the presiding	
programs for immigrants.	write the exams they need.	between Aboriginal and	Lack of publicity on the positive aspects of immigration, e.g. successful	
		immigrants.	stories, research on the benefits that	
Lack of public education on	Change policies to make it easier to		immigrants bring.	
settlement and integration	attract rural farmers by lowering the	Minimum wage too low,		
issues.	investment level needed to immigrate.	many immigrants at	22 municipalities in GVRD; there is no	
		minimum levels.	regional cohesive immigration policy.	
	<u>l</u>			<u> </u>

- Solving skills recognition problems has eluded policy solutions, the issue needs comprehensive approaches that alter employers and professional associations hiring and qualification practices. Prior learning skills assessment services also need larger application and availability.
- Regulation and transition issues are at the forefront of most policy, whereas settlement and integration concerns are too much of a policy afterthought. Better immigration outcomes would result from more attention to the immigrant experience upon arrival in Canada.
- Provincial Nominee Programs are a good start of the kind of programs that can be successful at bringing immigrants to the areas of need in the West. For the most part, these efforts are

currently under-advertised among employers and communities and underutilized (Manitoba being the exception).

Question 3:

Are there any local immigration concerns that are unique and different from the national picture?

To draw out the regional and specific city issues, participants were asked to try to identify which of their policy concerns were unique to their area. The purpose of this exercise was to attempt to gain a better understanding of how specific immigration policies and external factors affect each area differently. In Winnipeg, these unique factors include an equivalent need to address the city's Aboriginal employment issues, underfunded and overburdened settlement services associated with the growth of immigration activity, and the need to make the city more attractive to immigrants in order to attract and retain the

Figure 3: Are there any local immigration concerns that are unique and different from the national picture?

Calgary	Regina	Winnipeg	Vancouver	Edmonton
Attitude in Alberta that	Aboriginal issues more top of mind,	Newcomers will	High housing costs; high childcare	Lack of employment
province does not need	higher profile. Immigration takes a back	leave if opportunities	costs; high cost of living; high	(need for skilled
to attract workers - they	seat to Aboriginal labour force policy.	don't materialize and	transportation costs from suburbs.	workers in oil sands
come here anyway renders		expectations not met.		activity).
immigration a lesser	International perceptions of		Competition with China	
concern.	Saskatchewan as a non-economic	Immigrant settlement is	(immigrants returning to China)	Under-recognition of
	center. In most countries, places the	a slow process - may be	acting as "astronaut" immigrants	issue from business
Harder to qualify for social	size of Regina and Saskatoon are apart	unable to provide bridging	(not residing in Canada).	and politicians in
assistance in Alberta and	from the centre of economic activity.	supports until newcomers		Edmonton - lack
lower rates of support.		can make stronger	Economic structure and scale	of commitment or
	Province disadvantaged because of the	attachments to labour	of size as a metro city smaller	concern.
Negative attitudes towards	size of SK population, and also because	market.	than Toronto & Montreal (less	
immigrants in the province	of the size of our ethnic and cultural		manufacturing and industry) yet	Negative attitudes
(racism, discrimination,	groups.	Lack of affordable housing;	high levels of immigration.	among Albertans
stereotypes). Negative		rental and short-term		towards immigrants.
comments by Alberta	Inhospitable weather/climate in	housing.	Port of entry security issues;	
politicians creating an	province.		accessible to more criminal activity.	High percentages of
image issue.		Smaller family-oriented		refugees with more
	Not on the province's policy radar	city may not appeal to	High concentration in urban area;	special needs.
Inter-provincial migration	the provincial department responsible	international immigrants.	large number of refugees.	
from other provinces to	for immigration does not even include			Edmonton not a
Calgary not reflected	"immigration" in its name.	Large aboriginal population	Pressure on social services and	common port of entry
in data or funding of		limiting immigration	resources with high concentration	so there are few
settlement services in	Infrastructure currently not in place to	capacity for some services.	of immigrants in Vancouver.	supports. Internal
Calgary.	absorb a larger number of immigrants.			migrants do not
		Collapse of garment	Due to good climate attracts	have access to the
Lack of representation of	Immigration farming restrictions make	industry lost a number of	higher number of immigrants from	early supports (e.g.
immigrants in government,	it difficult for immigrant farmers to have	immigrant jobs.	Pacific Rim - China, India, Asian	transition housing,
institutions, media.	the resources to immigrate.		countries.	etc.).
		Federal funding has not		
High drop out rates	Currently weaker employment picture	caught up with large	Expectations of immigrants	
among immigrant children	makes it difficult to justify bringing in	increases in immigration	that there are greater economic	
in schools.	more immigrants.	because of funding	opportunities in region than	
		formula.	actually exist.	
	Raises the importance of streamlining			
	and easing foreign credentialing delays.		Increasing racial tensions.	
			_	

desired/targeted population growth levels. Urban Aboriginal priorities and difficulty in attracting immigrants are also significant barriers for Regina. Regina participants recognize that increasing immigration is difficult because the city has a number of strikes against it including: climate, little or a negative international reputation, historically low immigration levels, and relatively limited economic opportunities.

Edmonton and Calgary respondents independently indicate that Albertans present a troublesome and uniquely negative outlook towards immigrants. This represents a barrier for attracting immigrants and a settlement issue for those immigrants that do come to Alberta. In spite of this, Calgary's economic opportunities continue to be a draw for a disproportionately high number of immigrants. A Calgaryspecific concern is that secondary migration to the region does not come with sufficient settlement funding. Unlike Calgary, Edmonton does not draw a proportionate share of immigrants. Edmonton participants attribute the lower levels of immigration to a lack of focus on attracting immigrants by municipal governments and local businesses having created few opportunities in the region.

Although sharing a great number of issues, when pressed to identify specific regional issues, Vancouver participants were able to distinguish a number of unique immigration policy priorities in the region. Vancouver attracts proportionately high levels of immigrants, particularly from the Pacific Rim, which participants indicate creates some tensions with respect to social services, increases perceptions of immigrant-related crime, and fosters more racial tension in the community. Further, the cost of living in the region is high and yet the economic opportunities for immigrants are not as bountiful as in some other centres. Most unique to Vancouver are some specific concerns over "reverse immigration" or "astronaut" immigrants who return to their country of origin, but retain Canadian immigrant status.

