

Federal Policy Evolution, Newcomer Integration and Data Reporting:  
The Strengths and Weaknesses of Canadian Immigration Policy

by

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B.A., McGill University, 2016

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## **Supervisory Committee**

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## Abstract

Among the different immigration streams in Canada- family reunification, economic immigrants and refugee protection- newcomers have cited diverse experiences. This is problematic since Canada has a goal of increasing its population to a hundred million within the next seventy-eight years (Century Initiative, 2020). Sixty-two million new Canadians facing inconsistent settlement experiences would be considered a failure of this policy (Century Initiative, 2020). The literature of integration in Canada diverges into two streams: economic model of conformity and socio-cultural. According to the literature, Canada's immigration policies use more of an economic conformity model than a socio-cultural conformity model of integration, with the former more widely cited. The strength of Canada's economic conformity model was challenged when comparing immigration policies and immigrant outcomes with Australia and New Zealand. Using a case-oriented comparative analysis, performance indicators demonstrated that Canada had the strongest socio-cultural integration policies between the three cases. These findings were triangulated by a document analysis of Immigration, Refugee and Citizenship Canada's departmental plans and performance reports from 1998 till 2020. Analyzing the evolution of immigration policies across the different streams found that the federal government decentralized policies and programs to the provincial level. This allowed newcomers to better adapt to the needs and environment of their specific provinces, confirming Canada's socio-cultural approach to integration. Canada's strength in its immigration policy resulted in the federal government's ability to decentralize programs and policies to the provincial level such as welcoming and integrating new immigrants. The document analysis also found inconsistencies with performance indicators measuring integration across the three streams: economic immigrants were only assessed on economic integration factors whereas family reunified immigrants and refugees were only assessed on socio-cultural integration indicators.

Keywords: immigration; integration; federal policy; Citizenship and Immigration Canada; Immigration, Refugee and Citizenship Canada; policy evolution; data inconsistency

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Finally, I would like to dedicate this thesis to all the immigrants making the courageous decision to move to Canada. Their bravery and strength continue to humble and inspire me.

## Chapter 1: Introduction

Canada's immigration policy has been regarded as world renowned particularly after the 2015 Syrian refugee crisis (Kenny and Mamuji, 2019, p. 2). The Government of Canada accepted 25,000 Syrian refugees between November 2015 and February 2016 (Government of Canada, 2016b) with a promise of accepting another 12,000 individuals in 2017 (Government of Canada, 2016b). However, upon arrival, only 39% of refugees find employment within their first year in Canada. Racism and cultural discrimination are commonly cited experiences that immigrants face upon arrival (Santhenan, 2020). According to Bhugra and Becker's (2005) research in "Migration, cultural bereavement and cultural identity" the process of immigration has three broad stages: "pre-migration, involving the decision and preparation to move; migration, the physical relocation of individuals from one place to another; and third stage, postmigration defined as the absorption of the new immigrant within the social and cultural framework of the new society" (Bhugra & Becker, 2005, p. 21). This thesis explores the third stage of the immigration process - post migration which will be referred to as integration moving forward. Integration is especially important in the Canadian context due to the Century Initiative program which aims to reach a population of a hundred million by the year 2100, which will be accomplished through immigration (Century Initiative, 2020). The Government of Canada is working with non-partisan networks to enhance economic strength and "resilience at home" (Century Initiative, 2020). Ensuring that the incoming sixty-two million Canadians integrate into the socio-cultural and economic fabrics of society is crucial for the success of the Government of Canada's immigration policy and the Century Initiative (Century Initiative, 2020). Additionally, understanding the integration process is important as immigration policies change through different conservative and liberal governments. Some of these governments have used neo-liberal ideologies to dictate immigration policies and use immigration to develop Canada's economic policy. Regardless of the government in power, hundreds of thousands of immigrants are coming into Canada and require the necessary supports to integration economically and socio-culturally.

Integration in the Canadian context is analyzed through two streams: economic conformity and socio-cultural conformity. This thesis argues that despite the federal government's focus on integrating immigrants into the labour market, immigration policies in Canada take on a socio-cultural approach due to the federalized and decentralized evolution of policy development. Furthermore, the reason why there are two diverging lenses in the literature review is because of reporting inconsistencies found in Immigration, Refugee and Citizenship Canada's data collection: economic immigrants only assessed on economic indicators and not socio-cultural ones. Similarly, family reunified immigrants and refugees are assessed on socio-cultural indicators and not economic ones. The thesis also argues that the development of language training, employment development and temporary labour migration policies impact the levels of integration of newcomers.

## Problem Statement

In the international community, Canada is regarded as a beacon of light for immigrants to prosper under (Kenny & Mamuji, 2019). However, literature on the lived experiences of immigrants and refugees provide another narrative. In “Other” Troubles: Deconstructing perceptions and Changing Responses to Refugees in Canada” Olsen et al (2014), conclude that immigrants, in particular - refugees, are likely victimized, “the refugee is constructed in contrast to citizens, that is the refugee is seen as the vulnerable and helpless other” (Olsen et al, 2014, p. 54). Refugees are perceived as a community that are so vulnerable and helpless that they will gratefully receive the bare minimum in healthcare without much ado. In the same vein, in “Economic Integration of Immigrants to Canada: A Short Survey,” Hum and Simpson (2004) found that immigrants entering Canada through the family reunification stream have a lower percentage rate of integrating into the labour market than economic immigrants. Immigrants entering through the family reunification stream are “47% less likely to find successful employment in the first year of arrival compared to economic immigrants” (Hum & Simpson, 2004, p. 59).

Why is there a lack of consistency of integrating refugees, economic immigrants and family reunified immigrants? What is missing from the literature is an evaluation of the different streams of immigration that Canada has. The answers to these questions can be found in Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada’s departmental plans and performance reports. Thus, this thesis conducts a document analysis on IRCC’s departmental plans and performance reports to understand which streams integrate more successfully, what factors lead to the differentiation of integration between streams and what process inconsistencies exist between the streams.

Current research indicates that a large shift in immigration policy occurred between the 1960s-1990s (Green & Green, 2004, p. 105). Prior to World War II (WWII), Canada’s immigration policy was used “primarily for nation-building” (Akbari & MacDonald, 2014, p. 805) and to promote societal culture. After WWII, economic conditions improved in post war Europe and immigration from Great Britain and other “source countries in northwestern Europe” (Akbari & MacDonald, 2014, p. 805) diminished. From the mid-1960s onwards, Canada started making a shift from human capital models of immigration toward “meeting specific labour market needs” (Akbari & MacDonald, 2014, p. 805). Studying the impacts of neo-liberalism on immigration, Seder Arat-Koc argues that immigration policies were redefined during this period “and replaced the principles that guided the relationship between the state and society in the post-war era” (Arat-Koc, 1999, p. 33). This resulted in the arrival of immigrants who aligned with neo-liberal market values. A successful immigrant, in this new era, is one who is self-reliant and does not pose a burden on the state. Alternatively, Alan Green and David Green argue that the creation of the point system in 1967 is what led to a “direct, large impact” (Green & Green, 1995, p. 1005) on the occupational structure of the inflow of immigrants. While there has been a well-recognized shift of immigration policy based on human capital to occupational, there is

disagreement on the evolution of the policies. For this reason, this thesis conducts a document analysis on the federal department's plans and performances to understand how Canada's immigration policy has evolved and what the priorities are since the late 1990s.

### **Positionality Statement**

On a stormy spring evening in Toronto, I hopped into a taxi to escape the rain. The driver was a middle-aged man who just moved to the windy city from Yemen. We had a good conversation where he essentially told me about his family back home, the hardships of living in Toronto, the highflying bank job he had in Sana'a, and the problems he's faced as an immigrant while I empathetically nodded in his direction. Upon arriving at my destination, I thanked him for the ride and went on about my day, thinking about how many of these stories I have heard throughout my eight years of lived experience in Canada.

Growing up in the East (Zambia, Ghana, Nigeria, and India) there was an image of the North American dream. You arrive in Canada or the United States and you work hard for a few years and you settle down comfortably and have a new home. For refugees, particularly, the reality is far from this. Canada has a very inviting world image for refugees; however, the barriers, challenges and obstacles they face are large and make it difficult to integrate in society. My interest in this topic stems from the injustice that are faced by refugees and immigrants as a whole, who are trying to find a place to call home and settle down but have an obstacle course to cross before reaching that dream. As an immigrant myself, I have been in spaces where I have been privy to these problems. Thus when looking at empirical studies and policy documents, I tend to side with the refugee community. I have this image of successful immigrant programs providing immediate labour market integration but has that ever been a reality anywhere?

The positionality of the literature tends to be more critical of the IRCC and side closely with immigrants. The purpose of many of these articles is to establish the gaps in immigrant experiences in Canada, thus they highlight the struggles. This positionality alongside my biases will have to be carefully managed.

### **Project Objectives and Research Questions**

This thesis seeks to identify how successful the Government of Canada is in integrating newcomers, through the various immigration streams, into the social, cultural and economic spheres of the country.

The primary research questions are as follows:

- How have Canada's immigration policies, among the different streams, evolved since the 1990s?
- To what extent has Canada integrated newcomers through the different immigration streams, in comparison to Australia and New Zealand?

The secondary research question is as follows:

- How has is integration defined?

### **Structure of Thesis**

This thesis takes on a five-stage approach to answers the research questions:

- i. A background to Canadian immigration policy to contextualize the literature review (Chapter 2).
- ii. A literature review on immigrant integration to understand how integration has been studied, defined and outline what the prevailing streams of research are (Chapter 3). This will help ascertain what the different streams are; how much has been researched on each stream; what the parameters of integration are; and what the indicators of successful immigrant integration are. The answers to these questions will provide the foundation of a conceptual framework.
- iii. The methodology draws on the literature review to determine key factors for successful integration (Chapter 4).
- iv. A comparative analysis of immigration policies in Canada, Australia and New Zealand (Chapter 5). These two countries have been selected due to their similar nature of immigration systems. Comparing Canada's immigration policy's impact on how newcomers integrate into the labour market; their voter participation; and their knowledge of the official language against the native born population will provide an answer on how successful Canada's immigration policies. Additionally, looking at how other jurisdictions are successful in their immigration policies in integrating newcomers will contextualize Canada's success in the same.
- v. A document analysis of Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) and Immigration, Refugee and Citizenship Canada (IRCC) departmental plans and performance reports to understand how immigrant integration in Canada differs among the various immigration streams (Chapter 6). It will also outline the evolution of immigration policy Since 1998, the federal department has released an annual departmental plan outlining the priorities and plans for the department that year and this is followed up with a departmental performance report evaluating the work conducted that year. Evaluation of departmental plans and reports over the last twenty years will provide a sense of how immigration policies between different streams evolved and assess how Canada has integrated newcomers.

## Chapter 2: Background

This section is intended to provide background information on immigration policy in Canada to orient and situate the reader. The chapter starts with the constitutional division of powers for immigration before referencing the various immigration programs and general trends in immigration over the past twenty years.

### Constitutional Division of Powers and Immigration Legislation

Canada is a federal nation. One of the main characteristics of Canada's federation is the distribution of legislative powers between two or more orders of government. In Canada, there are two orders of government: the federal government and provincial governments (Bur, 2020, p. 23). In other words, the constitution provides certain powers to the federal and provincial governments. Accordingly, the constitution provides the federal government and the provincial government with shared powers on the matter of immigration. This means that immigration is not specifically identified and assigned to one or both orders of governments, as mentioned in the 1867 Constitution Act (Intergovernmental Affairs, 2021).

There are six primary legislation acts and amendments in Canada's history that govern immigration policy:

- Naturalization Act (1868) – This act determined that a person born in Canada or “naturalized in Canada was considered a British subject” (Immigration, Refugee, and Citizenship Canada, 2015)
- Canadian Citizenship Act (1947) – Up until 1947, there was no legal recognition of a Canadian citizen, only British subjects (Immigration, Refugee, and Citizenship Canada, 2015). This Act can be considered the founding legislative document for immigration policy as it established “who was and who could become a Canadian citizen” (Bur, 2020, p. 34).
- Citizenship Act (1977) – This Act replaced the 1947 Act with additional equity considerations. For example, British subjects no longer received special treatment. One big impact that this Act had was it made dual citizenship eligible (Immigration, Refugee, and Citizenship Canada, 2015).
- Bill C-14: An Act to amend the Citizenship Act (2007) – The primary change allowed children born outside Canada and adopted by Canadian parents to be granted Canadian citizenship (Immigration, Refugee, and Citizenship Canada, 2015).
- Bill C-37: An Act to amend the Citizenship Act (2009) – The amendment gave Canadian citizenship automatically to many who had never had or lost it due to “previous legislation” (Bur, 2020, p. 34). Additionally, the Act limited Canadian citizenship by descent to the first generation born outside Canada (Immigration, Refugee, and Citizenship Canada, 2015).

- Bill C-24: Strengthening Canadian Citizenship Act (2014) – This is the first comprehensive reform to immigration legislation since 1977. Of the many changes, Bill C-24 extended citizenship automatically on that date to “people who were born before the *Canadian Citizenship Act* took effect on January 1, 1947” (Bur, 2020, p. 34).

## Immigration General Trends and Programs

The current federal ministry responsible for immigration is Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada. The table below provides the evolution of the department from its inception in 1873 (Knowles, 2016, p. 72).

The Canadian immigration system is designed to predominantly attract skilled workers from around the world (Jeudy, 2021). For this reason, it is no surprise that recent immigrants to Canada tend to be well-educated, with around two-thirds having a university degree or postsecondary certification (Jeudy, 2021). Despite this, unemployment among immigrants has been on “average 0.4 percent higher than that of natural-born Canadian citizens over the last decade” (Jeudy, 2021). This trend changes the longer immigrants have lived in Canada who are more likely to be employed. In 2020, the unemployment rate for immigrants landed in Canada more than a decade ago was about four percent lower than of those immigrants landed within the previous five years (Jeudy, 2021).

*Table 1 Federal government departments responsible for immigration policy*

Department Title	Years Active
Department of the Interior	1873 – 1936
Department of Immigration and Colonization	1917 – 1936
Department of Mines and Resources	1936 – 1950
Department of Citizenship and Immigration	1950 – 1966
Department of Manpower and Immigration	1966- 1977
Department of State for Citizenship	1966 – 1991
Department of Employment and Immigration	1977 – 1991
Department of Multiculturalism and Citizenship	1991 – 1994
Citizenship and Immigration Canada	1994 – 2015
Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada	2015 – Present

Source: Knowles, V. (2016). *Strangers at our gates: Canadian immigration and immigration policy, 1540-2015*. Dundurn.

Through these departments, the federal government developed immigration policy with an overarching mandate of “link[ing] immigration services with citizenship registration; promot[ing] the unique ideals all Canadians share; and help[ing] build a stronger Canada” (Immigration, Refugees, and Citizenship Canada, 2018).

Canada has been a land of immigrants since the first European colonizers of the sixteenth century, a trend that continues today (Jeudy, 2021). Currently, annual immigration amounts to around 300,000 new immigrants – “one of the highest rates per population of any county in the world” (Jeudy, 2021). As of 2020, there are just above eight million immigrants with permanent resident status living in Canada (Jeudy, 2021). That is roughly 21 percent of the entire population. Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC) accepts immigrants through three streams of immigration: economic, family reunification and through humanitarian grounds- which will be referred to as refugee protection moving forward (Immigration, Refugees, and Citizenship Canada, 2021). There are further subprograms in each other three streams of immigration. The table below outlines the subprograms.

*Table 2 Different Canadian immigration subcategories*

<b>Primary Immigration Stream</b>	<b>Sub-category</b>	<b>Definition</b>
Economic	Express Entry	The Express Entry system provides a pathway to permanent residents for skilled workers in Canada or overseas.
	Provincial Nominees	Under the Provincial Nominee program, provinces and territories can nominate individuals and families who wish to settle in their provinces or territory based on criteria set by the province. Each province and territory determines their own eligibility criteria for Provincial Nominee Programs.
	Quebec- selected skilled workers	Quebec holds a unique position in the Canadian immigration landscape because of its French language and cultural heritage. The province operates its own permanent immigration programs.
	Atlantic Immigration Pilot	This program helps employers in Atlantic Canada hire foreign skilled workers who want to immigrate to Atlantic Canada and international graduates who want to stay in Atlantic Canada after the graduate.