Question 4: What policy changes would you suggest to better address local concerns?

In addition to the broad scope of changes and resource investments recommended earlier, participants were asked to recommend the policy changes that could best address local issues and priorities. For the most part these policy changes are achievable in both the short-term and at a local level. To improve immigration in the western centres, the following specific initiatives are recommended (see Figure 4):

- More flexibility in immigrant selection systems to lower some barriers and increase likelihood of finding qualified immigrants who meet western labour and population needs.
- Invest in building local capacities to welcome, integrate and retain immigrants. Highest needs include: (1) the creation of a local housing policy that would provide specific housing opportunities for new immigrants, and (2) early language training for better community integration, and development of K-12 school-based language training.
- Centralization of information for immigrants regarding employment, education and regulation, provision of basic needs, and cultural opportunities.
- Collaboration between different areas of government, settlement lawyers, social services, school systems and employers.
- Exposure, advertising, and funding to build on the theoretical and practical successes of Provincial Nominee Programs to meet local needs.
- Aggressive public relations to increase the profile of the economic and non-economic benefits of immigration both now and in future.
- Municipally-driven initiatives to find locally-developed community-specific approaches to improving immigration experiences in cities.
- Implement hiring practices in government and local business that represent the appropriate portion of immigrants in the population.
- Provide direction and incentives for local businesses on how to maximize the benefits of hiring immigrants to increase exports and profits.

Figure 4: What policy changes would you suggest to better address local concerns?

Calgary	Regina	Winnipeg	Vancouver	Edmonton
Calgary participants were	PNP is part of solution but	More flexibility in finding	Municipal/GVRD involvement in	Increase low provincial
asked* : Is the future outlook	program needs exposure,	qualified business class	immigration strategy consultation.	minimum wage for working
for immigration in Calgary	funding and flexibility and	immigrants.		poor.
encouraging?	quicker processing times.		Use PNP to encourage dilution of	
		More funding for	the concentration of immigrants	City of Edmonton initiate
Yes, at the grass roots,	Public relations work	settlement services.	(regionalization).	a process specially tuned
advocacy by community groups	to improve Immigrants'			to the Edmonton business
produces goodwill.	receptiveness to	Create a housing policy	Change negative opinions by	community's needs; develop
	Saskatchewan as welcoming.	that would provide	promoting awareness of positive	communities' own ideas.
Yes, because there's a core	Challenge is to present	specific housing for	benefits immigrants add to the	
of people who can support	Saskatchewan as being	refugees/immigrants.	province (need better research on	Change local attitudes with
change. Calgary is chosen as a	sophisticated urban centre.		these benefits).	more focus on the population
destination because it has a lot		Centralized information		growth component of
to offer immigrants.	Removal/reduction of barriers	for immigrants in	Start English language training in	immigration to complement
	in the entrepreneurial class of	community, better	origin country prior to arrival to	the skilled labour issue.
No, as immigration does not	immigrants.	information about	improve transition experience.	
have strong recognition in		community abroad.		Change AB policy of
levels where decisions are	Invest in building local		Small and medium sized businesses	inadequate social assistance
made. This requires significant	capacity to welcome,	Tool kit for new	need direction and incentives to	funding for new Canadians.
remaking of Canadian	integrate and retain	Canadians regarding	build trade links with China or other	
workplaces and society	immigrants.	education, regulations,	interested markets.	More direct consultation
(putting more immigrants in		and professional bodies.		with immigrant community
decision making positions).			More support for local initiatives	in Edmonton-not just via the
		More collaboration	by Settlement and Multiculturalism	immigration agencies.
		between different	branch.	l
(*this question was replaced		areas of government,	l	Work on changing the political
following the Calgary session)		settlement lawyers and	Help immigrants to settle in rural	and government institutions
		other stakeholders	areas by providing employment	to implement hiring practices
		(recent immigrants).	opportunities, community services,	that better reflect the
		1	local immigrant incentives and	population.
		Lower fees and	funding to assist in this process.	
		processing timelines for		
		spouses and parents.		

Unique Immigration Trends in Western Canada

The opinions of consultation participants reflect the unique circumstance of immigration policy, activity, and history in the West. Building off previously released Canada West Foundation research documents on immigration (Increasing Western Canadian Immigration and Closer to Home) and other topical research, this section of the report isolates and summarizes the unique immigration trends that impact the western experience with immigration. These trends shape current policy and opinion in the West towards immigration, and complement the experiences and recommendations brought forward in our consultations.

1. Immigration Outside the Shadow of the Big "3" Destinations

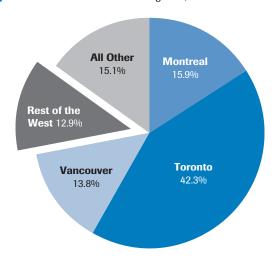
 $Almost\,three-quarters\,of\,immigrants\,tend\,to\,settle\,in\,one\,of\,three$

cities in Canada–Vancouver, Toronto and Montreal—the "Big 3." The attraction of these centres includes the availability of cultural supports such as religious organizations, art and music, food, language, and people of similar background, and their international reputation (Figure 5).

This disproportionate concentration has a critical impact on our understanding of immigration issues across the country as a whole. Because the Big 3 are also home to the majority of media sources, business and opinion leaders, think tanks, academics and analysts there are relatively few sources reporting on how the western immigration experience (ouside of Vancouver) is different from the rest of Canada. As a result, our perceptions of immigration are influenced by observations and data that may or may not be reflective of the local realities. Most problematic of all, public attitudes towards immigration in the West are skewed by the circumstances of these major centres—often in a negative manner.



Figure 5: Initial destination of immigrants, 2004



Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2005 (preliminary data)

The negativity can stem from the higher numbers of just arriving immigrants settling in these major centers. For that reason alone, new immigrants in Toronto, Vancouver and Montreal face the highest employment barriers associated with acquiring language skills, having their foreign work and education experiences rated and recognized, and beginning job searches and networking.

Not surprisingly, then, immigrants in Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver face much higher rates of unemployment than immigrants who arrive in many western destinations (Chui 2003). In a 2001 survey of all people unemployed in Toronto aged 25-54, 38% were immigrants, much higher than the 14% in Calgary. Again, the point to underline is that the experiences of immigrants in the major immigration centres are unique and not representative of immigration in less popular destinations.

Similarly, delays associated with the recognition of foreign work experience and education are primarily a function of the capacity of provincial licensing agencies, educational institutions and professional associations. The processing and evaluation speed of these services will be a function of the number of requests received. Delays can result in underemployment, unemployment and negative perceptions associated with the seemingly ubiquitous circumstances of underemployment.

The apparent frequency of crime and racial tensions will also influence the populations outside of these major destinations. Due to the higher numbers of immigrants in the major centers there will be more incidents reported—irrespective of the actual per

capita rates of crime in those cities. Again, the local policy thinkers and media centres are influenced by these local realities and yet this impacts western perceptions.

For the 28% of immigrants who settle outside of Vancouver, Montreal and Toronto, they are more likely to have employment secured, more likely to earn a better wage (Chui 2003), and represent smaller portions of the population. Therefore, the merits of immigration and immigration policy in western Canada ought be evaluated on western data whenever possible.

2. Prairies Share of Immigrants in Decline

A second trend affecting western immigration is the overall declining rate of immigrants choosing western Canada as an immigration destination. Proportionately, the number of immigrants choosing to live in the West (including Vancouver) is nearly one-half the levels of 20 years ago (Figure 6). Most of this loss has been picked up by increased immigration activity in Ontario. Buoyed by Manitoba's immigrations successes 2003 and 2004 have seen this trend reverse upwards, yet nevertheless the West share of immigrants remains below its share of the population. (Note: these data reflect only the first destination of immigrants. Immigrants who move after a period of acclimation may settle in western Canada.)

Relatively light immigration rates can have a number of negative consequences. Chief among these is the impact on future labour needs. Western Canada, like many other parts of the world, is in competition to find a future labour force to replace the baby boom workforce that is nearing retirement. This urgency stems not only from the need to maintain economic productivity, but also from the need to increase the tax-paying base to help pay for the increased cost of delivering health services that an aging population will need. A consequence of the West's inability to draw a proportional share of immigrants suggests that the region will face a relatively tough road in trying to fill these shortages.

Immigration's potential role in filling future labour demand is not well understood. Changes in technology, wage increases, productivity increases, and better education and training of Canadians will mean that not every predicted lost job will need an immigrant replacement—some jobs

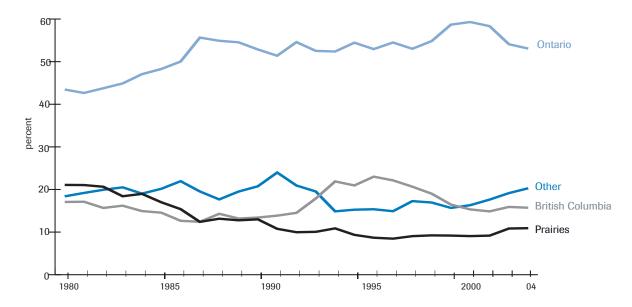


Figure 6: Initial destination of immigrants by region, 1980-2004

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2005 (preliminary data)

will become obsolete, the retirement age may increase, labour force participation rates may improve in underutilized segments of the population (e.g., Aboriginals) and people may work longer hours more efficiently. Nonetheless, it is reasonable to assume that some labour shortages will remain and others will emerge.

In areas of near full employment and in particular sectors, however, these shortages are almost certain to occur. Immigration policy, if it can be responsive, offers the potential to maintain positive economic momentum by filling in these needs rapidly and with the skilled resources. However, that is a very big "if" and the critiques of current immigration policies identified in our consultations rightfully center upon a lack of responsiveness.

The process of correctly identifying a market need, communicating that need to local industry and international agencies, locating immigrants who fit that need, and having people immigrate to Canada itself is only part of the problem. Upon arrival in Canada, immigrants will then experience delays in getting approval for prior experience and education to satisfy licensing authorities, acquiring the training or additional education needed to for qualify work in Canada, and acquiring the language and Canadian work experiences to land a job.

Although the depth of the predicted labour shortage crunch is still a few years away and may vary in severity, a number of skilled labour shortages have been identified. Evidence of these shortages can be found in a number of sources:

- 62 out of 76 industry associations surveyed by Canada West Foundation indicate they currently see signs of shortages of skilled labour (Hirsch 2004);
- Canadian Federation of Independent Business survey finds nearly half of all small and medium enterprises worry about labour shortages (59% in Manitoba and 55% in Alberta) (CFIB 2002);
- Alberta Government describes severe labour shortages in the health care, information technology, and construction sectors (Government of Alberta 2001);
- BC Government states that education, health, utilities, government and forestry services will face future shortages (Government of BC 2001a);
- ITAC Commission states BC faces serious trades and technical shortages that Canadian training cannot meet (Government of BC 2001b);
- Unemployment rate was 0.5% in health professionals in Alberta (Government of Alberta 2001); and

Alberta (4.5%) and Manitoba (5.4%) have unemployment levels that are significantly below the national average (7.3%) (Statistics Canada 2005) and have been for several years. In these regions, the value of immigrant skilled labour is perhaps the highest.

Due to its lower share of overall immigration levels, the West also fails to maximize the export and job creation advantages associated with higher levels of immigration. This has an impact on both the economy of the West and the perceptions of the benefits of immigration held by westerners. Research suggests that immigrants, over the long-term, are substantial net economic contributors to growth. Findings include:

- Business-class immigrants contributed an estimated \$2.6 billion between 1986-1990 (Kunin 1995);
- Entrepreneur-class immigrants for 2002 contributed over 800 full- and part-time jobs in Alberta and BC (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2003);
- Each immigrant generates an additional \$3,000 in exports (Head and Ries 1995);
- 10% increase in immigration generates 1% increase in exports (Head and Ries 1995); and,
- Cultural diversity brings new ideas and innovation to business solutions (Thomas 1992).

Policy driven efforts to increase immigration, such as those undertaken by the Manitoba government, do appear to lead to positive economic outcomes in those areas in need of population growth. Net economic growth activity fueled by immigrant contributions can, in turn, have a positive impact on regional public opinion toward immigrants.

3. Lack of Awareness of the Role of immigration

A third major trend influencing immigration in western Canada is a lack of awareness of the importance or value of immigration to the region's future. While, on the whole, westerners exhibit more favourable attitudes towards immigration than does the rest of Canada, these data are influenced by strong positive impressions of immigration in Saskatchewan and Manitoba (Angus Reid Group 2000, Légér 2002, Palmer 1999).