	Start-Up Visa	This program supports innovative entrepreneurs immigrate to Canada by starting a business and creating jobs.
	Self-Employed	The Self-employed Persons program allows people to immigration to Canada permanently or as a self-employed person through participation of relevant cultural or athletic activities.
	Rural and Northern Immigration Pilot	This program is a community-driven program that is designed to spread the benefits of economic immigration to smaller communities by creating a path to permanent residence for skilled workers who want to work and live in one of the participating communities.
	Temporary resident to permanent resident pathway	This is a limited-time pathway for certain permanent residents and their families who are currently working in Canada.
	Permanent residence pathways for Hong Kong residents	This limited-time pathway for Hong Kong residents who currently reside in Canada and have graduated from a Canadian institution or have Canadian work experience.
Family Reunification	Family sponsorship	Canadian citizens and permanent residents can sponsor certain family members to become Canadian permanent residents.
Refugee Protection	Government assisted	Government-assisted refugees are asylum seekers who are supported by the Government of Canada or the Government of Quebec in their initial resettlement.
	Privately sponsored	This program allows private Canadian citizens to resettle specific individuals or families who qualify as refugees under Canada's refugee and humanitarian program.
	Health-care workers permanent residence pathway	This program is eligible for refugee claimants to apply for permanent residence if they provided direct patient health-care during the COVID-19 pandemic.

	Economic Mobility Pathways Pilot	This program assists skilled refugees immigrate to Canada through existing economic programs to support Canadian labour market needs.
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Source: Jeudy, L. (2021). *Topic: Immigration in Canada*. Statista. Retrieved December 12, 2021, from <https://www.statista.com/topics/2917/immigration-in-canada/#dossierKeyfigures>; Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada. (2021, December 3). *Government of Canada*. Canada.ca. Retrieved December 12, 2021, from <https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/services/immigrate-canada.html>; Canadian Citizenship & Immigration Resource Center. (2020, December 31). *Where will Canada's 401,000 immigrants come from in 2021?* Canada Immigration and Visa Information. Canadian Immigration Services and Free Online Evaluation. Retrieved December 12, 2021, from <https://www.immigration.ca/where-will-canadas-401000-immigrants-come-from-in-2021>; Immigration Refugees and Citizenship Canada. (2020, August 31). *Government of Canada*. Canada.ca. Retrieved December 12, 2021, from <https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/corporate/publications-manuals/express-entry-system-immigrants.html>; Immigration Refugees and Citizenship Canada. (2021, November 16). *Government of Canada*. Canada.ca. Retrieved December 12, 2021, from <https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/services/immigrate-canada/atlantic-immigration-pilot.html>; Moving2Canada. (2021, November 1). *Immigrate to Canada through a provincial nominee program*. Retrieved December 12, 2021, from <https://moving2canada.com/provincial-nominee-program-pnp/#:~:text=Under%20Provincial%20Nominee%20Programs%2C%20provinces,criteria%20for%20Provincial%20Nominee%20Programs>; *Quebec Skilled Worker Program (QSWP)*. Canadavisa.com. (n.d.). Retrieved December 12, 2021, from <https://www.canadavisa.com/quebec-skilled-worker-immigration.html>; UNHCR . (2021, April 22). *What is the private sponsorship of refugees?* UNHCR Canada. Retrieved December 12, 2021, from [https://www.unhcr.ca/in-canada/other-immigration-pathways-refugees/private-sponsorship-refugees/#:~:text=The%20Private%20Sponsorship%20of%20Refugees%20\(PSR\)%20program%20allows%20Canadians%20to,Canadian%20government%20through%20other%20programs](https://www.unhcr.ca/in-canada/other-immigration-pathways-refugees/private-sponsorship-refugees/#:~:text=The%20Private%20Sponsorship%20of%20Refugees%20(PSR)%20program%20allows%20Canadians%20to,Canadian%20government%20through%20other%20programs)

From the table above, it can be posited that Canada's immigration policies are more focused on the economic stream since there are far more subprograms in the category. Through these programs, Canada has accepted the immigrants who settle across Canada. Ontario, British Columbia, and Quebec are the most frequent destinations for immigrants. The table below shows the levels of immigration in each province.

Table 3 Number of immigrants arriving in Canada in 2021, by province/territory of residence.

<b>Number of Immigrants arriving in Canada in 2021, by province/territory of residence</b>	
<b>Province</b>	<b>Number of Residents</b>
Ontario	107,865
British Columbia	34,385
Quebec	33,665
Alberta	23,987
Manitoba	10,194
Saskatchewan	7,321
Nova Scotia	3,536
New Brunswick	2,689
Prince Edward Island	1,211

Newfoundland and Labrador	885
Yukon	300
Northwest Territories	144
Nunavut	21

Source: Jeudy, L. (2021). *Topic: Immigration in Canada*. Statista. Retrieved December 12, 2021, from <https://www.statista.com/topics/2917/immigration-in-canada/#dossierKeyfigures>.

Immigrants coming from all over the world end up in Canada's thirteen provinces and territories. In the last fifteen years, the source countries have remained constant (Canadian Citizenship & Immigration Resource Center, 2020). The table below depicts the primary sources countries of immigrants coming into Canada.

*Table 4 Number of immigrants coming from the primary source countries coming into Canada in 2021.*

<b>The Source Countries of New Immigrants in Canada 2021</b>	
<b>Source Country</b>	<b>Number of Immigrants</b>
India	100,568
China	35,538
Philippines	32,688
Nigeria	14,805
Pakistan	12,684
United States	12,667
Syria	11,891
Eritrea	8,260
South Korea	7,173
Iran	7,115

Source: Canadian Citizenship & Immigration Resource Center. (2020, December 31). *Where will Canada's 401,000 immigrants come from in 2021?* Canada Immigration and Visa Information. Canadian Immigration Services and Free Online Evaluation. Retrieved December 12, 2021, from <https://www.immigration.ca/where-will-canadas-401000-immigrants-come-from-in-2021>.

This section has provided a brief overview of immigration trends in Canada over the last decade. The purpose of this section is to orient the reader on federal immigration policy in Canada.

### Chapter 3: Literature Review

Literature on integration commonly compares immigrants to the native born as a benchmark (Li, 2003). There are two primary models of integration that appear: economic conformity and socio-cultural conformity. Economic conformity integration is more prevalent in the literature and defines integration as comparing immigrants to the native born on earnings and participation in the labour market (Hum & Simpson, 2006, p. 48). In other words, economic integration compares salaries and employment rates of the native born to newly arrived immigrants (Boucher 2020; Pacquet, 2014; Barber, 2009). The alternative model of integration found in the literature is socio-cultural conformity which is defined as immigrants adapting to society's norms and cultural practices similar to that of the native born. The primary features of the socio-cultural conformity model include voting participation, sense of belonging and fluency of an official language.

This chapter is divided into two parts:

- i. A review and discussion are conducted on the economic conformity model and its implications on Canada's federal immigration policy.
- ii. A discussion of the socio-cultural conformity model of integration in the literature is reviewed.

The purpose of the literature review is to critically analyze the various implications that integration has. Additionally, this literature review consolidates the applicable elements of integration's definition to provide a conceptual framework to compare immigration policy between Australia, New Zealand and Canada and analyze the departmental plans and performance reports. There is a policy gap in the definition of integration amongst the two diverging audiences: those that favour the economic conformity model and those that favour the socio-cultural conformity model of integration. Narrowing down on a specific definition of integration will help evaluate Canada's immigration policies to ascertain how successful the policies are.

Using a semi-systematic approach to review the literature, this chapter aims to identify how research on integration has progressed over time (Snyder, 2019, p. 336). As argued by Snyder (2019) in "Literature review as a research methodology: An overview and guidelines," a semi-systematic analysis "can be useful for detecting themes, theoretical perspectives or common issues within a specific discipline" (Snyder, 2019, p. 337). The concept of immigrant integration is vastly found in the literature. To narrow down the literature review, specific search strings using key words were developed to target the most relevant articles such as "immigration policy", "integration", "Canada", "federal policy", "economic and cultural factor\*" and "immigration stream\*". As argued by Snyder, these terms should be based on "words and concepts that are directly related to the research question" (Snyder, 2019, p. 338).

### **Economic Conformity Model of Integration**

Peter Li's (2003), "Deconstructing Canada's Discourse of Immigrant Integration" is a seminal text that is referenced in most literature on economic conformity. His text will be a starting point for the discussion on the conformity model of integration. Li argues that despite differences in language and approaches, all academics converge in their discourse of integration "regarding the primacy of uniformity and conformity (Li, 2003, p. 3). In other words, academics agree that integration is characterized by newcomers conforming to native born standards. Integration is defined as "a desirable outcome as newcomers become members of the receiving society, by which the success and failure of immigrants can be gauged and by which the efficacy of the immigration policy can be determined" (Li, 2003, p. 5). Successful social integration thus implies immigrants' adopting the English or French language, moving away from ethnically concentrated enclaves. Li argues that there is a strong expectation that immigrants should accept Canada's prevailing practice and standard and become similar to the resident population. However, that is not to say that they should reject their own ethnic cultural values. This discourse nominally endorses cultural diversity, but only "specific cultural differences especially those deemed to not be too far removed from the Canadian standard" (Li, 2003, p. 7). The specific cultural differences also call into the basic question which has to do with "whether diversity and multiculturalism challenge the foundations of liberal democratic societies" (Li, 2003, p. 2) that are premised upon universal or cohesive values of democracy. Thus, it can be posited that integration is seen as newcomers imitating and conforming to the native born standard, economically and socially.

A large theme in the literature is authors using economic indicators to determine integration levels in Canada (Boucher 2020; Pacquet, 2014; Barber, 2009). Anna Boucher (2020) in "How 'Skill' Definition Affects the Diversity of Skilled Immigration Policies" argues that an economic conformity model is used to determine integration levels in Canada. Looking at how the term 'skill' has evolved from a focus "first on occupational training to a more general human capital approach in the early 2000s," (Boucher, 2020, p. 7) Boucher demonstrates that the government demands immigrants to conform to the requirements of the labour market. Successful integration rests on individuals matching the current requirements of the labour market. Boucher's research found that if Chinese migrants who entered Canada in 1995 had been subject to the more difficult 2002 skilled immigration language test, only one-third would have gained admission (Shi 2004). Changes in Canadian skilled immigration policies have been accompanied by the "Express Entry" system that matches a skilled applicant with a prospective employer. Those with a job receive higher point test scores and are more likely to be successful for skilled immigration admission (Government of Canada, 2017). This system allows the Government of Canada to retain control over selection by shifting the cut-off for visa grants depending upon the current needs of employers (Government of Canada, 2017). Furthermore, Boucher's research also indicates that labour market requirements between 1995 and 2002 have become more competitive. Through the development of the express entry system and the refinement of the

points system, Canadian federal policy has narrowed the acceptance of immigrants to those who can successfully integrate into the labour market. This theme is also seen in Mireille Paquet's (2014) "The Federalization of Immigration and Integration in Canada." Paquet argues that the Provincial Nominee program allows provinces to directly select a limited number of immigrants for permanent immigration in response to the province's specific labour market needs (Paquet, 2014, p. 2). Integration under the Provincial Nominee Program requires newcomers to integrate into the labour market as soon as possible. Paquet argues that a federalization of immigration policies occurred because of federal immigration policies did not meet province-specific labour needs. In "The Ideal Immigrant? Gendered Class Subjects in Philippine-Canada Migration," Pauline Barber (2009) also noticed the relationship between labour market requirements and immigration policy changes in the 1980s and 1990s. During the 1980s and 1990s, the demand for live-in caregivers increased with immigration being the answer to the lack of supply. Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) introduced a new temporary foreign worker stream working under the Provincial Nominee Program. Caregivers entering Canada must have a certain level of education to ensure that they "would fare well in the Canadian labour market" (Barber, 2009, p. 4). From this study, it can be posited that Canada's immigration policy was used as a method to increase the level of skilled workers in a particular field. This study also demonstrated that criteria for successful integration into Canada referred to how well the individuals entering the labour market worked. Economic conformity is then not only comparing newcomers to the native born but also a mechanism used, by the government, to enhance Canada's specialization in the labour market. From these authors, it can be posited that federal immigration policy is dictated by the levels of success immigrants have in entering the Canadian labour market (Boucher, 2020; Paquet, 2014; Barber 2009).

Similarly, the theme of decentralization of immigration policies can be seen in "Settlement and Integration Needs of Skilled Immigrants in Canada," Viha Kaushik and Julie Drolet (2018) criticize federal immigration policy as the needs of skilled immigrants are not met. The authors criticize Canada's federal skilled worker program as economic and social outcomes of integration of skilled immigrants have shown disappointing results. They argue that the needs of skilled immigrants and the existing supports offered do not converge. Skilled immigrants require effective needs-driven settlement services when they first decide to migrate to Canada and linguistically and culturally appropriate health and social services as they navigate the process of settlement and integration in a new environment (Drolet & Kaushik, 2018). The authors agree that the economic conformity model is the primary integration mechanism as "the federal skilled worker program is designed to attract skilled immigrants who show promise of being able to join in and contribute to the Canadian economy and society (Drolet & Kaushik, 2018, p. 18). However, their research indicates that the necessary supports are not provided for skilled immigrants to reach the levels of their native born counterparts soon after they land in Canada. The current system requires immigrants to remain in a non-conformist manner and only after years of living in Canada can they reach the level of their native born counterparts. Through their

critique the authors stress the validity of the economic conformity model. The authors conclude that the need for the implementation of decentralized policies and programs to better support immigrants at a micro-level (Drolet & Kaushik, 2018, p. 21).

Boucher, Paquet, Barber and Drolet and Kaushik build on Li's notion of conformity however, narrow the scope of conformity to only that of the labour market. This is referred to as the economic conformity model. A model of conformity is one in which immigrants are compared to the native counterpart and also integrate Canadian values and compliance into their life.

In "Economic Integration of Immigrants to Canada: A Short Survey," Derek Hum and Wayne Simpson (2006) review the literature on economic integration of Canadian immigrants and suggest that differences among immigrants integrating in Canada are according to circumstances and timing of their arrival have significant implications for their economic success. The authors define integration as "the path by which immigrant economic performance converges toward that of their native born counterparts (Hum & Simpson, 2006, p. 48). Hum and Simpson's justification for using the conformity model is that in the "operation of the labour market, the notion that immigrants should ideally attain the same level of remuneration for their labour services as similarly qualified native born Canadians is desirable" (Hum & Simpson, 2006, p. 48). Successful integration is one where there are no perceived differences between newcomers and native born Canadians. In their conclusion, the authors found that immigrants face an initial earnings disadvantage relative to comparable native born workers in Canada but that this negative entry effect erodes with time spent in the host country and immigrants eventually catch up and even overtake the native born. (Hum & Simpson, 2006, p. 51). Their model of integration is closely aligned with the authors' above, as their definition uses native born economic conditions as a benchmark to determine successful integration. The theme of immigrants adapting to the labour market based on the timing and arrival can also be seen in Matt Thompson's (2010) "Outcomes and Indicators of Welcoming and Inclusive Communities and Workplaces Initiatives." Thompson argues that initial arrival experience the newcomers face influence their integration in the economic sphere (Thompson, 2010, p. 3). For example, a welcoming reception for immigrants can "ensure equitable access to employment opportunities for all members in the new community" (Thompson, 2010, p. 15). This is further underscored by the research conducted by Peter Clutterbuck and Marvyn Novick (2003) in "Building Inclusive Communities: Cross-Canada Perspectives and Strategies." The authors argue that the initial community that newcomers end up are crucial in determining the levels of participation in the labour market (Clutterbuck & Novick, 2003, p. 5). By comparing policies and the municipal, provincial and federal level, the authors conclude that integration of immigrants requires "policies and programs at the municipal level to address and "reduce economic inequities within the population" (Clutterbuck & Novick, 2003, p. 5). It can be posited then that by evaluating newcomers' arrival into Canada, the authors conclude that economic conformity is the primary model of integration.