Even though there is encouraging economic data on the role of immigrants, for the most part the potential economic importance (both now and in the future) is not well understood by the general public. As a consequence, immigration issues do not rank as a significant concern to western Canadians. Of the 13 policy

issues polled in Canada West Foundation's 2003 and 2004 Looking West Surveys, increasing immigration was the least important concern for western Canadians—by a wide margin. In the 2004 survey, only one in 10 westerners saw attracting immigrants as a high priority (CWF 2004).

Ironically, the same surveys found that "ensuring skilled labour" ranked as the second highest priority (71% of westerners rated this as a high priority) (CWF 2004). These data are telling. There is a clear recognition of the current and future skilled labour shortage in western Canada, but virtually no connection with immigration's role in supplying labour. While a part of this variance may be attributed to a belief that immigration is not necessary to meet labour shortages, it is reasonable to conclude that there is currently very little public understanding of the role of immigration in the future economies of the region.

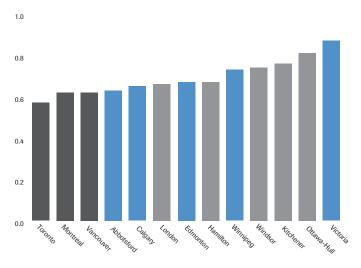
4. Economic Successes of Immigrants in the West

In spite of (or perhaps because of) the lower proportion of immigrants that first settle in the West, recent immigrants may fair better economically in many smaller western cities. Male immigrants aged 25-54 and working full-time in medium and smaller sized cities for example, are more likely to be earning wages that are closer to non-immigrant wages (Figure 7) than are immigrants in Toronto, Vancouver and Montreal. Immigrants in Canada's largest cities earn on average only 60% of non-immigrant wages. This compares with immigrant wages that are over 70% equivalent in Winnipeg and over 80% equivalent in Victoria. These data imply a good opportunity for economic advancement, and low barriers to entering the workforce in these cities.

Figure 8 demonstrates another economic advantage of smaller and mid-sized cities, particularly in the West. Male immigrants aged 25-54 in western Canada's cities are significantly more likely to be employed full-time than are immigrants in the rest of Canada. The six cities in which immigrant unemployment rates are most closely matched to Canadian-born rates are all located in the West. Winnipeg immigrant employment levels are the highest at only 1.4 to 1 ratio.

The stronger immigrant employment situation in the West is reflective of employment activity in the region and lower concentrations of recent immigrants. Combined, these data suggest it is easier for those immigrants who settle in the

Figure 7: Ratio of average recent immigrants earnings to Canadianborn aged 25-54 males in CMAs, 2000 (immigrants 1991-1999 only)



Source: Chui 2004

West to enter the workforce. However, it should be noted that these data cannot indicate if the employment is more likely to be within the immigrant's area of study or experience in the West, only that immigrants are more likely to have a job.

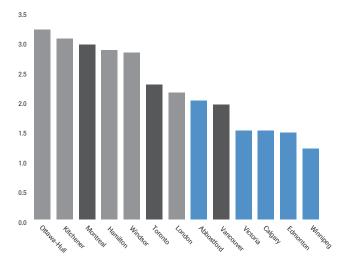
5. Non-recognition of Foreign Experiences and Education

The immigration trend with arguably the highest profile in recent months is that of foreign credential recognition. A seemingly increasing number of immigrants are experiencing underemployment in low paying or menial positions in Canada. This change has been coincident with the emergence of the credentials-driven knowledge-based economy. The decadeslong swing in employment towards technology and service industries has brought increased profile to the immigrant credential recognition problem.

As ubiquitous as these underemployment circumstances may seem, solving the "foreign credential problem" has eluded federal and provincial policy solutions to date, despite considerable and noble efforts. The large number of actors involved and vested interests in the credential recognition process, and the well-entrenched attitudes of employers to favour Canadian-experience, represent sizeable and in some cases near immovable barriers.

Before delving into this issue, it is best to properly frame this issue not as a foreign credentialing problem, but rather as problem with the non-recognition of foreign experiences and education. In practice, the actual process of receiving appropriate paper credentials is regimented (although slow) and

Figure 8: Ratio of unemployed recent Immigrants to Canadianborn aged 25-54 males in CMAs, 2000 (immigrants 1991-1999 only)



Source: Chui 2004

the expectations of the cost and length of the process will often be available to immigrants either before coming to the Canada or upon arrival through employment assistance services for immigrants. There may be language tests to take, applications, testing and annual fees for obtaining sufficient work licenses, the re-taking of classes or entire degrees, required classes on Canadian standards, and technical proficiency exams. This is an onerous set of tasks, and not without efficiency critiques, but the process is transparent and accountable.

The more germane policy issue involves the non-recognition of foreign obtained education and work experience through the use of standards and biases by employers, professional associations and governments. These standards may not be current or relevant, can be overly difficult and costly to achieve, vary from province to province seemingly without explanation, and may even be part of latent wage protection policies designed to keep the supply of labour low.

Problematically, the application of these standards is subject to concerns that they are not only in place to protect public health. The same minimum qualifications designed to ensure a health and safety standard may also be used as a means to support the education system in Canada by discounting degrees obtained abroad. Setting a high standard can also be used to control the escalating costs of delivering public services by limiting the availability and access to some services.

For this report, we examined the current variance among the western provinces on their approaches to professional designations in the areas of engineering, teaching, nursing, and international medical graduates. This review raises interesting questions as to how and why standards are set, as it appears that the acceptable minimum standard can vary between the provinces. Notable areas of variance included number of years of education and hours of experience for certification to be a teacher, the need for Canadian-specific work experience and an English language requirement for engineers, and a host of differences for international doctors including the length of Canadian-resident requirements, assessment periods, type of program required, length of servitude in rural areas and English language minimums. Considering these differences, it appears that the supply and demand for labour, coupled with employer needs and the objectives of professional associations, can play a role in determining what is a minimum standard.

Even if immigrants are able to meet these standards, they can face hiring practices that informally further devalue their foreign work experiences relative to Canadian work experience. Meeting the minimum required skills (e.g., English language testing) for a position may also not be sufficient if other candidates with less experience better meet the employer's expectations. The issues of non-recognition and devaluation of foreign education and

experiences by employers and non-government industry associations are not easily met by policy-based solutions.

The resulting underemployment of immigrants associated with these practices is costly for Canada. Estimates suggest that eliminating or reducing underemployment could result in billions of dollars of additional wage income annually for Canadians (Bloom and Grant 2001). These wages would be created from the combined effect of reduced unemployment for those not working and reduced underemployment for those working in unrelated occupations. It is estimated that in Alberta alone, the unemployment of international medical graduates cost the province between \$34 and \$64 million in wasted human capital (Emery 2002). Emery found that the average annual earnings of those unlicensed foreign medical graduates who had at least a part-time job was only \$16,500.

The combination of these trends has also had a significant impact on the earnings of immigrants. Each successive cohort of immigrants coming to Canada between 1975 and 1994 found that their starting wages were increasingly devalued compared to Canadian-born workers (Figure 9). As a consequence, it now takes longer for immigrants to "catch up." Indeed, research indicates that recent immigrants may never earn an equivalent wage as their entry

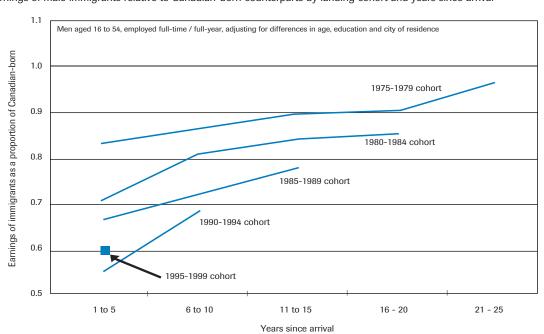


Figure 9: Earnings of male immigrants relative to Canadian-born counterparts by landing cohort and years since arrival

Source: Chui 2004

point has declined so low that too few working years are available to catch up. (It is of note that the 1995-1999 cohort was able to reverse this trend slightly.)

This decline is primarily associated with the declining value of foreign education and experience relative to changes in Canadian education and training over the last 20 years (Chui 2003). Better Canadian education programs and increased enrollment rates in post-secondary training have increased the supply of Canadian labour, and in doing so increased the competition faced by immigrants (Reitz, 2005). Subsequently, employers have more candidates with the requisite skills and Canadian backgrounds to choose from in the hiring process. Immigrant wages have been in decline because their relative lack of Canadian experience is an employment barrier.

This analysis is not meant to suggest that Canadian experience or education is superior to internationally acquired credentials. Rather, the implication is that there is an employer bias towards hiring and promoting individuals with Canadian experience. These biases may be masking a host of other issues, including discriminatory hiring policies and inadequate language skills among immigrants (Ruddick 2003). This problem can be self-perpetuating if employers see few incentives to participate in developing Canadian experience among immigrants.

Also driving wages downward is the fact that, in spite of the diminished earnings over the 1990s, the supply of immigrant labour has remained strong. The leakage (emigration out of Canada) of immigrants in the 1990s remained small—only 4.3% of tax-filing immigrants in the 1990s had emigrated by 2000 (Dryburgh and Hamel 2004). The declining wages and underemployment of immigrants has not encouraged immigrants to leave Canada for greener pastures. However, for immigrant doctors and health care managers (both high need occupations) the leakage rate is more than double at 11.7% (Dryburgh and Hamel 2004). Policies that have created relatively low immigrant wages may have higher economic costs in these areas where international competition for human capital is strongest.

Finally, the inefficiencies created by the non-recognition of foreign credentials data have lead some to suggest that government immigration targets are set too high or are aiming at the wrong type of immigrants. Given the embedded nature of forces contributing to the mismatch of skills and labour needs, these types of conclusions are understandable, yet perhaps off the

mark. What is more urgently needed are policy instruments that can encourage employer and professional organization behaviour in a manner that more readily accepts the previously obtained skills of immigrants. These instruments can include an evaluation of existing standards for relevancy, providing resources to assist in the evaluation of international programs, diversity and awareness programs for employers, and access to research on the economic value of immigrant hiring.

6. Changing demographics among immigrants in western Canada.

The unique demographics of western Canadian immigrants serve to amplify some of the preceding trends and mute others. Features of the western Canadian immigrant population also highlight the importance of some policy solutions. Four of the more relevant demographic changes are:

1. Increasing proportions of Asian and Middle Eastern immigrants

Over the last four decades, Asian and Middle Eastern immigrants have increasingly made western Canada their

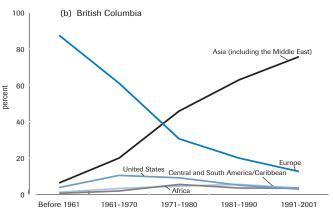
(a) Prairies

Asia (including the Middle East)

40

Central and South America/Caribbean
Africa
United States

Figure 10: Immigration to western Canada by source country (%)



Source: CIC 2004

arrival destination (Figure 10). For the period 1991-2001, almost 80% of BC immigrants and 60% of immigrants to the prairie provinces were from the Middle East and Asia. African immigrants in the prairie provinces have also doubled in the last 30 years. These changes have run parallel to a decline in formerly higher concentrations of European immigrants. This change has meant new language and cultural issues for the agencies that work on settlement and transitions to the workplace, and for the employers and communities of the West.

These data have an important policy impact in the West. Asian and African immigrants face the most substantial employment obstacles. The employment rate of Asian immigrants aged 25-44 was only 49.3% -the second lowest after African Immigrants (Chui 2003). Inherent in these data are language barriers, credential delays, and the devaluation of immigrant degrees and work experiences relative to Canadian-born workers described earlier.

Asian immigrants (a majority of western Canadian immigrants) in particular face a substantial earnings penalty. Research suggests that Asian immigrants, both with and without credentials, appear to gain the least value from their previous experiences and education, when compared to other immigrant groups (Najm 2001; Ferrer and Riddell 2003). Addressing the systemic barriers associated with the underemployment of Asian immigrants is a particularly pronounced problem for western Canada.