So far, authors studied in this literature review agree that integration in Canada uses an economic model of conformity. The dominant view is that the Government of Canada creates immigration policies that integrate new immigrants based on their ability to enter the labour market (Boucher, 2020; Paquet, 2014; Barber, 2009). According to these authors, successful integration involves “immigrants becoming contributing members to the labour market as quickly and smoothly” (Government of Canada, 2002, p. 4) as possible. Through their research, Hum and Simpson conclude that immigrants that arrive in Canada are primarily focused on entering the labour market (Hum & Simpson, 2006, p. 52). They argue that the way in which newcomers are received when they arrive to Canada largely dictates the level of success they have in the labour market. This theme is further developed by the research conducted by Thompson (2010) and Clutterbuck and Novick (2003) who argued that economic integration is crucial for newcomers to be successful immigrants. Furthermore, economic integration is supported through policies and programs at the municipal level as the immediate arrival experience heavily impacts newcomers trying to enter the Canadian labour market (Thompson, 2010; Clutterbuck & Novick, 2003).

A third theme that emerges when discussing the validity of the economic conformity model is the impact of New Public Management movement in the 1970s. Emma Flynn and Harald Bauder (2018) illustrate this point in “The Private Sector, Institutions of Higher Education and Immigration Settlement in Canada.” The authors argue that neoliberalism and the New Public Management movement, encouraged the privatization of public services to reduce government expenditure (Bauder & Flynn, 2018). Analyzing the Provincial Nominee Program (PNP), the authors conclude that PNPs embrace employer driven routes towards residency and allows employers “to pick suitably trained foreign workers from a pool of applicants” (Bauder & Flynn, 2018, p. 11). The PNP exemplifies Canadian immigration policy's growing reliance on neoliberal ideology as “these programs enable provincial governments, in close partnership with private employers and other non-governmental actors to nominate economic immigrants and their dependents for permanent residency” (Bauder & Flynn, 2018, p. 14). This demonstrates that integration is based on the economic conformity model as the PNP’s main purpose is to select strong economic candidates. To be a successful immigrant is to be one that is a strong economic immigrant. The case study in Flynn and Bauder’s research underscores the strength of the economic conformity model. The decentralization of immigration policy from federal decision makers to provincial and private stakeholders illustrates the importance of immigrants integrating to specific labour markets across the country.

Through a historical analysis, Alan and David Green come to a similar conclusion of how the New Public Management movement impacted immigration policy. In “The Goals of Canada’s Immigration Policy: A Historical Perspective,” Alan Green and David Green provide a summary of the evolution of immigration policy in Canada. 1946-1970 was seen as a turning point in the

immigration policy in Canada. Prior to this period, immigration came from western Europe. Culturally speaking, western Europeans aligned closely with their native born counterparts in Canada. This is an important point to note that cultural integration was given as much importance as economic integration during the 1946-1970 period. During this period, immigration was used as an instrument to promote population growth while also aid in “economic development by improving the standard of living of the extant population” (Green & Green, 2004, p. 112). The immigration policy would attract individuals that would enter the country and better the standard of living for the already-existing population of native born Canadians. Prior to the 1946-1970 period, immigration policy focused on unskilled workers to assist with the development of infrastructure projects such as the railways (Green & Green, 2004, p.107). After this period, there was a shift toward “skilled immigrants as the government sought to steer the economy away from a resource base and toward a modern manufacturing structure” (Green & Green, 2004, p. 114). Under this new view, it was argued that Canada needed skilled workers. The shift in immigration policy resulted in a new conception of integration: economic integration. This shift was caused by the “neo-liberalization of immigration policy (Green & Green, 2004, p. 114). This type of integration would focus on newcomers contributing to the economy. Newcomers’ success in integrating in the country would be assessed by the discrepancy in salary to their native born counterpart (Green & Green, 2004, p. 115). Green and Green also argue that the following three decades saw the “government direct more attention toward increasing the importance of the economic component of the inflow” (2004, p. 124). Increased focus was given to language training to “speed up economic integration” (Green & Green, 2004, p. 124). Green and Green’s discussion on integration is a break away from other academics on integration. Green and Green agree with the previous authors that Canada uses an economic model of conformity to focus on immigrant integration however, language training has recently been a focus on the federal government to speed up integration. Green and Green posit that while language comprehension can be seen as a socio-cultural indicator of integration it also helps with entering the Canadian labour market. Thus, language training can be seen as a feature of the economic conformity model.

In this section, authors have argued that the Government of Canada develop immigration policies that focus on the economic integration of newcomers. This section has explored the validity of the economic conformity model through various themes such as the federalization or decentralization of immigration policy, the introduction of the New Public Management movement, and the effect of arrival and welcome services to newcomers. Through their various methodologies and analyses the authors agree that federal immigration policy uses an economic conformity model to integrate newcomers into the country. The economic conformity model indicators most often cited are immigrant levels of participation in the labour market and earnings comparisons to the native born.

## **Socio-Cultural Conformity Model**

In this section, the thesis looks at an alternative approach to the economic conformity model: the socio-cultural conformity model of integration.

The concept of the socio-cultural integration models appears in “Minority Nationalism and Immigration Integration in Canada.” The authors, Keith Banting and Stuart Saroka (2012) explore the implications between minority nationalism and immigrant integration in Canada, specifically in Quebec. They ask whether overlapping identities generate more points of contact between immigrants and their home (Banting & Saroka, 2012). By probing immigrant and non-immigrant ‘sense of belonging’ in Quebec, the authors conclude that competing nation-building identities make the integration of newcomers even more challenging, than in the rest of Canada. The authors argue the importance of social integration in Quebec compared to the rest of the country as the “predominance of French in a non-negotiable element of the Quebec approach” (Banting & Saroka, 2012, p. 6). Quebec’s immigration policy is defined by an intercultural approach where the Francophone majority culture acts as a central hub towards which “other minority cultures are expected to converge (Banting & Saroka, 2012, p. 6). Therefore, immigrants settling in Quebec have a subtle balancing act to maintain one’s own culture while moving towards a Francophone one as well. This gets further complicated as the federal government also emphasizes an attachment to the pan-Canadian community (Banting and Saroka, 2012). Social integration is measured by the authors, by exploring immigrants’ sense of belonging. This is because sense of belonging captures the person’s “sense of attachment to the country” (Banting & Saroka, 2012, p. 9) and it reflects the extent “to which that person feels accepted by other denizens of the place.” (Banting & Saroka, 2012, p. 9). Using an Ethnic Diversity Study (EDS) from Statistics Canada, the authors determine the levels of belonging amongst native born Canadians and immigrants. Conducting a regression analysis, the authors found that there was a significant drop in sense of belonging in racial-minority immigrants in Quebec. The study here, shows that the economic conformity model does not work for the entirety of Canada. Quebec has a strong focus on social integration. The article also presents a diverging case of the integration process. Until recently, Canadians tended to assume that integration was a relatively smooth, steady process over time and across generations. While the process would not be complete in one generation, the second generation- the children of immigrants born in Canada- would be much more integrated than their parents. However, their analysis showed a weaker attachment- “of an element of disillusion” (Banting, Saroka, 2012, p. 12)- amongst second generation minorities. Thus, it can be posited that the economic conformity model is too narrow a lens to be used in literature of integration. A wider net including socio-cultural and economic conformity must be cast to discuss Canada’s immigration policies. Unlike the literature reviewed in the first section, this article makes a strong case for a socio-cultural model of integration by using the Quebec immigration case study. French-language in Quebec is not mandatory to enter the labour market but is a compulsory prerequisite to live in Quebec. This

model of conformity that newcomers have to adhere to rests on knowledge of language which is not only to enter the labour market. Thus it can be posited that there is further nuance to the economic model of conformity and that this model does not encapsulate Canada's method of integrating newcomers.

The theme of Quebec's integration process also appears in Carpentier and Sablonniere's (2013), "Identity Profiles and Well-Being of Multicultural Immigrants: The Case of Canadian Immigrants Living in Quebec." Using an analysis of variance, the authors found that immigrants that were from multicultural backgrounds displayed lower levels of "integration and well-being" (Carpentier & Sablonniere, 2013, p. 12). Carpentier and Sablonniere also found that immigrants from Francophone backgrounds had "stronger levels of integration and well-being" (Carpentier & Sablonniere, 2013, p. 12). The authors conclude that in order to maximize levels of integration and well-being, policymakers should develop programs that "focus on the coherence between cultural groups" (Carpentier & Sablonniere, 2013, p. 13). From their study, it can be posited that socio-cultural integration is favoured in Quebec. Additionally, it can be extrapolated that the Government of Quebec focuses on Francophone culture.

A second theme, of non-European minority immigrant integration, can be seen in Jeffrey Reitz, Rupa Banerjee, Mai Phan and Jordan Thompson's (2018) "Race, Religion, and the Social Integration of New Immigrant Minorities in Canada." The authors ask whether certain religious minorities have values, beliefs, or practices that are difficult to integrate into Canadian society because they clash with Canadian ideas about issues such as gender equality or secularism. Indicators of socio-cultural integration that the authors use include: "Canadian identity, Canadian citizenship, a sense of belonging in the larger society, life satisfaction, trust in people generally, participation in voluntary activities, voting in the previous federal election, and vulnerability" (Banerjee et al, 2018, p. 709). They find that religious minorities, particularly of non-European origins, are slower to integrate into Canadian society primarily because of their racial minority status. In other words, socio-cultural integration for religious minorities is not as focused as economic integration by the Government of Canada. Due to the major differences between Canadian cultural norms and non-European religious minorities, the latter takes a longer time to conform to the Canadian standard. Socio-cultural integration in this article is seen as moving towards a conformist model of culture. Adding to the previous model of socio-cultural conformity, the authors argue that despite both economic and socio-cultural conformity models exist in Canada, economic conformity is given priority. Because of this, non-European religious minorities take longer to integrate into Canadian society. This theme of non-European's taking longer to integrate in Canada is also found in Jeanna Hennebry's (2012) "Permanently Temporary: Agricultural Migrant Workers and Their Integration in Canada," low-skilled migrant workers coming through the Temporary Foreign Workers program and the Low Skilled Pilot Project program are examined. labour migrants take on low skilled jobs often in higher risk industries such as construction or agriculture. They play a pivotal role in Canada's economy: "in 2006, more temporary foreign workers entered than permanent economic class immigrants"

(Hennebry, 2012, p. 23). While they also contribute to the Canadian economy, low-migrant workers are not guaranteed permanent residency. By not receiving permanent residency you can see the conformity model in play. The low skilled immigrants work on key areas of the country's economy regardless, because of their lack of socio-cultural norms that do not change towards Canada's context, the migrant workers are sent back. So far, this literature review has seen immigrants who contribute to the Canadian economic and labour market appear to be accepted and well-integrated in Canada. However, looking at temporary foreign workers and despite how they contribute to the Canadian economy are not given the option to apply for permanent residency suggests that the economic conformity model is not the sole mode of assessing the levels of integration for immigrants. This case study indicates that socio-cultural integration is important for Canadian policymakers as well.

Amongst advocates of the socio-cultural conformity model, developing policies to integrate newcomers socio-culturally is imperative (Banting & Saroka, 2012; Carpentier & Sablonniere, 2013; Hennebry, 2012; Banerjee et al, 2018). These authors found that nationalist immigrants are slower to integrate into Canadian society and that regardless of occupation, the sense of belonging amongst non-native Francophone speakers in Quebec was low. Therefore, it can be argued that Canada's immigration system focuses on both the economic and socio-cultural conformity model. Moving forward, I will refer to this hybrid as the socio-economic model of integration. The reason why Canada focuses on not just one of the two models of integration is due to its complex nature of immigration that is at once federal but also provincial with Quebec having a more important role than the remaining provinces and territories. The socio-cultural conformity model indicators most often cited are voting participation and fluency of official language (Banting & Saroka, 2012; Carpentier & Sablonniere, 2013; Hennebry, 2012; Banerjee et al, 2018).

### **Concluding Remarks**

Which model of conformity answers the question of what does successful integration look like? The literature review has identified two primary strands: some argue that successful integration is when newcomers can match their native born counterparts in the labour market which is referred to as the economic conformity model. Others argue that the economic conformity model does not explain the full Canadian immigrant experience and conclude that socio-cultural integration is also a key factor in a newcomer's arrival to Canada. This is called the socio-cultural conformity model. This literature review suggests that while the economic conformity model is a defining feature of integrating immigrants into a new society, socio-cultural factors are also important. The literature diverges here as, one school of thought uses socio-cultural indicators such as fluency in official language to gauge success in the labour market whilst others use fluency in native language as a driver for socio-cultural cohesion.

The literature review has shown evidence of why most theorists are in favor of the economic conformity model. Reviewing themes such as the federalization or decentralization of immigration policy, the introduction of the New Public Management movement, and the effect of arrival and welcome services to newcomers, the literature review identified the strength of the economic conformity model. When immigrants first enter the country, their first goal is to attain professional experience (Green & Green,1995). The economic conformity model posits that until the immigrant earns as much as his native counterpart they will not be fully integrated into Canada. Alternatively, by reviewing themes such as the Quebec’s integration case study and non-European immigrant integration, the literature review consolidated arguments for the efficacy of the socio-cultural model of conformity. The socio-cultural model would argue that an immigrant is not integrated until the immigrant meets the language requirements of the new society as well as participates in voluntary activities such as voting.

One limitation of this literature review is that the articles that are compared are not always on one stream of immigration. This can be attributed to the key word searches- which include “immigration policy”, “integration”, “Canada”, “federal policy”, “economic and cultural factor\*” and “immigration stream\*”- since there was no phrases to identify a particular immigration stream. Due to this, some articles discuss the federal skilled worker program, while others look at the provincial nominee program. To better streamline our understanding of integration amongst these streams, a detailed overview is required of each of the streams which I elaborate on in chapter six. Another limitation of this literature review is that there is focus only on the two primary models of integration mentioned in empirical work. Economic and socio-cultural conformity models fall within an assimilationist view of integration where newcomers have to adapt to their new environment. One model of integration that was not explored was the multiculturalist model of integration where the government has universalist ideals that allows for various cultures to coexist. The section on the social-cultural conformity model addresses the multiculturalist model however, due to its absence in the empirical case studies it was not further discussed.

### **Key Points (Table 1 below outlines the major themes identified in the literature)**

- The literature review has illustrated two major trends in the literature:
  - Canada follows an economic conformity model of integration and Canada follows a socio-cultural model of integration.
- The authors studied in this literature review agree that comparing newcomers to the native born or a conformity model is the most used framework for studying integration.
- The economic conformity model indicators are immigrant levels of participation in the labour market, fluency of official language and earnings comparisons to the native born.
- The socio-cultural conformity model indicators are voting participation and fluency of official language.

- The indicators from two conformity models will be used to frame the analysis in chapter five.