2. The Emergence of Provincial Nominee Programs

The last decade has brought provincial policy inroads into immigration through Provincial Nominee Programs (PNP) that allow the provinces to cooperate with the federal government in selecting individuals for immigration. Provincial agreements are different in each province, based on provincial needs and available resources. Of the provinces, Manitoba's approach is the most aggressive (Figure 11). Half of all Manitoba immigrants now enter through a provincial immigration procedure as part of a provincial population strategy.

There are a number of positive outcomes associated with the use of PNP that bear consideration. First, PNP procedures can ensure, at least initially, that improved immigrant distribution can occur to non-major centers by accepting immigrants who are willing to settle in specific areas. Second, the use of temporary workers already in Canada as candidates for PNP allows the immigration candidates to experience the climate and culture of the place they will live prior to immigration. Similarly, these immigrants can jump start their language training and already be familiar with housing and transportation issues.

A third major benefit of PNP is the direct involvement of employers in sponsoring immigrants. This allows a modicum of control of labour shortage issues faced by employers and may also be helpful in streamlining the credentialing process.

Figure 11: What are your thoughts on provincial nominee immigration programs? Have they been successful in addressing local immigration needs?

Calgary	Regina	Winnipeg	Vancouver	Edmonton
800 available spots, but only a fraction of that space used by	PNP is part of solution but it needs more funding and profile.	It is clear that the PNP has been effective in attracting immigrants to Winnipeg;	PNPs are successful and program to be modified to allow a focus on specific regions and industries of higher needs.	More emphasis and profile needed for the program at the provincial and municipal levels in Alberta.
immigrants. Manitoba appears to have done a good job with its PNP but some	Federal role (e.g., security checks) needs to get done more quickly.	now retention must be the focus. PNP is a successful in addressing local	Many skilled immigrants in BC are already not properly integrated, it is hard to suggest an overall need to attract more under PNP. Given these circumstances, targeting needed.	Modify the criteria to also allow for addressing family reunification needs within the PNP.
of those immigrants leave and come to Calgary.	Good program; the only thing is the lack of funding support to settlement agencies.	population and employment needs.	Low awareness of the program, a very small part of the immigration process in BC.	PNP program should be reflective of the demographics of the city.
AB government has not given much profile to the program. Should	PNP needs more profile, need to let employers know more about the program.	PNP programs have higher public profile than federal immigration issues.	Successful program that needs to work on shortening immigration process. More likely to be successful if supported by other services, (e.g., help to start	Importance of foreign worker recruitment workshops for employers.
use PNP more by also engaging communities, and employers in the selection process.	PNP represents a good start on the kind of idea that will be successful in Saskatchewan.	Some immigrants lose their PNP job offers because of lengthy immigration process.	business, or find employment). Need more information about the program at the professional associations and regulatory bodies levels.	Streamline the PNP process. It is currently very complex and intimidating (federal/provincial complexity).

Finally, the PNP allow each province to address their own specific needs and immigration issues. The result is a range of programs that allow some flexibility and the distribution of immigrants into high need areas and labour markets.

Suitably, the availability of PNP is recognized as a substantial improvement in immigration policy for western Canada. Participants in the Canada West Foundation's consultations provided an opportunity for some specific feedback on the value of PNP as seen by immigrants and those working in immigration fields. On the whole, PNP were viewed as good programs that, with greater exposure and resource investment, have the potential to serve as a population growth strategy in Saskatchewan, and for regionalization and specific labour needs in Alberta and BC.

3. Refugee Immigrants

The prairie provinces are home to a much higher proportion of Canada's protected persons immigrants—38% of the 10,500 government-assisted and private refugees class in 2004 settled in West compared with only 26% for the immigrant population as a whole (CIC 2005, preliminary data). Saskatchewan is of particular note as 27% of all immigrants that settled there in 2004 had government-assisted and private refugees class status, compared to a national average of only 4.5%—more than five times as many.

The implications of these data are varied. The prairie region benefits strongly from the humanitarian effects of immigration, fostering compassion within communities. Yet the economic contributions of refugee immigrants may be less vibrant than economic class immigrants. A 2001 Statistics Canada survey found that 59% of economic class immigrants were employed at the time of the survey compared to 39% of family class and only 21% of refugee class immigrants (Chui 2003).

Refugee needs also place an additional burden on community supports in the West because the specific circumstances of their compassionate grounds can require social supports that are not easily created or made available. Given the high numbers of non-economic class immigrants in the West, the double impact of employment barriers and additional support needs make refugee assistance programs a high profile western concern.

4. Urbanization

A final point of discussion relates to the increasing urbanization of immigrants (Figure 12). Western immigrants, much like Canadian-born residents, are increasingly finding that urban settings offer the cultural and employment opportunities that suit their needs. In particular, the past rural job opportunities for immigrants associated with stronger resource-based rural economic activity have eroded in recent years. There are now fewer economic motivations for immigrants to head to rural areas.

This trend represents a rural development challenge. Rural areas that do have job opportunities for immigrants must compete against the draw of the urban centers. Doing so requires the ready availability of jobs for immigrants and some minimum community supports (e.g., churches, schools, language training, suitable climate). Communities have great difficulty creating these artificial draws and in the absence of temporary restriction on mobility rights, there are few policy tools available to reverse this trend.

While the immigrant rural success stories in recent years are admittedly rare, they are not without promise for other communities. Southern Manitoba, in particular, has flourished due to a combination of economic opportunity and community awareness of the value of immigrants. The economic success of Winkler or Steinbach in Manitoba or Brooks in Alberta cannot be replicated in every western rural areas, but offer instruction on the needs of rural immigrants.

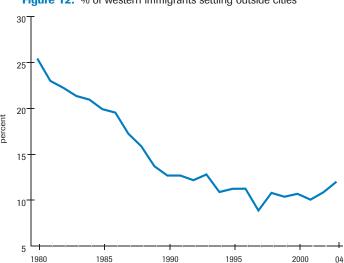


Figure 12: % of western immigrants settling outside cities

Source: Citizen and Immigration Canada 2005 (preliminary data)

As rural attitudes shift towards being more welcoming toward immigrants, rural communities may be more readily positioned to take advantage of those windows of economic activity as they occur. There is significant rural competition for those few industries that can operate profitably in rural areas. Communities that are perceived as offering a suitable climate to absorb immigrant workers will have a distinct advantage.