Table 5: Key themes found in the literature by integration type

	Key Findings
<b>Economic Conformity Model</b>	<p>Economic indicators are used to determine integration levels in Canada (Boucher 2020; Pacquet, 2014; Barber, 2009).</p> <p>Canadian immigration policy was heavily impacted by the New Public Management movement in the 1970s which led to policy development being guided by the labour market (Bauder &amp; Flynn, 2018; Green &amp; Green, 2004).</p> <p>Decentralization and Federalization of immigration policy through programs such as the Provincial Nominee Program is because immigrants need to integrate into specific provincial labour markets (Hum &amp; Simpson, 2006; Thompson, 2010; Clutterbuck &amp; Novick, 2003).</p>
<b>Socio-Cultural Conformity Model</b>	<p>Quebec’s immigration policies focus more on newcomer integration on socio-cultural factors such as “sense of belonging” and fluency of French. (Banting &amp; Saroka, 2012; Carpentier &amp; Sablonniere, 2013).</p> <p>Nationalist immigrants, typically who are non-Europeans, are slower to integrate into Canadian society (Hennebry, 2012; Banerjee et al, 2018).</p>

Source Data from the economic conformity model is from: Boucher, A. K. (2020). How ‘skill’ definition affects the diversity of skilled immigration policies. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 46(12), 2533–2550. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2018.1561063>; Barber, P. G. (2009). The Ideal Immigrant? Gendered class subjects in Philippine–Canada migration. *Third World Quarterly*, 29(7), 1265–1285. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436590802386385>; Hum, D., & Simpson, W. (2004). ECONOMIC INTEGRATION OF IMMIGRANTS TO CANADA: A SHORT SURVEY. *Canadian Journal of Urban Research*, 13(1), 46–61; Green, A. G., & Green, D. (2004). THE GOALS OF CANADA’S IMMIGRATION POLICY: A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE. *Canadian Journal of Urban Research*, 13(1), 102–139. Data on socio-cultural models of integration is from: Banting, K., & Saroka, S. (2012). Minority nationalism and immigrant integration in Canada. *Nations and Nationalism*, 18(1), 156–176. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1469-8129.2011.00535.x>; Flynn, Emma and Bauder Harald (2018). *The Private Sector, Institutions of Higher Education, and Immigrant Settlement in Canada: Flynn, Emma, Bauder, Harald—DesLibris*. (n.d.). Retrieved March 3, 2021, from <https://www-deslibris-ca.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/ID/240876>; Hennebry, Jenna. (2012). *Permanently Temporary? Agricultural Migrant Workers and Their Integration in Canada: Hennebry, Jenna—DesLibris*. (n.d.). Retrieved March 3, 2021, from <https://www-deslibris-ca.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/ID/231835>

## Chapter 4: Methodology

This thesis explores how Canada's immigration policies have evolved since the 1990s and whether the federal government has been successful in integrating immigrants across different immigration streams. The methodology takes a three-stage process:

- I. The **literature review** provides an overview of the concept of integration in the field of immigration. The literature has two clear deviations: i) Federal Canadian immigration policy uses an economic conformity model to integrate newcomers; and ii) Federal Canadian immigration policy uses a socio-cultural conformity model to integrate newcomers. Proponents for the former deviation use the following indicators to conclude that Canadian immigration policy uses an economic conformity model: labour market participation, earnings compared to the native born and fluency of an official language. Advocates of the latter deviation use the following indicators to argue that Canada's immigration policies integrate newcomers socio-culturally: voting participation and fluency of an official language. Both sides of the argument use fluency of an official language since it is an important indicator of whether an immigrant has integrated in the labour market or society. These four indicators- fluency of official language, voting participation, labour market participation and earnings compared to the native born- will be used in the next stage to understand how successful the Government of Canada's immigration policies are in integrating newcomers, compared to Australia and New Zealand.
- II. A **case-oriented comparative analysis** will contextualize how successful Canada's immigration policies' are in relation to countries' with similar immigration policies, i.e. Australia and New Zealand. In order to understand how successful the Government of Canada's immigration policies are in integrating newcomers, it must be compared to other systems to understand the variance of immigration policy. For this reason, chapter five will analyze Canada, Australia and New Zealand's immigration policies and how immigrants are integrated into society using the four indicators found in chapter three- fluency of official language, voting participation, labour market participation and earnings compared to the native born. This section will answer how successful Canada have been, in comparison to Australia and New Zealand, in integrating newcomers.
- III. An in-depth **document analysis** will add to the research found in chapter three and chapter five by providing a chronological evolution of each immigration stream and the policies developed in each stream. Understanding the effort and policy development enacted by the federal department, it will become clear where the priorities are. This will help bridge the gap found in the literature review on the deviations between the economic conformity model and the socio-cultural conformity model. It will add to the findings in chapter five by detailing the Canadian federal government's immigration policy success of integration between each immigration stream. Furthermore, it will validate and confirm the data found in the case-oriented comparative analysis.

## **Conceptual Framework**

### **Literature Review**

The literature review has provided an introduction into Canada's immigration policies which has historically focused on labour market policy. Immigrants in economic streams have higher frequencies of integrating into society, meaning that their salaries are closer to the native born than in other immigration streams. According to Snyder (2019) in "Literature review as a research methodology: An overview and guidelines," there are three approaches to literature reviews: "systematic, semi-systematic and integrative" (Snyder, 2019, p. 334). Systematic literature reviews are primarily used for medical sciences; semi-systematic literature reviews are used for "topics that have been conceptualized differently" (Snyder, 2019, p. 335); and integrative literature reviews are used to develop new theoretical frameworks (Snyder, 2019, pp. 334-335). For the purposes of this thesis, a semi-systematic approach is the most appropriate type of methodology to use. This is because semi-systematic literature reviews look at "how research with a selected field has progressed over time" (Wong et al, 2013, p. 13). By looking at articles from the 1990s to the 2010s, this literature review aims to understand the development of the concept of integration in immigration policy. Furthermore, Snyder argues that this type of analysis can be useful "for detecting themes, theoretical perspectives or common issues within a specific research discipline" (Snyder, 2019, p. 335).

The literature review followed a four-stage process as outlined by Liberati et al (2009) and Wong et al (2013). In the first stage, designing, the purpose of the literature review became clear: how is the concept of integration defined in immigration policy literature? The articles selected were searched through databases such as Google Scholar and the University of Victoria e-library. The search terms used were kept broad to ensure a wider range of literature was selected. The terms were "immigration policy", "integration", "Canada", "federal policy", "economic and cultural factor\*" and "immigration stream.\*" In stage two, conducting, the plan for selecting articles was based on the frequency with which they were cited and the relevancy of the titles of the articles. In phase three, analyzing, key information was paraphrased and coded in excel the day of reading the article to ensure quality and validity of the extrapolated data. In the fourth phase, structuring and writing the review, articles were organized based on the themes identified in the literature. Furthermore, the literature was presented thematically to understand the concepts of the economic and socio-cultural conformity models of integration.

### **Case-Oriented Comparative Analysis**

In order to determine how successful Canada is in the four categories- fluency of official language, voting participation, labour market participation and earnings compared to the native born- the Canadian case should be compared to other countries that have similar immigration systems and historical narratives of immigration. For this reason, Australia and New Zealand were selected as comparative jurisdictions. All three countries are Commonwealth nations with

immigration policies focused on increasing their populations (Hawthorne, 2014). Using a case-oriented comparative analysis to evaluate Canada's immigration policies in relation to New Zealand and Australia, I attempt to develop explanations by the "systematic manipulation of parameters and operative variables" (Della & Keating, 2008, p. 202). Using indicators from the economic conformity model and the socio-cultural models of integration as my parameters- labour market outcomes, earnings comparisons to the native born, level of official language fluency, and voting participation- I aim to identify key themes within immigration policy across the three jurisdictions where the policies differ. The reason for selecting a case-oriented comparative analysis method is to deal with "complex phenomena without the large number of cases necessary for a statistical analysis" (Della & Keating, 2008, p. 200). This approach does have its shortcomings: the quality of control of the relationship between variables is considered low; however, it is the "only scientific method available for the study of macro dimensional, interdimensional and institutional processes" (Della & Keating, 2008, p. 203). Using a Weberian comparison, the aim is the in-depth understanding of a context. The case-oriented strategy focuses "upon a relatively small number of cases, analyzed with attention to each case as an interpretable whole" (Della & Keating, 2008, p. 204). Rather than establishing relationships between variables, the case-oriented strategy seeks to understand "a complex unity" (Della & Keating, 2008, p. 204). The data collected for this comparison will be from the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development as well as national statistics institutes from Canada, Australia and New Zealand. This will ensure that the data is comparable.

The levels of success or failure of variables, identified in the literature review- labour market outcomes, earnings comparisons to the native born, level of official language fluency, and voting participation- can be better gauged when looked at through different instances (Mahoney, 2004, p. 85). Additionally, John Stuart Mill in a "System of Logic" argued that using a method of difference has the assumption that when two or more cases have different values on a certain phenomenon an explanation is required: "we have to look for one circumstance on which they differ" (Mill, 1843, p. 72). In other words, by comparing labour market outcomes, for example, between Canada, and two other countries, Canada's immigration policy in integrating newcomers into the labour market will be better explained since improvements and limitations can be assessed with the immigration policies of the two other countries. This will also detail the variation in the character or intensity of a phenomenon by examining systematic differences between instances' (Mahoney & Goertz, 2006, p. 230). Being commonwealth countries with mostly settler populations, Australia and New Zealand's immigration systems share common characteristics with Canada's. By comparing the four variables- labour market outcomes, earnings comparisons to the native born, level of official language fluency, and voting participation- between the three jurisdictions will illuminate how well Canada's immigration policies integrate newcomers. Focusing on a small number of cases, case-oriented comparison usually points at similarities and differences through dense narratives, "with a large number of characteristics being taken into account, often together with their interaction and long-lasting

processes” (Della & Keating, 2008, p. 205). Comparing immigration policies that are collected in empirical studies and analyzing narratives between Australia, New Zealand and Canada will help identify key similarities and differences which will illustrate Canada’s successes and failures in integrating immigrants. Thus, looking at additional cases where a case-oriented comparison will further strengthen the methodology of this thesis. Michael Ferejohn in “Formal Causes. Definition, Explanation, and Primacy in Socratic and Aristotelian Thought,” provided additional reasoning to conduct a comparative case-oriented analysis. The author distinguished between external and internal explanations (Ferejohn, 2004, p. 148). External explanations present agents doing things because of some configuration of causal influence, while internal explanation identifies reasons for an action (Ferejohn, 2004, p. 150). Thus, “an action is explained internally as an outcome of a deliberative process in which the agent is assumed to act for reason” (Ferejohn, 2004, p. 151). In other words, by using a comparative, case-oriented methodology, one can, internally, explain and justify the reasoning behind the development of immigration policies in Canada by using Australia and New Zealand’s case studies. According to Skocpol and Somers, an in-depth knowledge of a small number of cases provides the basis for generalizations that are temporarily limited to the cases studied and whose “wider relevance should be controlled through further research” (Skocpol & Somers, 1980, p. 178). The data extrapolated from the case study comparison will be bolstered and reviewed by the analysis of departmental plans and reports (stage three) to triangulate and strengthen the reliability of the data.

To summarize, this section uses the four indicators of economic conformity and socio-cultural conformity- labour market outcomes, earnings comparisons to the native born, level of official language fluency, and voting participation- to conduct a case-oriented comparative analysis on Canada, New Zealand and Australia. From the literature reviewed in this section, key differences are identified in immigration policy between the three jurisdictions that can explain policy outcomes in Canada’s case. These points of difference will be used to analyze the documents in chapter six.

### **Document Analysis**

At the beginning of every fiscal year, CIC publishes a plan of the strategic priorities that they will accomplish in the given year. At the end of the year, a departmental performance report is published with the accomplishments and outcomes. Conducting a document analysis on these two documents will seek convergence and corroboration of Canada’s immigration policy. Departmental performance reports were only introduced in 1998. To corroborate findings from the departmental plan with the performance report, the document analysis will begin from 1998 till present (2019-2020 reporting period). Validating findings across data sets (reports and plans) will reduce the impact of potential bias. As posited by Glenn Bowen, document analysis is often used in combination with other qualitative research methods “as a means of triangulation” (Bowen, 2009, p. 28). Researchers should draw upon multiple sources of evidence to “seek convergence and corroboration” (Bowen, 2009, p. 28). The literature review and the case-

oriented comparative analysis provide other data sources to verify the findings from the document analysis. By triangulating data, a “confluence of evidence that breeds credibility” is provided (Eisner, 1991, p. 110). By examining information collected through different methods, findings across data sets are corroborated and thus reduce the impact of potential biases in the study. It is important to note that robust data collection techniques are required (Bowen, 2006, p. 29). To ensure data collection is robust and vigorous, themes in the document analysis are coded. These themes will be tracked over the twenty-two years between 1998 and 2020 and a compilation will be provided in chapter six.

The data ascertained from chapter two on Canada’s immigration policies and the differences found in policymaking found between New Zealand, Australia and Canada will inform chapter six (document analysis). In chapter six, an in-depth document analysis of the Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) departmental reports and plans is conducted. The document analysis uses a systematic procedure to analyze documentary evidence and answer specific research questions (Frey, 2018, p. 2). Similar to other methods of analysis in qualitative research, document analysis requires repeated review, examination, and interpretation of the data in order to gain meaning and empirical knowledge of the construct being studied (Frey, 2018, p. 4). According to Bowen (2009) in “Document analysis as a qualitative research method,” there are four stages in a document analysis:

- i. The first phase involves identifying and collecting the data. At the proposal stage of this thesis, it was decided that the documents required would be Citizenship and Immigration Canada’s departmental plans and performance reports as they provide an overview of federal immigration policy. While collecting data, key words, themes and paragraphs were identified from the earlier chapters (Bowen, 2009, p. 31). This includes looking for data on the different immigration streams; performance indicators on integration such as fluency of an official language, labour market participation, and earnings compared to the native born and/or more established immigrants. Additionally, immigration developments on key areas identified in the comparative case-oriented analysis such as employment outcomes, temporary foreign labour migration and language training are also coded for in the document analysis.
- ii. Stage two of the document analysis involves coding the content (Bowen, 2009, p. 33). Using a tagging software, each departmental plan and performance report was coded to extrapolate the data mentioned above.
- iii. Stage three of the document analysis involves checking the data for validity and reliability (Bowen, 2009, p. 36). To ensure that the data is valid, an examination of the code was conducted to see if the different phrases and words have the meaning that is assigned to it. This is followed by a reliability check to ensure that the phrases and words used to code the data is consistent throughout the analysis.
- iv. Stage four of the document analysis involves analyzing and presenting the results (Bowen, 2009, p. 37).

In this thesis, the data is presented through a chronological approach detailing the evolution of immigration policy and key immigration themes. The chapter contains detailed information about the various factors that were observed during the study (Bowen, 2009, p. 37). The findings attempt to narrate the evolution of policy without “adding too much judgement or solution” (O’Leary, 2017, p. 78).

Finally, the research paper concludes with how the document analysis and the case-oriented comparative analysis has added to the knowledge base and the literature. Reviewing the literature review with the document analysis findings will bridge the gaps in the literature that were identified namely the two parallel lines of integration in Canada’s immigration policy: economic conformity and socio-cultural conformity.

### **Conceptual Framework**

The literature will provide the reader with two strands of research- economic conformity and socio-cultural conformity models that Canada uses to integrate newcomers into the country. The two research strands provided four indicators to determine which model of conformity is used in Canada. These indicators- labour market outcomes, earnings comparisons to the native born, level of official language fluency, and voting participation- will be used to conduct a case-oriented comparative analysis between New Zealand Australia and Canada’s immigration policies. This will indicate how successful Canada is in integrating immigrants using either model of integration. The chapter also highlights differences in immigrant outcomes among the four indicators mentioned above. Lastly, this chapter provides diverging immigration policy amongst the three jurisdictions which will be used as key data points to analyze the departmental plans and performance reports in chapter three. This includes language training, employment opportunities and temporary foreign migration policy. The document analysis reviews Canadian immigration policy on these three themes to evaluate the efficacy of immigration policy in integrating newcomers. Additionally, the document analysis in chapter six provides data triangulation and will validate the findings found in the literature review and the case-oriented comparative analysis. In addition to this, the document analysis will review how the different immigration streams- family reunification, refugee protection and economic immigrants- in Canada have evolved in a twenty-year period. This will identify the connections between the two research strands found in chapter one clearer: Does Canada use a socio-cultural model of conformity or economic model of conformity to integrate newcomers?