One positive outcome for rural areas relates to the Provincial Nominee Programs. These programs have given the provinces the ability to select immigrants who have specific knowledge of the rural areas, the climate, and the employment circumstances, and fit rural development needs. As a result, in Alberta (45%) and Saskatchewan (40%) almost half of PNP immigrants have settled outside the cities.

Conclusion

Over the past year, this project has considered immigration from the unique perspective of the western provinces and, as a result, has identified a number of unique policy priorities and conclusions. On the whole, the research we obtained and analyzed suggests that, although there are proportionately fewer immigrants coming to the West, those who do settle in the region fare better economically than do immigrants in other parts of Canada. Most of the region draws fewer immigrants because it lacks the international profile of Toronto, Vancouver and Montreal, and may not have climate and cultural and familial supports available elsewhere—yet not for a lack of opportunity for economic success.

Immigrants in the West provide a host of non-economic, cultural and humanitarian contributions to the region and provide important population growth possibilities, particularly in high need areas. There are a number of immigration successes, particularly in Manitoba, that point to and underline the contributions that immigrants are making to the West in manufacturing, community building, population growth, innovation, development of export markets, and cultural diversity. Even in the Vancouver region, with its high concentrations of immigrants, there were few concerns expressed that the city needs fewer immigrants. Indeed, the focus of participants at our consultations was on how to bring the similar benefits of immigration into the surrounding areas and on improving

settlement for those immigrants who are drawn to the city. In spite of this potential, the immigration experience is flawed and immigrants are not able to achieve their potential. While a complete fix may elude current policy instruments, improving the immigrant experience and deriving more societal benefit for the West is within the scope of policy change. The following recommendations gathered from our consultations and research suggest that much can be done to make the region more welcoming to immigrants and, perhaps more importantly, to allow for the economic and non-economic potential of immigrants to be more fully realized. Many current immigrant struggles in the West (e.g., skill recognition, processing delays, employer prejudices, negative public attitudes, lack of affordable housing, insufficient language training) represent concerns that can be eased through direction from governments, employers, professional associations and community agencies.

Recommendations

1. Research and promote the contributions of immigrants in western Canada

The merits of immigration in western Canada ought be evaluated and promoted on a regular basis to publicize the economic and non-economic opportunities available to immigrants who choose the West as a destination. This requires regular research on the labour market outcomes of immigrants and the positive contributions of immigrants to community quality of life. Public awareness of the positive impacts of immigration can, in turn, have a positive impact on regional public opinion toward immigrants. This is particularly true in the West, where public attitudes towards immigration are negatively skewed by the circumstances of the major immigrant destinations.

2. Develop new measures by which to evaluate successful immigration outcomes

Underlying the first recommendation is the need to develop a means to measure immigrants' value that includes: (1) multigenerational immigration outcomes; (2) both the economic and non-economic contributions of immigrants; and, (3) data that are not measured relative to Canadian-born workers. The evaluation of immigration policy requires time frames that extend beyond a single generation as arguably the direct impact of immigration extends to at least the children of immigrants raised in Canada. Suitable measures of immigrant value would also calculate contributions that immigrants make to non-economic activity such as volunteerism, arts and culture, politics, and the running of governments. Finally, measurement

criteria should be independent from the accomplishments of Canadian-born workers as a control group. The economic performance of immigrants and Canadian-born populations are influenced by different enough factors that make relative comparisons less instructive for creating policy change.

3. Provide employer education and information on the positive economic value of foreign experience and training

While a number of federal and provincial efforts are underway to address the issues of speeding skill recognitions and foreign credential processing, and to provide more opportunities for training, there is also an employer component that needs to be addressed. Employers need education and information on the value to their organizations of foreign training and work experience to help lower the bar facing immigrants once they have obtained the requisite paper credentials for employment. Employers (and governments) should also be encouraged to implement hiring and promotion practices that represent the proportion of immigrants in the population.

4. Make available more advanced language training for adults in jobs and for immigrant children in schools

Language barriers for immigrants in western Canada are particularly pronounced as high proportions of Asian, African and Middle Eastern immigrants settle in the West. Addressing the employment and learning barriers associated with language training for these groups represents a higher need priority in western Canada. Employer and school involvement in language training is also needed in order for the training to be geared to the skills needed to work and learn. In-school and in-job language programs need to be developed and funded.

5. Centralize information for immigrants regarding employment, education and regulation, provision of basic needs, and cultural opportunities

The lack of availability of accurate information on the climate, culture, living costs, and job markets prior to immigration is a significant deficiency of current immigration policy. Good accurate information means that the experiences of immigrants upon arrival better match their expectations regarding job qualifications, expected income level, demographic profile of the community, etc. Better and more readily available labour market information, for example, could reduce underemployment issues upon arrival as immigrants know in advance what skills are in demand and what qualifications are required.

social service organization, school systems and employers Lack of coordination or a single overarching body among the numerous agencies that deal with immigration creates a disjointed and complex immigration process. An entity to coordinate the overseas immigration offices, governments,

6. Collaboration between different areas of government,

employers and associations, school systems, social service agencies, and community groups would greatly enhance and clarify the immigrant experience and better use the existing resources.

7. Increase funding of the immigrant selection and screening process

Many of the participants at our consultations spoke of the overburdened and troublesome nature of the selection and screening process for immigration into Canada. A host of problems related to these conditions include long time delays, poor application of the selection criteria, failure to meet immigration targets and perceptions of an increased security risk. Time delays can also contribute to immigrant underemployment by increasing the gap between identifying labour market needs and being able to fill those needs with immigrants.

8. Base immigration selection criteria on improved market data

More accurate information on the specific labour needs and shortages in specific communities is needed to inform and alter immigrant selection criteria. The current bias towards higher education in selection criteria may no longer be as relevant given the apparent underemployment and non-recognition of skills of immigrants once they arrive. The mismatch of skills and labour can be reduced if the immigrant selection process considered providing additional immigration opportunities for lower skilled immigrants.

9. Invest in building local capacities to welcome, integrate and retain immigrants

In particular, municipally-driven initiatives to create community-specific approaches to improving immigration experiences in cities are required. The lack of sufficient municipal engagement was an oft-repeated concern of participants in our consultations as municipalities have resources, and coordination and communication capacities, that are needed to upgrade the local capacity to help immigrants.

10. Enhance the policy focus on the needs of refugee immigrants in western Canada

The employment barriers and support needs faced by refugee immigrants may be the most pronounced of all immigrants. Given the high numbers of non-economic class immigrants in the western provinces, there is a need to focus on increasing employability and employment opportunities for refugee class immigrants. Refugee class immigrants can also have higher community service needs and fewer family supports available. Hence, policy and funding ought to recognize these extra burdens faced by many western communities and provide suitable policy instruments to support them (e.g., higher minimum wage, more affordable housing, higher social assistance rates).

11. Provide incentives and opportunities for immigrants to settle in areas other than the main urban centres.

Although immigrants have the same mobility rights as Canadianborn residents, there are policy tools via incentives that can encourage population growth in designated high-needs locations. Underlying the data on the declining earning incomes of immigrants is an apparent disconnect between high-need jobs areas, and the settlement preference of new immigrants. Business loans, income support, additional training opportunities, family reunification priority and other incentives exist that can help reduce the risk of leaving the broader community supports available in the urban immigrant destination. Similar incentives can also be made available to communities themselves to acquire the minimum community supports (e.g., churches, schools, language training, housing) needed to create a hospitable integration period for immigrants.

12. Use Provincial Nominee Programs to encourage more immigration in high need areas

Policy-driven efforts to increase immigration, such as those undertaken by the Manitoba government under the Provincial Nominee Program, can create population increases in specific targeted areas or industries. Responsibility for the retention of those immigrants requires employers, communities, and governments to cooperate on recognizing and addressing this priority, and to implement welcoming programs, cultural opportunities, and family reunification opportunities.

In sum, the message highlighted by these recommendations is that more can and should be done to assist immigrants as they make the difficult transition from their former homes to their new home in western Canada. The expenditure of more public money on improvements to selection, processing and settlement services can pay off in higher economic returns and reduced social assistance demand, thereby improving the contribution that immigration makes to all Canadians.

WORKS CITED

Alboim, Naomi et al. February 2005. The Discounting of Immigrants' Skills in Canada: Evidence and Policy Recommendations. Institute for Research on Public Policy. Montreal, PQ. Angus Reid Group. 2000. Canadians and Immigration. (http://www.ipsos-na.com/news/

Angus Reid Group. 2000. Canadians and Immigration. (http://www.ipsos-na.com/news/pressrelease.cfm?id=1026). Accessed December 15, 2003.

Azmier, Jason et al. May 2004. *Increasing Western Canadian Immigration*. Canada West Foundation. Calgary. AB.

Berdahl, Loleen. 2004. Looking West Survey 2003. Canada West Foundation. Calgary, AB. Bloom, Michael and Michael Grant. 2001. Brain Gain: The Economic Benefits of Recognizing Learning and Learning Credentials in Canada. Conference Board of Canada. Ottawa, ON.

Canadian Federation of Independent Business. 2002. Availability of Labour and Training Survey.

Canadian Federation of Independent Business Research Results. www.cfib.ca

Citizenship and Immigration Canada. 2003. Business Immigration Program Statistics. http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/business/bus-stats2002.html#table-7. Accessed March 15,

Citizenship and Immigration Canada. 2005. Personal communication. March 9, 2005. Chui, Tina. 2003. Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada: Process, Progress and Prospects. Statistics Canada: Cat. No. 89-611-XIE. Ottawa, ON.

Dryburgh, Heather and Hamel, Jason. 2004. "Immigrants in demand: Staying or leaving?" Canadian Social Trends Autumn 2004. Statistics Canada. Ottawa, ON.

Emery, J.C. Herbert. August 14, 2002. Those Really are Thousand Dollar Bills on the Sidewalk: The Social Opportunity Cost to Alberta of the Underemployment of Un-licensed IMGs. Calgary, AB.

Ferrer, Ann and W. Craig Riddell. May 2003. *Education, Credentials and Immigrant Earnings*. Department of Economics, University of British Columbia. Vancouver, BC.

Government of Alberta (Labour Force Planning Committee). 2001. Prepared for Growth: Building Alberta's Labour Supply. Government of Alberta. Edmonton, AB. www.gov.ab.ca.

Government of British Columbia. 2001a. BC Occupational Projections. Presentation to the Career Development Conference, March 7, 2001. Victoria, BC.

Government of British Columbia. 2001b Ensuring a Skilled Workforce for British Columbia. Industry Training and Apprenticeship Commission. Victoria, BC.

Head, Keith, and Ries, John. February 1998. "Immigration and trade creation: econometric evidence from Canada." Canadian Journal of Economics 31(1): 47-62. Montreal, QC.

Hirsch, Todd. January 2005. Toward a Bright Future: Recommendations for Addressing Skills Shortages in Western Canada. Canada West Foundation. Calgary, AB.

Huynh, Vien. June 2004. Closer to Home: Provincial Immigration Policy in Western Canada. Canada West Foundation. Calgary, AB.

Kunin, Roslyn and Jones, Cheryl L., 1995. "Business Immigration to Canada." Don J. Devoretz ed. Diminishing Returns: The Economics of Canada's Recent Immigration Policy.

Laryea, Samuel A. May 2002. The Performance of Immigrants in Selected Canadian Cities. Applied Research Branch, Human Resources Development Canada. Hull, QC.

Leger Marketing. 2002. Canadians and Immigration. Leger Marketing. Motreal, QC.

Najm, Nabila A. December 2001. The Devaluation Of Foreign Credentials in Canada. Strategic Research and Analysis, Strategic Planning and Policy Coordination: Department of Canadian Heritage. Ottawa, ON.

Palmer, Donald L. 1999. Canadian Attitudes and Perceptions Regarding Immigration: Relations with Regional Per Capita Immigration and Other Contextual Factors. Citizenship and Immigration Canada. Ottawa, ON.

Reitz, Jeffery G. February 2005. Tapping Immigrants' Skills: New directions for Canadian Immigration Policy in the Knowledge Economy. Institute for Research on Public Policy. Montreal, QC.

Ruddick, Elizabeth. 2003. "Immigrant Economic Performance: A New Paradigm in a Changing
 Labour Market." Canadian Issues April 2003. Association for Canadian Studies. Montreal, QC.
 Thomas, Derrick. 1992. The Social Integration of Immigrants in Canada. The Immigration
 Dilemma. Steven Globerman ed. The Fraser Insitute. Vancouver, BC.