## Strengths and Limitations

Table 6 Summary of strengths and limitations methodologies employed

Chapter	Strengths	Limitations
<b>Literature Review</b>	<p>Semi-systematic literature reviews are most applicable for broad research questions and tracks development of themes over time (Snyder, 2019).</p> <p>Semi-systematic literature reviews detail the current state of knowledge and identify the existing themes (Mantyla et al, 2014).</p>	<p>Semi-systematic literature reviews indicate that the data is not extrapolated methodically (Snyder, 2019).</p>
<b>Case-Oriented Comparative Analysis</b>	<p>A method of difference can distinguish successes and failures more clearly (Mill, 1843).</p> <p>Case-oriented comparison points at similarities and differences through dense narratives (Della &amp; Keating, 2008).</p> <p>By using a comparative, case-oriented methodology, one can, internally, explain and justify the reasoning behind the development of immigration policies in Canada by using Australia and New Zealand's case studies (Ferejohn, 2004).</p>	<p>Case-oriented analyses are often subject to researcher bias (Willis, 2014).</p> <p>Case-oriented comparative analyses have concerns of the reliability and replicability of the research (Bennett &amp; Elman, 2010).</p>
<b>Document Analysis</b>	<p>Documents are stable, “non-reactive” (Bowen, 2009, p. 31) data sources- they can be read and reviewed multiple times and remain unchanged by the researcher's influence (Bowen, 2009).</p> <p>Obtaining and analyzing documents is more cost and time efficient (O'Leary, 2014).</p> <p>Documents provide background information and broad coverage of data (O'Leary, 2014).</p>	<p>There potentially could exist gaps or sparseness of documents (O'Leary, 2014).</p> <p>Documents will not provide all the answers to answer research questions (Bowen, 2009).</p> <p>Potential presence of bias coming from the researcher (an immigrant).</p>

Source: the sources for the table are from: Snyder, H. (2019). Literature review as a research methodology: An overview and guidelines. Retrieved December 7, 2021, from <https://www.sciencedirect.com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/science/article/pii/S0924796312000693>; O'Leary—The Essential Guide to Doing Your Research Project.pdf. (n.d.). Retrieved December 7, 2021, from [http://www.ru.ac.bd/wp-content/uploads/sites/25/2019/03/402\\_06\\_00\\_O%E2%80%99Leary-The-Essential-Guide-to-Doing-Your-Research-Project-2017.pdf](http://www.ru.ac.bd/wp-content/uploads/sites/25/2019/03/402_06_00_O%E2%80%99Leary-The-Essential-Guide-to-Doing-Your-Research-Project-2017.pdf); Mantyla, M., Bram, A., Foutse, K., Engstrom, E., & Petersen, K. (2014). On Rapid Releases and Software Testing: A Case Study and a Semi-Systematic Literature Review. *Empirical Software Engineering Journal*; Mill, J.S. (1843). *A System of Logic*. New York: The Free Press. Willis, B. (2014). *The advantages and limitations of single case study analysis*. E. Retrieved

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## Chapter 5: Immigrant Outcomes: Australia, New Zealand and Canada

To understand how successful Canada's immigration policies have been in integrating immigrants, this chapter compares immigrant outcomes between Australia, New Zealand and Canada. A comparison of Canada's immigration policies and immigrant outcomes with Australia and New Zealand's are conducted using a comparative case-oriented analysis. The three countries use a similar points system to determine incoming residents and focus heavily on immigrants that can adapt into the labour market however, differ in key areas such as employment outcomes, temporary skilled migration policy, language training and skills discounting.

The aim of this chapter is twofold:

- i. To determine how successful Canada's immigration policies, in comparison to Australia and New Zealand, have been; and
- ii. To identify key themes that will be focused on in the document analysis section. This will illuminate how the Government of Canada develops immigration policies in key areas that help immigrants integrate into society.

By comparing similar cases to Canada's immigration policy, this section illuminates gaps and areas of improvement for Canada. As mentioned in the previous section, the concept of integration has been debated by authors and have diverging definitions. The economic conformity model is the primary discourse that is supported and claims that integration of newcomers is when they match their native born counterparts in labour market outcomes. Others use a socio-cultural model arguing that social conformity needs to take place to be integrated into a new society. The literature review section concluded that either scope is too limited and argued for a hybrid approach of the economic and socio-cultural conformity approach. This section is dedicated to narrowing the scope of the research questions presented in this paper and act as a funnel to narrow down key data indicators for the data collection section. Additionally, this section looks at Canada's immigration policy through a comparative lens to identify successes in its immigration policy. To do this, I use key indicators from both the economic conformity and socio-cultural models to answer this question. These indicators are reviewing labour market outcomes (Boucher, 2020; Paquet, 2014; Barber 2009), earnings compared to the native counterpart (Li, 2003; Hum & Simpson, 2006; Thompson, 2010; Clutterbuck & Novick, 2003), level of fluency in an official language (Li, 2003; Green & Green, 2004, Banting & Saroka, 2012; Carpentier & Sablonniere, 2013), and voting participation (Hennebry, 2012; Banerjee et al, 2018).

Canada, Australia and New Zealand are global competitors and collaborators on skilled migration. In the recent decades they have operated large permanent migration programs, sharing two priority goals: nation-building and economic growth. In terms of policy, their primary focus has been on skilled immigrants, accounting for two-thirds of permanent intakes (Hawthorne, 2014). In the past two decades, each country has expanded quotas, diversified source countries and fields, and dramatically increased temporary labour flows (driven by state and employer

sponsorship). They have cultivated “two-step migration,” facilitating category-switching by temporary employed workers, and the retention of former international students (Hawthorne, 2014, p. 21). “By 2014, Australian, Canadian and New Zealand strategies had converged to a remarkable degree” (Hawthorne, 2014, p. 3).

## **Canada**

Canada has built a reputation over the last half century of welcoming immigrants and valuing multiculturalism. Foreign-born people make up about one-fifth of Canada’s population (Statistics Canada, 2006). However, it was not always like this, Canada only started to open up and be more inclusive after the 1960s. Prior to that Canada’s immigration policy was used to drive the development of infrastructure across the country.

The turn of the twentieth century saw the “settlement of the west, high levels of investment and rapid economic growth with the establishment of a national economy” (Green & Green, 2004, p. 106). Up until the 1930s, immigration policy in Canada was part of a general set of national policies including “the completion of three transcontinental railways, the imposition of high levels of protection from the import of secondary manufactured goods and the adoption of a land policy aimed at inducing immigrants to settle in the west” (Van Dyk, 2021, p. 4). This led to large immigration inflows from the United States and overseas in 1896 which resulted in the creation of an Immigration Act in 1910 (Van Dyk, 2021, p. 4). The legislation provided total control over the “level and composition of immigration was delegated to the Cabinet” (Timlin, 1960, p. 520). Using this power, the Cabinet focused on securing farmers, farm workers and female domestics leading up to World War I (WWI).

The four decades between 1919 and 1960 saw immigration policy continue to drive Canada’s demand for domestic workers to continue to “develop the railways and work on farms” (Van Dyk, 2021, p. 6). During this time farmers and large landowners benefitted from the steered immigration that occurred in the middle of the decade. By the end of 1960s, immigration policy was redirected to promote population growth since Canada was seen “as an under-populated country” (Wright & Maxim, 1993, p. 340). At this time immigration continued to be selective and “should not change the basic character of the Canadian population” (Timlin, 1960, p. 523) i.e. restrictions on Asian immigration must remain in place.

Canada’s modern immigration policy can find its roots in the regulation changes made between 1919 and 1960: using immigration as an “absorptive capacity of the economy” (Van Dyk, 2021, p. 9). In 1967, in response to high volumes of unskilled workers entering Canada, immigration policy introduced the points system. Points were provided based on education experience, specific vocational preparation or occupational demand in the labour market, age, arranged employment, language levels and relative relationship (Van Dyk, 2021, p. 10). The very

existence of the points system indicated success for those who viewed “immigration as an immediate labour market policy” (Wright & Maxim, 1993, p 344).

Between the 1970s and 1980s, immigration flows were based on the business cycle (Green & Green, 2004, p. 120). Immigration fell between 1974 and 1978, rose from 1978 to 1980 and then fell from 1980 to 1986. The Citizenship Act of 1977 took a big step in rooting multiculturalism in Canada (Immigration, Refugee and Citizenship Canada, 2015). The Act removed the previous distinction between British subjects and aliens (Immigration, Refugee and Citizenship Canada, 2015). This distinction was very important for Canada’s non-British population that started to go quickly after WWII. Furthermore, the Act allowed immigrants to build up sufficient points based on years of schooling, age and language capability to meet the required admission points even though “their specific skills might be in excess supply at the time” (Van Dyk, 2021, p. 9). This was seen as a failure of the points system in keeping the level of composition of skilled inflow, however the system limited the entry of unskilled professionals into Canada.

The late 1980s and early 1990s saw immigration policy transform, opening up skilled worker flows to business persons and investors while also making it easier for spouses and parents to reunite with their families (Van Dyk, 2021, p. 2). Due to the higher flows of skilled workers, the Government of Canada made it easier for families to immigrate alongside the skilled worker. Immigration policy had a large impact through the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act of 2002. The new regulations strengthened protection of newly arrived refugees and provided stronger compliance regimes for service providers to ensure newcomers to Canada were being received through a consistent approach (Danso, 2002, p. 7).

The main trends noticed in Canada’s immigration policy include its flexibility: the constant evolution of immigration policy based on national priorities indicates this. A second key feature is Canada’s “emphasis on absorptive capacity” (Danso, 2002 p. 8). Since the end of WWI, Canada responded to labour market demands by looking to immigration to bridge the gap. This feature continued from 1919 till present day. Lastly, the introduction of the points system and different streams formed the foundation of Canada’s modern immigration policy. Family and refugee class applicants enter based solely on family ties or refugee status while independent applicants must undergo screening under the point system.

What is the impact of these policies on newly arrived immigrants to Canada? Based on data collected by the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, male immigrants (79.3%) in Canada have higher employment rates than their native counterpart (76.6%) (OECD, 2019). This is not the same case for female immigrants. Their participation rates are 6% lower than their native counterpart (OECD, 2019). Overall, immigrant’s participation in the labour market is 82.95% between both male and female. In comparison, native born participation in the labour market is 79.25% between both male and female. Thus, it can be posited that newcomers

participate more in the labour market than their native born counterpart. Comparing labour market participation from earlier years, one can see a steady increase in this statistic. In 2009, overall labour market participation in Canada was 78.4%; In 2013, there was a slight increase to 78.6%; In 2016, there was a slight decrease to 78.3%; And in 2019 labour market participation was 79.25%. This data indicates that very slight variances have occurred in the last decade in terms of labour market participation in Canada.

In the socio-cultural sphere, Canadian immigrants are also well integrated. According to Statistics Canada, in the 2011 election 56% of immigrants voted in the federal election (Statistics Canada, 2020) whereas the general turnout was 61.1%. This statistic has drastically increased. In the 2015 election, the general voter turnout was 68.3% compared to the 72% of the immigrant voter turnout (Statistics Canada, 2015). In the 2019 election, 75% of the immigrant population voted in comparison to the 67% general voter turnout (Statistics Canada, 2020). In the last two elections, immigrant voter participation has been greater than the general population. Also looking solely at immigrant voter participation statistics, it can be posited that immigrants are integrating more and more through the course of the decade. In regard to speaking official languages, only 1.8% of the immigrant population does not speak English or French (Statistics Canada, 2019). This data demonstrates that Canada is successful in integrating immigrants through both economic conformity and socio-cultural spheres.

## **Australia**

Similar to Canada, Australia is a land of immigrants. The history of Australian immigration policy, for the purposes of this paper, has its origins in the “White Australian” policy (Miller, 1999, p. 195). This policy began to restrict the inflow of Chinese immigrants in the 1850s. In similar fashion, the Immigration Restriction Act of 1901 included a dictation test which required the applicant to pass a “written test in a European language” (Miller, 1999, p. 192). The opening of Australia’s immigration policy can be seen in the post-World-War II (WWII) period where non-European refugees and Japanese war brides were allowed to enter the country. WWII acted as a wake up call to policymakers to increase their population to “avoid the threat of invasion” (Migration Heritage, 2012). Over 2.5 million displaced Europeans immigrated to Australia from Europe during the late 1940s until the 1960s (Migration Heritage, 2012).

The opening up of Australia’s immigration policy was further underscored by the implementation of the Migration Act of 1958. It set up Australia’s universal visa system allowing immigrants from the rest of the world to apply for entry permits (Hay & Kneebone, 2006, p. 3). This legislation did away with the White Australian policy by replacing the Immigration Restriction Act in 1901. Furthermore, the Act eliminated the dictation test as well as “removing many other discriminatory provisions in the 1901 Act” (Hay & Kneebone, 2006, p. 3). Immigration policy focused more on the economic conformity model: immigrants were judged on what they could contribute to Australia’s labour market.

By 1973, “a non-discriminatory immigration policy was properly implemented” (Miller, 1999, p. 193). The immigration policy allowed applicants to enter through two streams: family and skilled stream. The skill stream was the foremost policy mechanism used to attract eligible applicants: “by 1993-94, the skill stream accounted for only 45 percent of arrivals” (Government of Australia, 1995, p. 6). At this point, one can see how Australia’s immigration policy shifted from a socio-cultural conformity model with applicants taking a written European language test to an economic conformity model with applicants being judged against their skilled qualifications.

Under the skilled stream there are further streamed categories: business skills, employer nomination and Independent and skilled-Australian linked. The business skills category caters to migrants with a successful background who can be “expected to go into business within a short time after arrival” (Miller, 1999, p. 196). The employer nomination scheme enables employers to nominate skilled personnel for permanent entry into Australia to fill positions they have been unable to fill from the Australian labour market. The skilled-Australian linked migration must be sponsored by certain close relatives who agree to provide support during the initial arrival to Australia. The independent scheme however, does not require sponsorship from an employer or relative. The last two categories require a points test.

The points test that is required tests the abilities of potential migrants on factors that will benefit Australia. The factors that enter in the points are those “which have been identified in applied labour-market research” (Miller 1999, p. 193) as being associated with more rapid adjustment among immigrants. For immigrants in the independent category, points are awarded for age, employment skills, education, and language proficiency. In the skills category, greater weight is placed on formal qualifications than on experience. In addition to health and character criteria, the applicant must have vocational English. The skilled Australian linked migration category is partly skilled based and partly based on family reunion. Points are awarded for skill, age, English proficiency, relationship of principal applicant to sponsor, citizenship of sponsor, location of sponsor, and settlement of sponsor. In 1999, additional reform to Australia’s immigration policy led to the study-migration pathway resulting “by 2005 in around 50% of skilled migrants were former international students” (Hawthorne, 2014, p. 2). This reform also saw factors such as “poor English ability, unrecognized credentials, qualifications associated with low labour market demand and age beyond 45 years” (Hawthorne, 2014, p. 3) work against the applicant as they were seen as unfavourable by the government.

Despite the points system focusing on factors identified from the labour market, a degree of socio-cultural integration is necessary for all the three schemes mentioned above. Spoken English and relationship to an Australian sponsor are important factors in the points test that determine whether immigrants enter the country. Therefore, it can be posited that Australia’s immigration policy uses a hybrid socio-cultural and economic model of integration. This model

allows immigrants to integrate into Australian society more effectively as there is higher degrees of conformity in both the labour market and the social-cultural sphere to the native born counterpart.

What is the impact of these policies on newly arrived immigrants to Australia? Based on data collected by the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, male immigrants (79.7%) in Australia have higher employment rates than their native counterpart (78.8%) (OECD, 2019). This is not the same case for female immigrants. Their participation rates are 7% lower than their native counterpart (OECD, 2019). Overall, immigrant's participation in the labour market is 76.7% between both male and female. In comparison, native born participation in the labour market is 79.9% between both male and female. Thus, it can be posited that newcomers in Australia participate less in the labour market than their native born counterpart. Comparing labour market participation from earlier years, one can see a steady decrease in this statistic. In 2009, overall labour market participation in Australia was 78.1%; In 2013, there was a slight decrease to 77.7%; In 2016, there was a slight increase to 78.3%; And in 2019 labour market participation was 79.9%. This data indicates that slight variances have occurred in the last decade in terms of labour market participation in Australia.

According to the Australian Bureau of Statistics, (2015), 67.8% of eligible immigrants participated in the 2013 national election (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2015). Compared to the entire population of Australia which had a 93.8% voter turnout in the 2013 election, immigrant voter participation is far lower (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2021). In the 2016 federal election immigrant voter turnout was 69.3% compared to the general turnout of 91.93% (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2021). In the 2019 federal election, immigrant voter turnout was 68.7% compared to the 92.48% general voter turnout (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2021). This comparison shows that while immigrant voter turnout has steadily increased in the last three elections, it is far lower than the general voter turnout. In all three elections, general voter participation was above 90% while immigrant voter participation was below 70%. Although legally there is no official language in Australia, English is the most wide-spread language in the country. Only 3.6% of the population self-reported they did not "speak English well" (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2015). In relative terms this statistic is low and indicates that Australia's immigration system sieves out applicants who cannot communicate in English. Through its immigration policy, Australia has deliberately attracted skilled and hard-working migrants whose are "willing to work and prosper in Australia while effectively barring entry to those whose profiles did not match the strict requirements" (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2015).

## **New Zealand**

New Zealand is also a settler society that is substantially constituted by migration and by migrants. New Zealand changed their immigration policies in order "to improve national welfare and growth" (Winkelmann, 1999, p. 1). The change in policy, moving away from a country-of-

origin principle which was characteristic of the first half of the twentieth century has been accompanied by substantial shifts in the composition of immigrants. While the initial immigrants came predominantly from the United Kingdom, flows started to diversify after WWII. The 1960s and 1970s brought a wave of immigrants from the Pacific Islands, while the late 1980s and 1990s saw a jump in the number of immigrants from Asia (Ward & Masgoret, 2008, p. 79).

New Zealand's recent immigration policy events include the passing of the Immigration Act of 1987 and the Immigration Amendment Act of 1991. Prior to 1987, immigration was subject both to an occupational priority list and to a preferred source country list. The Immigration Act of 1987 did away with the "traditional source" preference for UK, Western European and North American nationals (Ward & Masgoret, 2008, p. 81). It rationalized the system of an occupational priority list in order to encourage the immigration of people with skills for which excess demand in New Zealand could be identified. Residence applications made on occupational grounds required a firm employment offer and were based on personal merit. Family reunification immigration continued as previously.

The Immigration Amendment of 1991 went a significant step further by replacing the occupational priority list with a point system, attempting to increase New Zealand's stock of general human capital rather than using residency policy as a short-term labour market tool (Lovelock et al, 2012). The requirement of a job offer was no longer required, although a job offer increased an applicant's point score. The late 1990s saw the tightening of some of these rules. One example is the minimum English language requirements were extended from just the principal applicant to all adult family members in both the General Skills and Business Investor categories (Hugo, 2004). As far as long-term migration is concerned, it appears that the introduction of the point system in 1991 was instrumental in encouraging diversified immigration, and Asian immigration in particular.

The 1991 Immigration Amendment Act established four main categories for obtaining permanent residence in New Zealand. These were the skilled, business investment, family and humanitarian categories. Majority of applicants fall into the first category. Poot et al show that in "International migration and the New Zealand economy," recent migrants from the UK, Australia and North America had labour market activity patterns that were relatively similar to those of the New Zealand-born. By contrast, unemployment rates among recent immigrants from the Pacific Islands were several times higher than those of New Zealand-born workers and other immigrant groups (Poot et al, 1996, p. 54). The authors found that the rates of unemployment among male immigrants from the UK and Australia were initially higher than those of New Zealand born males, but these rates declined to below New Zealand-born levels within three years of residence. Female unemployment rates for immigrants from Australia and the UK showed similar patterns of convergence to native rates within a few years. By contrast,

immigrants born in the Pacific Islands appeared to take much longer to converge to the unemployment rates of the New Zealand born.

In post-WWII New Zealand, immigration policies have targeted, in one way or another, immigrants with skills, either occupational skills, or more recently, broadly defined “general skills” (Winkelmann, 1999, p. 20). New Zealand being a country with a relatively high proportion of unskilled workers, importing skilled workers could be interpreted as a relatively inexpensive and immediate way to overcome a relative shortage in skilled labour. The argument for skilled immigration has been reinforced by another, namely that skilled immigrants make a greater contribution to economic activity, and hence the living standard of New Zealanders (Winkelmann, 2000).

Based on data collected in the early 2000s, Winkelmann posited that the educational difference between immigrants and New Zealand-born persons was large: “immigrants were about 30 percent more likely to have a post-school qualification than New Zealand-born persons” (Winkelmann, 2000, p. 19). Moreover, relative to the New Zealand-born persons with post-school qualifications, immigrants tended to have a higher proportion of university qualifications, immigrants tended to have a higher proportion of university qualifications and a lower proportion of vocational qualifications.

What is the impact of these policies on newly arrived immigrants to New Zealand? Based on data collected by the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, male immigrants (84.3%) in New Zealand have higher employment rates than their native counterpart (80.6%) (OECD, 2019). This is not the same case for female immigrants. Their participation rates are 2.3% lower than their native counterpart (OECD, 2019). Overall, immigrant’s participation in the labour market is 80.7% between both male and female. In comparison, native born participation in the labour market is 81% between both male and female. Thus, it can be posited that newcomers in New Zealand participate less in the labour market than their native born counterpart. Comparing labour market participation from earlier years, one can see a steady increase in this statistic. In 2009, overall labour market participation in New Zealand was 79.1%; In 2013, there was a slight decrease to 78.6%; In 2016, there was an increase to 80.2%; And in 2019 labour market participation was 80.7%. This data indicates that slight variances have occurred in the last decade in terms of labour market participation in New Zealand however, this is an overall increase.

According to Statistics New Zealand, in the 2014 national election 54% of immigrants voted compared to the 85% turnout of the general population (Statistics New Zealand, 2020). In the 2017 federal election, immigrant turnout was 63.7% compared to the 79.8% of general voter participation. In the 2020 election, immigrant voter turnout was 66.2% compared to the 82.2% general voter turnout (Statistics New Zealand, 2020). Immigrant voter turnout has consistently

been lower than the general voter turnout despite its increase. This statistic comparison confirms the findings in the rest of this section: economic conformity is far more valued by the Government of New Zealand than socio-cultural. The Department of Immigration focuses on labour market integration and funds their programs towards this aspect of resettlement. A lower voter turnout indicates less integration in the socio-cultural realm. New Zealand has three official languages: English, Maori and sign language. Immigrants that have reported not knowing “one of the official languages well were a small percentage of the national population: 1.1%” (Statistics New Zealand, 2020). Again, this confirms New Zealand’s experiment with the economic conformity model as successful.

This section has confirmed that New Zealand has a stronger focus on immigrants integrating in the labour market. Their primary concern is reducing their unemployment rates while providing immigrants entry into the labour market at the same level in their country of origin. The reason for this could be because immigrants have a higher rate of acquiring post-secondary qualifications than their native born counterparts. However, it can be posited that New Zealand’s heavy focus on the economic conformity model over trying to integrate immigrants into the socio-cultural sphere has been successful. Not all immigrants experienced success in New Zealand’s labour market, unemployment rates among immigrants from the Pacific Islands were several times higher than the native born counterparts. This suggests that New Zealand’s immigration policies target the skilled stream more than those coming from the family and humanitarian immigration programs.

## **Comparison**

By analyzing their immigration policies Hawthorne in “A Comparison of Highly Skilled Migration” concludes that Canada, New Zealand and Australia share eight similarities in their immigration policy. First, the governments prioritize economic flows, with a major focus on individuals in the STEM fields (Akbari & MacDonald, 2014, p. 7). Second, there was varied diversity in immigrant source countries and skill levels (Akbari & MacDonald, 2014, p. 8). Unlike the initial immigration policy, source countries were not only from western Europe. Despite focusing on STEM fields, the levels of seniority in the positions were not given considerations. Third, all three governments refined the points systems to improve selection objectivity while maximizing employment outcomes (Bedford & Spoonley, 2014, p. 3). Fourth, all governments strengthened regional migration initiatives to encourage more dispersed settlement patterns. The three countries boosted international student enrolments, as a potential resource for skilled migration. A focus has been placed on international students in all three host countries to retain former international students in post-secondary education institutions (Bedford & Spoonley, 2014, p. 5). All governments expanded and greatly deregulated temporary labour migration intakes, driven by growing state and employer engagement (Hugo, 2014, p. 20). Temporary skilled visas and opportunities have increased in all three countries (Akbari & MacDonald, 2014, p. 12). Seventh, all governments enhanced the scope for two-step migration

through the retention of temporary workers and former international students who have secured domestic qualifications (Hugo, 2014, p. 11). Eighth, all governments have attempted to minimize program abuse through the introduction of more coherent and transparent selection systems (Hawthorne, 2014, p. 4). Despite these many similarities, Canada, New Zealand and Australia diverge in many key policy areas: language requirements, temporary labour migration policy, employment outcomes and skills discounting. These are key areas Canada could improve their service delivery to immigrants.

Australia, New Zealand and Canada all started the twentieth century with very restrictive immigration policies focused on specific host countries. Primarily through labour market needs, the three countries transformed their policies to attract skilled workers into their jurisdictions. By the late twentieth century, all three countries started using a points system to drive immigration, particularly for skilled workers. Despite these common approaches, significant policy differences exist which influenced skilled migration labour market outcomes. In 2005 Canada's skilled migration target was 156,310 (Government of Canada, 2005) people. As in Australia, the majority of skilled migrants were professionals, but their tertiary qualification level was higher (Government of Australia, 2015, p. 27). Newly-arrived migrants were more than twice as likely as the Canadian-born to be degree qualified at this time (37% compared to 15%). Canada's point system also included a heavier weighting for qualification than Australia and a more generous age range for applicants (up to 53 years) (Boucher & Cerna, 2011). New Zealand on the other hand, had a much lower intake of professionals (37%) (Government of New Zealand, 2005).

A second major difference between the three countries' immigration policies is that Canada attracted far fewer native-English speaking migrants at this time (for e.g. UK, Ireland, South Africa). Primary source countries were China, India, the Philippines and Pakistan- non OECD countries with highly variable levels of technological development, tertiary quality assurance and educational resourcing (Government of Canada, 2015). New Zealand's policy reflected the high English language standards required: 46% of permanent skilled migrants selected by the New Zealand government were native English speakers with the top five source countries being the UK, China, South Africa, India, and the Philippines (Government of New Zealand, 2015).

A third difference can be seen in the temporary labour migration amongst the three countries. The scale of permanent skilled migration to Australia was augmented by rapidly escalating temporary labour flows, following a decade of deregulation (1996+) (Miller, 1999). From 2004-2005 to 2008-2009, the government admitted an additional 110,000 people per year (Government of Australia, 2010). This employer-driven program had no annual cap, and admitted workers for pre-arranged employment (for example in the mining or health sectors). 58% of temporary workers at this time were professionally qualified with nursing, computing, business and engineering being the primary fields (Government of Australia, 2015). In Canada, while governments frame migration policy, employers retain the power to offer or withhold

work. Between 1991 and 2003 over two million temporary workers were admitted by Canada including 7,437 sponsored workers in 2005 (Government of Canada, 2005). Temporary workers were primarily sourced from English-speaking areas with the US, UK, Australia, France, Mexico, and the Philippines. Employers in Australia showed a comparable preference for OECD- origin temporary workers (Government of Australia, 2005). New Zealand's immigration policy of temporary migration differs from Australia and Canada in that the desire for professional qualifications is far lower: "just 19% of these temporary workers held professional qualifications, with clerical sales and service workers dominating" (Hawthorne, 2014, p. 8) the statistics. Additionally, with a more flexible English requirement, far fewer were native English speakers in New Zealand (Government of New Zealand, 2005).

A fourth major difference is seen in the employment outcomes between Australia and Canada. Australian labour market integration rates were strong in global terms by 2006. By definition sponsored temporary workers were fully employed. 83% of permanent points-tested skilled migrants were fully employed at six months (compared to around 60% the decade prior) (Government of Australia, 2006). Wage rates soared, along with levels of work in jobs matched to workers' qualifications. In Canada, temporary labour migrants by definition enjoyed immediate employment outcomes in Canada. By contrast labour market integration rates for permanent skilled migrants by 2005 had been falling for years- a matter of growing national concern (Government of Canada, 2006). The research evidence suggested that the contemporary selection system was "out of synch with the labour market in a context where Canada was reported to be ignoring and therefore wasting the human capital of newcomers" (Hawthorne, 2014, p. 5). Most notably, a Statistics Canada study found that "by the early 2000s, skilled class immigrants were actually more likely to enter low-income and to be in chronic low-income than their family class counterparts' with one half of all chronically poor immigrants "in the skilled economic class" (Statistics Canada, 2015). Additional studies found a "substantial correlation between average source country school quality and Canadian labour market earnings" (Akbari & Macdonald, 2014, p.456) with outcomes profoundly influenced by qualification recognition in addition to migrants' English or French language ability.

A fifth and final policy comparison between the countries is skills discounting. In Australia, substantial numbers of permanent resident migrants were at risk of skills discounting. For example, by 2006, 65% of engineers from South Africa were employed in professional managerial positions within five years of arrival (Government of Australia, 2007, p. 28), compared to 54% of UK engineers and 52% from Canada (Government of Canada, 2007, p. 41). By contrast, severe labour market displacement had occurred for Indian, Chinese, and Filipino engineers, with large numbers not in the labour force or unemployed as they struggled to secure professional engineering positions (Akbari & Macdonald, 2014). Outcomes were far superior in medicine for migrants at a time of strong labour market demand. Similarly, in Canada, skills discounting occurred for many skilled migrants. 144,955 degree-qualified migrant engineers

were accepted by Canada to 2001 (Akbari & Macdonald, 2014). Demand favoured their employment, in the context of an 18% growth in professional engineer positions. At the same time host country language facility and place of training powerfully influenced work outcomes. 66-75% of recent English-speaking background engineers had gained some form of professional or managerial work by 2001, compared to 39-51% of all recently arrived engineers- a remarkable result in the context of Canadian qualification recognition hurdles (Government of Canada, 2001). Employment rates however were inferior for recent engineers from India and East Europe. Many migrant engineers struggled to secure professional or sub-professional status- a serious issue given the dominance of these source countries in contemporary skilled migration flows. Outcomes were better for computing professionals but significantly worse for migrant professionals qualified in medicine. New Zealand, on the other hand, had far less prevalence of skills discounting. This is reflected in the selection bias to migrants already resident and employed in New Zealand; its use of far more stringent selection criteria and the relatively low skill level of those selected (Akbari & Macdonald, 2014).

### **Immigrant Outcomes**

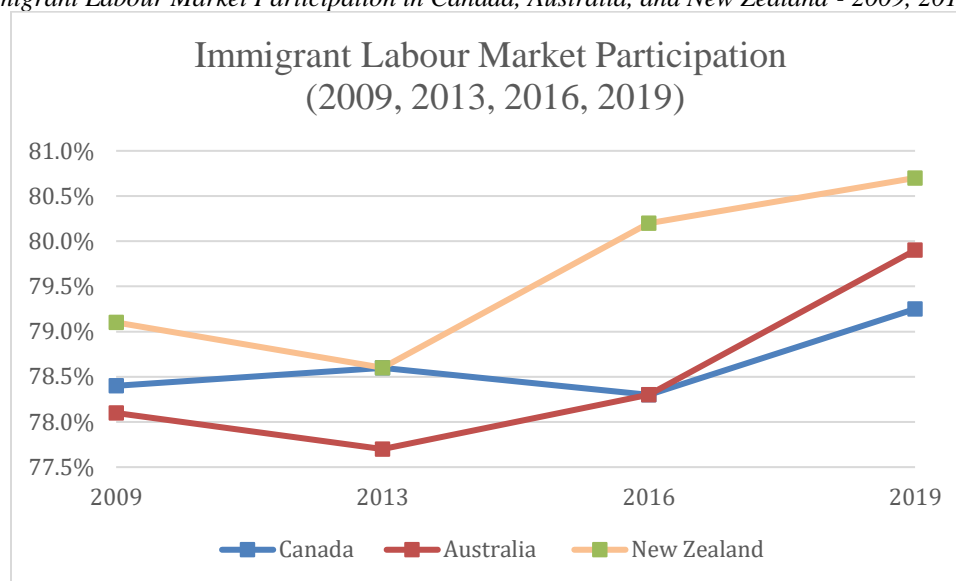
These policy differences are a potential explanation to the differing levels of integration newcomers experience across the three case studies. While comparing earnings of newcomers compared to the native born, one can see that New Zealand have the strongest immigration policies that integrate immigrants in the economic sphere. Canada and Australia's statistics on immigrants entering the labour market are mixed with one country doing better in a certain three-year period while the other country does better in the next three period as seen in Table 7 and Figure 1 below. In terms of comparing earnings comparison with the native born, all three countries have immigrants earning lower than their native born counterparts (OECD, 2019). However, New Zealand has the closest earnings to the native born (OECD, 2019)

*Table 7 Immigrant Labour Market Participation in Canada, Australia, and New Zealand - 2009, 2013, 2016, 2019*

	<b>2009</b>	<b>2013</b>	<b>2016</b>	<b>2019</b>
<b>Canada</b>	78.4%	78.6%	78.3%	79.25%
<b>Australia</b>	78.1%	77.7%	78.3%	79.90%
<b>New Zealand</b>	79.1%	78.6%	80.2%	80.7%

Source: OECD. (2019). OECD statistics. OECD Statistics. Retrieved December 12, 2021, from <https://stats.oecd.org/#>.

Figure 1 Immigrant Labour Market Participation in Canada, Australia, and New Zealand - 2009, 2013, 2016, 2019



Source: OECD. (2019). OECD statistics. OECD Statistics. Retrieved December 12, 2021, from <https://stats.oecd.org/#>.

Among socio-cultural indicators, the data in this chapter has shown that Canada has the most successful immigration policies. In Canada, voter participation percentage is greater than general voter turnout (Statistics Canada, 2015). In Australia and New Zealand, immigrant voter turnout in the federal election is almost 30% less than the general population turnout (Australian Bureau of Statistics (2021); Statistics New Zealand, (2020)). New Zealand has the lowest percentage of immigrants not speaking an official language (1.1%) compared to Canada's (1.8%) and Australia (3.6%). This could be attributed to either socio-cultural integration policies or economic integration policies. Overall, however, it can be concluded that Canada has better socio-cultural policies in place.

Table 8 Immigrant Voter Participation in Canada, Australia, and New Zealand - three most recent elections

	Most Recent Election	2nd Most Recent Election	3rd Most Recent Election
Canada	75% (2019)	72% (2015)	56% (2011)
Australia	68.7 (2019)	69.3% (2016)	67.8% (2013)
New Zealand	66.2% (2020)	63.7% (2017)	54% (2014)

Source: Statistics Canada . (2020). *Voter turnout rates by age group, Province and immigrant ...* Retrieved December 12, 2021, from <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/daily-quotidien/200226/t001b-eng.htm>; Australian Bureau of Statistics. (2021). *Immigrant Voter Participation*. Retrieved December 12, 2021, from <https://www.abs.gov.au/statistics/people/population/historical-population/latest-release>; Statistics New Zealand. (2020). *Voter Participation of NZ: Stats NZ | Stats NZ*. Retrieved December 12, 2021, from <https://www.stats.govt.nz/indicators/population-of-nz>.

Note: Data for the 2021 Federal Canadian election have not been released which is why the 2019 election was used as the most recent election.

Looking at the data collected from the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (2019) and from the national statistics institutes from the three countries- Statistics Canada, Statistics New Zealand and Australian Bureau of Statistics- a definitive conclusion can be made in regard to economic and socio-cultural conformity models of integration. Across the economic indicators, New Zealand scores the highest on integrating immigrants in the labour market. On the other hand, Canada scores the highest in the socio-cultural indicators of integration. Immigrants had the highest voter participation and official language percentages compared to Australia and New Zealand.

This chapter has provided a background on Australia and New Zealand's immigration policy. While New Zealand has a strong focus on the labour market and the conditions for immigrants to succeed, Australia, like Canada, focuses on highly skilled migration. This chapter has depicted various points of analysis for the document analysis that will follow this section: language requirements, temporary labour migration policy, employment outcomes and skills discounting. Skills discounting data does not appear in Citizenship and Immigration Canada's departmental plans and reports. Therefore, the three differences, language requirements and training, temporary labour migration policy and employment outcomes will be starting points for the next section. While these major differences set Canada apart from Australia and New Zealand, there are more similarities than differences in their immigration policies: prioritizing economic flows, diversity in source countries, maximizing employment outcomes, strengthened regional and local partnerships for efficient service delivery, prioritizing international student immigration stream flows, two-step migration process and evaluation programs to reduce abuse. The Australian and New Zealand cases illuminate positives in the integration process of immigrants that Canada can follow. Particularly Australia's focus on socio-cultural integration and New Zealand's evolved economy to attract talent in particular labour market sectors.

*Table 9 Immigration policy divergence, Canada, Australia, New Zealand*

<b>Immigration Policy Divergences between Canada, Australia and New Zealand</b>				
<b>Key Policy Point</b>	<b>Canada</b>	<b>Australia</b>	<b>New Zealand</b>	<b>Analysis</b>
<b>Skilled Worker Criteria</b>	Greater weight on immigrant education qualification and age range.	Immigrants had the highest level of tertiary qualifications.	Lowest intake of professionals.	The points system dictates the levels of labour market participation in the three jurisdictions. Canadian immigrants had almost twice the level of qualifications compared to their native counterpart to situate in the same jobs.
<b>Temporary</b>	While the government frames	Augmented by domestic temporary	Due to the focus on English speaking	Australia's labour market is taken more into consideration

<b>Labour Migration Policy</b>	migration policy, employers retain the power to offer or withhold work.	labour flows following a decade of deregulation. labour market participation has been dictated by the state.	immigrants, the government has the lowest intake of temporary labour migration.	when making the temporary labour migration policy which results in high intake of nurses, engineers, and computer scientists. Canada's policy differs in that it allows the employer to retain the power to offer or withhold work.
<b>Employment Outcomes</b>	Temporary labour migrants enjoyed immediate employment outcomes in Canada. By contrast labour market integration rates for permanent skilled migrants by 2005 had been failing for years	Temporary workers were fully employed. 83% of permanent points-tested skilled migrants were fully employed at six months	Temporary workers were fully employed. 88% of permanent residents were employed within the first six months of arrival however highly skilled immigration was the lowest.	Australia's permanent resident stream is better connected to the needs of the labour market and their policy of attracting English-speaking immigrants play an important role in labour market participation. New Zealand's focus of English-speaking immigrants has resulted in the highest percentage of immigrants finding work however it may not be at the highest levels of employment.
<b>Skills Discounting</b>	144,955 degree-qualified migrant engineers were accepted by Canada to 2001. At the same time host country language facility and place of training powerfully influenced work outcomes. Employment rates however were inferior for recent engineers from India and East Europe.	65% of engineers from South Africa were employed in professional managerial positions within five years of arrival. Severe labour market displacement had occurred for Indian, Chinese, and Filipino engineers, with large numbers not in the labour force or unemployed as they struggled to secure professional engineering positions	Far less prevalence of skills discounting. This is reflected in the selection bias to migrants already resident and employed	Language skills play an important role in skills discounting. New Zealand had the least skills discounting while immigrants from source countries where English is not as prevalent struggled to find appropriate work at the employment level they are entering their new country with.
<b>Source Countries/ Language Requirements</b>	Primary source countries were China, India, the Philippines and Pakistan.	Top five source countries include the United Kingdom, New Zealand, China, Italy, and Vietnam.	Top five source countries being the UK, China, South Africa, India, and the Philippines.	Canada's immigration policy focuses on non OECD countries with highly variable levels of technological development, tertiary quality assurance and educational resourcing. While New Zealand focuses primarily on English speaking source countries. Australia's hybrid approach is apparent where they focus on English speaking

				countries but also geographically close source countries.
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Source: Data from Canada is from: Boucher, A., & Cerna, L. (2014). Current policy trends in skilled immigration policy. *International Migration*, 52(3), 21–25. <https://doi.org/10.1111/imig.12152>; Government of Canada (2017, January 5). *Recent Immigrant Outcomes*. Canada.ca. Retrieved December 8, 2021, from <https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/corporate/reports-statistics/research/recent-immigrant-outcomes-2005.html>; Statistics Canada. (2006). *Report on the demographic situation in Canada: 2005 and 2006*. Report on the Demographic Situation in Canada: 2005 and 2006: The Report at a glance. (n.d.). Retrieved December 8, 2021, from <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/91-209-x/2004000/rprt-eng.htm>. Data on Australia is from: Miller, P. W. (1999). Immigration policy and immigrant quality: The Australian Points System. *American Economic Review*, 89(2), 192–197. <https://doi.org/10.1257/aer.89.2.192>. Government of Australia (2016). *Annual Report 2015-16 by the Department of Immigration and Border Protection*. <https://www.homeaffairs.gov.au/reports-and-pubs/Annualreports/dibp-annual-report-2015-16.pdf>; Government of Australia (2010). *Annual Report 2009-10 by the Department of Immigration and Border Protection*. <https://www.homeaffairs.gov.au/reports-and-pubs/Annualreports/diac-annual-report-2009-10.pdf>. Data for New Zealand is from: Government of New Zealand (2015) *The Year at the Border 2014-15*. <https://www.immigration.govt.nz/documents/statistics/inz-annualborderreport20142015.pdf>; Government of New Zealand (2015) *The Year at the Border 2004-05*. <https://www.immigration.govt.nz/documents/statistics/inz-annual-border-report-1112.pdf>.

## Conclusion

Taking a step back, how has this chapter contributed to the overarching questions of this thesis? This chapter has compared Canada’s immigration policies with countries with similar systems of integrating newcomers to determine how successful Canada’s immigration policies are. This was done by using sociocultural and economic integration indicators that were identified in chapter one. Second, this chapter has developed key points of divergence from Canada, Australia and New Zealand’s immigration policies.

New Zealand’s immigration policies focus primarily on the integration of skilled workers or economic immigrants. Voter participation and high unemployment rates from non-economic immigrant streams indicate that socio-cultural integration is still not as developed. Australia has higher immigrant voter turnout however it is still significantly lower than the general population. Similar to New Zealand, economic immigrants are well integrated into the labour market and have higher participation rates than the general population. In Canada, employment rates among newly arrived immigrants are lower than the native born and there is a significant wage gap between the native born and immigrants. High voter turnout and high use of official language indicate that Canada was far more successful in integrating immigrants in the socio-cultural sphere. It can be concluded then that New Zealand and Australia have strong economic immigrant policies whereas Canada’s immigration policies are more successful in the socio-cultural space.

Going back to the discussion of integration, this research has provided a different picture to the findings in chapter one. The literature review had two strands of divergence: economic versus socio-cultural conformity models, however, majority of the authors favoured the economic

conformity model. Comparing Australia and New Zealand's immigration policies this chapter has found that Canada has a stronger socio-cultural conformity model than the two other jurisdictions. Strong knowledge of official language and high levels of voter participation suggests that newcomers entering Canada are quick to settle in society and conform to cultural standards. In other words, this chapter has found Canada's immigration policies are more successful in integrating immigrant's socio-culturally than economically, despite previous findings on the economic conformity model, as reviewed in the literature review. Despite Canada having the lower levels of labour market participation and immigrant earnings to Australia and New Zealand, there is considerable focus given to economic integration by Canadian policymakers. Through the development of various economic immigrant subcategories, CIC attempts to increase economic integration and conform closer to the native born in the labour market. This section has also confirmed that Canada does not solely use one type of integration mode. Canadian immigration policy uses a blended model of socio-cultural and economic conformity.

New Zealand and Australia's case studies provided for an interesting comparison for Canada. We have learned that the southern hemisphere cases focus their immigration policy more on labour market integration than on socio-cultural integration compared to Canada. In their specific immigration policy, Canada differs from New Zealand and Australia in three major ways: temporary labour migration policy, employment opportunities, language requirements/training opportunities. The divergence in Canada's policy in these key areas has resulted in different levels of success of integration for immigrants, specifically skilled workers.

In the next section, I analyze Citizenship and Immigration Canada's departmental plans and performance reports to identify how the three identified divergences- language training, temporary foreign labour migration and employment development policy- have evolved over twenty years. I specifically focus on economic immigrants' policy as this section has illustrated Canada's reduced results of integration compared to Australia and New Zealand.

## **Chapter 6: Document Analysis of Departmental Plans and Performance Reports**

Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) released its first departmental plan and report in 1998. The plans and reports despite a few changes have maintained the same structure. A detailed document analysis of these departmental plans and reports will complement the previous section by understanding the progression and evolution of Canada's immigration policy as well as take into account how strong Canada's economic and socio-cultural integration policies are. A detailed one-page summary of each departmental plan and report from 1998 to 2020 can be found in Annex A. By understanding CIC's plans and priorities, we can define the relationship of the models of integration that Canada uses when accepting newcomers into the country. Furthermore, using the divergences identified in the previous section as key themes, this section provides an answer as to how successful Canada's immigration policies have been in integrating the different streams of immigrants. Additionally, it shows us how much importance the Government of Canada has given to the key indicators of successful integration.

In each annual plan and report there are opening remarks section where the Minister outlines CIC's mandates, the priorities for the year and the importance of immigration. Most minister remarks confirm the data found in the literature review (Li, 2003; Boucher 2020; Hum & Simpson, 2006; Barber, 2009; and Flynn & Bauder, 2018): "immigration plays an important role in positioning Canada to meet the challenges and opportunities of the knowledge-based economy while preserving primary access to jobs for qualified Canadians" (Government of Canada, 1998, p. 2). The forces of the labour market can already be seen impacting immigration policy.

The objective of Citizenship and Immigration Canada as outlined in the departmental plans is "to ensure that the movement of people into Canada and membership in Canadian society contribute to Canada's social and economic interests and the protection of the health and safety of Canadians" (Government of Canada, 1998, p. 4). The objective statements again confirm data that was reviewed in the literature review on the importance of both economic and social integration indicators for immigrants entering Canada. The CIC acknowledges that immigrants will have to contribute socially and economically to the country to integrate successfully.

To understand Citizenship and Immigration Canada's (CIC) priorities in immigration policy, i.e. to ascertain how the model of integration Canada works, a thorough analysis of the evolution of the different integration streams is required. There are three primary immigration streams in Canada that are found in CIC's departmental plans and reports: family reunification, economic immigrants and refugee protection (Government of Canada, 1998, p. 11). Please see Annex A for a one-page summary of each departmental plan and report. Within these three streams, there are additional programs that allow for different types of immigrants: for example, in the economic immigrant stream, there is the skilled worker, business investor and entrepreneur program. The table below outlines each subprogram in the three streams in 1998. Throughout the evolution of

the policy the family reunification and refugee protection streams continue with the same subcategories however, CIC and later IRCC implemented many more economic immigrant subcategories such as the Canadian Economic Class, Provincial Nominee Program, and the Atlantic Immigration Pilot program. This section outlines the evolution of each of the aforementioned streams between 1998 and 2020. Following the analysis of the three streams, I provide analysis on the three key themes identified in the previous section: temporary labour migration policy, employment opportunities, and language requirements/training opportunities.

Table 10 Streams of Canadian immigration, 1900-1998

Immigration Stream	Family Reunification	Economic Immigrant	Refugee Protection
<b>Origin of the Immigration Stream</b>	<b>1908</b> - Although Canada has had provisions for admitting immigrants with relatives since 1908, family reunion did not emerge as a distinct class until <b>1926</b> (Immigration and Refugee Canada, 2015)	<b>1900</b> - Settlement and infrastructure development in the west brought Europeans and Americans into Canada (Council on Foreign Relations, 2020, p. 1).	<b>1773</b> - Black Loyalists fled the oppression of the American revolution however, official refugee protection policy began in the <b>1880s</b> with the Jews, Italians and Ukrainians fleeing their countries of origin (Immigration, Refugee and Citizenship Canada, 2020).
<b>Subprograms</b>	N/A	Federal Skilled Workers  Entrepreneur Program  Business Investor Program	Government-Assisted Refugees  Privately-Sponsored Refugees

Source : The data in the table is from: Immigration Refugees and Citizenship Canada. (2015, February 3). *Evaluation of the Family Reunification Program* . Canada.ca. Retrieved December 9, 2021, from <https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/corporate/reports-statistics/evaluations/family-reunification-program.html>; Council on Foreign Relations. (2020). *What is Canada's immigration policy?* Retrieved December 9, 2021, from <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/what-canadas-immigration-policy> ; Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada. (2020, August 24). *Canada: A History of Refuge* . Canada.ca. Retrieved December 9, 2021, from <https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/services/refugees/history.html>.

## Evolution of the Three Immigration Streams in Canada

### **Family Reunification: The Government of Canada has made the process of integration easier for newcomers**

Family reunification is one of the three pillars of Canada's immigration program and has its foundation since 1908 (Government of Canada, Evaluation of the Family Reunification Program). It permits both recent immigrants and long-established Canadians to be “reunited with members of their family” (Government of Canada, 1998, p. 12). Under the Immigration and Refugee Protection Regulations (IRPR), families living abroad may be sponsored as well as spouses or common-law partners living in Canada with their sponsor. Persons who can be

sponsored in the family class include the spouse, common-law partner (including same-sex partner), conjugal partner, dependent children, parents, grand-parents, children adopted from abroad, and other relatives in special circumstances (Government of Canada, 1998, p. 13).

In 1998, CIC processed 50,867 family reunification applications (Government of Canada, 1998, p. 14). In areas with increased demand, CIC added new staff which resulted in "processing times in line with global performance standards" (Government of Canada, 1998, p. 19). These areas with greater demand include New Delhi and Beijing in India and China. Between 1999 and 2000, the family reunification plan was modified to expand the definition of dependent children from ages 19 to 22 which allowed single children to be reunited with their parents in Canada. Moreover, stronger reporting standards were put in place which allowed CIC to monitor sponsorship obligations. Sponsorship obligations primarily refer to financially "taking care of the persons you are sponsoring" (Government of Canada, 1999b, p. 12).

In 2000-01, CIC continued to adapt the definition of family to "make it more relevant to contemporary society" (Government of Canada, 2000a, p. 13). This refers the inclusion of definitions of same-sex and common-law partners. Between 2001 and 2002, CIC focused on implementing the definition changes mentioned above and continued to monitor sponsor obligations. The "vast majority of sponsors" (Government of Canada, 2002a, p. 16) were living up to their obligations.

By the end of 2002, CIC was successful in: "increasing the age of dependent children, recognizing common-law and same-sex partners, reducing sponsorship length for spouses, introducing sponsorship bars and improving the method of recovering costs of social assistance" (Government of Canada, 2002a, p. 17). Between the 2002 and 2004 reporting periods, CIC ensured the process of the family reunification process was streamlined and that the criteria was clear for sponsors to apply to bring their family members into Canada (Government of Canada, 2004b, p. 14). Between 2004 and 2005, CIC worked with the Canadian Revenue Agency to develop "a Canada-wide mechanism to collect social assistance from sponsors and pay it out to the persons whom they sponsored" (Government of Canada, 2005a, p. 20). This was a result of irregularities in how family sponsors were keeping up their sponsorship obligations towards the family members they support.

Policy changes in the family reunification stream between 2005 and 2009 took a backseat to the economic immigrant stream. CIC monitored the family reunification stream however, there was a lack of policy development. In 2009, CIC started to prioritize the family reunification stream, once again by "giving priority to the processing applications" (Government of Canada, 2009a, p. 19). Between 2010 and 2012, CIC updated the family reunification definition by adding "a regulatory proposal to expand the current family sponsorship bar for those who have been convicted of family violence crimes; and amendments to strengthen and clarify the regulations

that prohibit the use of bad faith relationships for the purpose of immigration” (Government of Canada, 2011a, p. 21). This policy change aimed to protect Canadians from the forced sponsoring of bad faith family members. Between the 2011 and 2012 reporting period, CIC reorganized their internal structure and repositioned family reunification under the second strategic outcome alongside refugee protection. The reason for this was to increase "family reunification amongst refugees." (Government of Canada, 2012b, p. 28) CIC also submitted a regulatory proposal to expand the current family sponsorship bar for those who had been convicted of family violence crimes; and amendments to strengthen and clarify the regulations that prohibit the use of bad faith relationships for the purpose of immigration” (Government of Canada, 2012b, p. 33).

Between 2012 and 2014, CIC started to change their policies to align more closely with provincial standards. Furthermore, CIC paused the applications of parents and grandparents in family reunification to emphasize the economic stream and allow for more economic immigrants to enter the country. There were no changes made to family reunification in 2015 and 2016. In the 2016 and 2017 reporting period, the Citizenship and Immigration Canada was renamed to Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC). IRCC implemented a new policy for the family reunification program that eliminated the “two-year conditional permanent resident requirement” (Government of Canada, 2017a, p. 22) to spouses seeking to reunite with a Canadian spouse. This made the waiting times for immigrants under the family reunification stream lower, making it easier to become a citizen. Service improvements were made to the family sponsorship application process, including: simplified information guides and forms to make application preparation easier; increased online communications; and “quicker submission of applications by such measures as allowing medical exams to take place after processing has begun, which reduces the likelihood of having to renew expired documents” (Government of Canada, 2017a, p. 22). Between 2017 and 2018, IRCC made two regulatory changes: the ministry “eliminated the condition that required some spouses and partners to live with their sponsor for two years and increased the age of dependency from under 19 to under 22 years so that parents are able to include single children” (Government of Canada, 2018b, p. 21). The evolution of the IRCC's policies can be described as making the process more lenient and easier to reunite with their families. Between 2018 and 2020, there were no additional changes made to the family reunification program.

Family reunification has been a central tenet to Canada's immigration policy. Since 1998, CIC has been accepting large numbers of family members to reunite with Canadian citizens and permanent residents. Definitions of family reunification were updated throughout 1998 and 2020. In 1999, the age of dependent children were increased; acceptance of same-sex partners in 2002 and common law partners are two examples of this. In 2000's, policies around sponsorship obligations, bad faith relationships and faster processing time of applications was the focus. In the 2010's, policies evolved to make it easier and less cumbersome for new immigrants to settle

in Canada through this stream. For example, the two-year mandatory condition to live with spouses was removed and the condition to have a permanent resident status in 2017 was removed. Family reunification did take a backseat to economic immigrants; however, the policy evolution suggests that Canada does focus on reuniting family members that favours the incoming population. Family reunification policy has made it easier to enter the country since 1998. Policies have been developed to integrate into society socio-culturally. This can be seen through the lack of data and performance indicators of how family reunification immigrants integrate in the labour market.

### **Economic Immigrants: The Government of Canada has decentralized the skilled worker experience and created more economic subcategories to meet the provincial needs of their respective labour markets**

The second pillar of Canadian immigration and perhaps the most focused on is the economic immigrants' streams. The history of this stream goes back to the turn of the twentieth century when "Canada was promoting the settlement of Western Canada" (Statistics Canada, 150 years of immigration in Canada). Economic immigrants are individuals who "are selected for their skills and ability to contribute to Canada's economy" (Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada, 2020). In 1998, there were four programs under the economic stream including the skilled foreign worker program, and the business investor program, business entrepreneur program and the business self-employed program.

Between 1998 and 2002, CIC developed new criteria for the selection process of economic immigrants to better support them in "adapting to the Canadian labour market" (Government of Canada, 1998, p. 11). The new selection system emphasizes importance on "official language skills, age, and existence of relatives in Canada" (Government of Canada, 1999a, p. 20). Every year between 1998 and 2001, CIC worked on refining the skilled workers program. For example, between 2001 and 2002, CIC eliminated specific occupational classifications as criteria for selection to increase flexibility for immigrants. The investor program was updated to include a simplified "administration process, reduction of abuse and increased economic benefits" (Government of Canada, 1999a, p. 20). Additionally, the redesigned model required individuals to have investments of \$400,000 from applicants who must have a network of \$800,000 (Government of Canada, 1999a, p. 20). Between 2000 and 2001, CIC updated the investor program to make the selection of business immigrants more effective by "implementing objective and verifiable definitions for this activity" (Government of Canada, 2000b, p. 14). Between 2001 and 2002, CIC was successful in developing new eligibility requirements for business immigrants. The new regulations introduced objective and measurable standards for business experience, net worth and business establishment in Canada. These standards attempted to make the selection requirements more transparent. They also made the program more efficient and easier to apply.

Between 2002 and 2010, CIC amended the Immigration and Protection Act (IRPA) to allow “people with transferable skills rather than the necessary occupations” (Government of Canada, 2002b, p. 13) to be selected through this stream. The IRPA was the primary federal legislation regulating immigration to Canada. The proposed changes placed more emphasis on language and education skills instead of matching an immigrant's single intended occupations with narrow labour market demand niches (Government of Canada, 2002a, p. 13). This was extended to the selection of business investors coming to Canada: CIC will improve the “objective and measurable standards” (Government of Canada, 2002b, p.14) in the selection criteria. With an overall increase in economic immigrants entering Canada, CIC reviewed the foreign credential policy. CIC worked with HRDC and Industry Canada to develop a fast-track process for highly skilled workers who have arranged employment (Government of Canada, 2003a, p.18). Furthermore, a new application process for highly skilled workers to expedite processes was looked into in this reporting period. Additionally, in consultations with provinces and territorial ministers, CIC developed strategies to share the benefits of immigration more evenly across the country. This resulted in alternative programs that were created in the 2010s, namely the Atlantic Immigration Pilot project, Quebec Economic classes and the Rural and Northern Immigration Pilot Program (Government of Canada, 2020a). Between 2004 and 2006, CIC continued to review the effects of the IRPA on economic immigrants. In 2006, CIC refocused delivery on the Entrepreneur program. This program allows international businessmen and women to settle in Canada (Government of Canada, 2007b, p. 12). Between 2007 and 2008, CIC evaluated how skilled workers were selected in the post-IRPA labour market and reviewed the policy effectiveness of the Entrepreneur program.

From 2011, CIC started to decentralize the immigration process: CIC improved the long-term immigration plan and increased involvement of "provinces and territories to align with the federal vision" (Government of Canada, 2011b, p. 25). Between 2012 and 2013, CIC continued to focus on permanent residents earning higher income "three to five years after landing" (Government of Canada, 2013a, p. 11). CIC also revitalized the self-employed persons program which took a backseat to the investor and entrepreneur stream. The self-employed persons stream is defined as “a person in cultural activities or athletics at a world class level” (Government of Canada, 2013a, p. 21). For entrepreneurs, CIC implemented the Start-Up Visa Program, which “is the first program which allows the Minister to issue instructions to create economic immigration programs, limited to a duration of five years” (Government of Canada, 2013a, p. 30).

Between 2013 and 2014, CIC updated the federal skilled workers program requirements to include “new minimum language requirements, and mandatory education credential assessments of foreign educational credentials (Government of Canada, 2014a, p. 27). There were major changes in the federal business immigrant programs: CIC announced the intention to eliminate the existing investor and entrepreneur program (Government of Canada, 2014b, p. 32). The

government turned its attention to “attracting experienced business people and raising investment capital that is of maximum benefit to Canada’s economy” (Government of Canada, 2014a, p. 32). CIC also continued to work with the Start-Up Visa program from the previous year.

The ministry launched the express entry system and went away with the “first-in, first-out processing method” (Government of Canada, 2016b, p. 33). The Express Entry process focused on inviting only the top ranked candidates to apply for permanent resident status (Government of Canada, 2016, p. 33). The express entry system launched a new pathway for skilled trades persons as well as skilled workers (Government of Canada, 2016b, p. 35). The Provincial Nominee Program continues unchanged from the previous year. Under the Federal Business Immigrants Program, IRCC continued to monitor the growth of the Start-Up visa program. IRCC also launched a new pilot program: The Immigrant Investor Venture Capital program to support venture capital investment in Canadian businesses (Government of Canada, 2016a, p. 34).

Between 2017 and 2019, IRCC began an Atlantic Immigration Pilot to “increase the rate of immigration to the four Atlantic provinces in order to address demographic gaps and fill labour gaps” (Government of Canada, 2018b, p. 12). One of the primary features of this program is the increased role of employers in the retention of newcomer employees and their families. The ministry spent the year focusing on increasing awareness of the project by “700 engagement and outreach activities” (Government of Canada, 2018a, p. 12). Under the Express Entry program, the department introduced two new changes: “French language proficiency and a job bank registration” (Government of Canada, 2018a, p. 13). Under the International Experience Canada program, IRCC conducted public opinion research to “better understand the motivators and barriers to work experiences” (Government of Canada, 2018a, p. 18). Between 2019 and 2020, IRCC, under the International Experience Canada program, signed an agreement with Luxembourg which allowed Luxembourgian youth to work in Canada for up to twelve months “in regions with low employment rates in jobs that are temporary and sometimes harder for Canadian employers to fill” (Government of Canada, 2020a, p. 14). Under the Global Skills Strategy program, IRCC worked with Global Affairs Canada and participated in the Collision Conference to promote the program, “showcasing Canada as an attractive and welcoming destination for global investment” (Government of Canada, 2020a, p. 15).

While the federal system has three streams of immigration, Quebec has one. The federal government and Quebec are two separate bodies that are capable of accepting immigrants into Canada. The Canada-Quebec Accord was signed in 1991 with the purpose of recognizing Quebec’s distinct identity. It considers “the federal and bilingual character of Canada” (Government of Canada, The Canada-Quebec Accord). In regards to the levels of immigration, Canada establishes the total number for the country and Quebec “provides advice on the number it wishes to receive.” (Government of Canada, The Canada-Quebec Accord). The Government of Quebec accepts immigrants based on age, skills, relations to native born Canadians but with a

particular focus on language. At first glance, this is seen as a socio-cultural indicator to integrate newcomers into Canada. However, employment opportunities in Quebec rest on the knowledge of the French-language. Thus, language in Quebec can be seen as an economic conformity indicator as well. This is also evident in the resettlement services offered by the Government of Quebec: of the services offered abroad, the primary program is on French-language training (Government of Quebec, Integration service for immigrants).

Since 1998, CIC has placed a heavy focus on economic immigrants specifically, the federal skilled workers program. Every year between 1998 and 2010, CIC would specialize and refine the criteria to select the federal skilled workers program. With the creation and implementation of the IRPA, education and language skills were put at the forefront of the criteria list. This was further refined in 2014 with new policies on foreign educational credentials. Starting in 2015, the express entry system came into effect which used these criteria to narrow the top ranked immigrants to succeed in Canada's labour market. The business immigrant streams including the investor, self-employed and entrepreneur program also underwent many changes and refinement through 1998 and 2020. Between 1998 and 2002, policies on the selection of these streams were constantly being refined. For example, investors were required to "have investments of \$400,000 and a network of \$800,000" (Government of Canada, 1999b, p. 20). Business immigrants were also heavily affected by the IRPA which set out new criteria to choose the "right candidates to succeed and have an impact on Canada's economy" (Government of Canada, 2010a, p. 23). Starting in 2011, the business programs were decentralized and policy development took place at the provincial level. In 2014, the investor and entrepreneur programs were eliminated and replaced with the Start Up Visa, the Global skills strategy and an Investor Venture program. The business immigrant streams are highly specialized and have been refined through the twenty years to be as responsive to Canada's labour market as possible including stronger focuses on the English language and having the necessary investments to succeed in growing Canada's economy. Economic immigrants entering Canada are assessed on their ability to adapt and enter the labour market. Data and performance indicators focus on how immigrants perform compared to the native born and how high employment rates are. However, there are no indicators on how economic immigrants are integrated socio-culturally. The federal department focuses on creating programs and services that can speed up integrating skilled workers into specific provincial labour markets. Counter intuitively, this focus on provincial integration demonstrates the federal government's focus on socio-cultural integration.

### **Refugee Protection: The Government of Canada has developed policies to ensure refugees enter Canada in a consistent and streamlined way**

The third pillar of Canada's immigration process is refugee integration and protection. The history of refuge in Canada dates back to the eighteenth century with the "flee of Black Loyalists from the oppression of the American revolution" (Government of Canada, Canada: A History of Refuge, 2021). However, refugee immigration policy was developed federally in the 1880s to

accept Jews, Italians and Ukrainians from persecution from their native countries (Government of Canada, Canada: A History of Refuge, 2021). Modern refugee protection immigration policy is developed by Citizenship Immigration Canada and later on Immigration, Refugee and Citizenship Canada alongside the United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHCR) to accept asylum seekers and integrate them into Canada. In Canada there are two types of refugees: government assisted and privately sponsored refugees. Once the Government of Canada and UNHCR come to a consensus on the individuals being accepted in this stream, private citizens of Canada can choose to sponsor refugees. These are privately sponsored refugees. Those who do not receive a private sponsor will be assisted by the Government up to one year or “until they are able to support themselves, whichever happens first” (Government of Canada, 2021).

Between 1998 and 2000, CIC developed new criteria to accept refugees into Canada and developed immediate essential services for government-assisted refugees (Government of Canada, 1998, p. 16). This included the creation of the Resettlement Assistance Program (RAP) which provided Government-assisted Refugees with the necessary supports to settle into their new country.

In 1999, CIC acknowledged that there were barriers for “refugees to integrate into the country” (Government of Canada, 1999a, p. 18) and updated legislation and policies between 2000 and 2001 to “increase flexibility in the eligibility and selection criteria, swifter processing of urgent protection cases, new procedures to maintain the family unit and more effective use of existing international non-governmental organizations (NGOs)” (Government of Canada, 1999b, p. 18). In 2002, CIC created and passed the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (IRPA) which was their primary goal in the preceding years. The IRPA streamlined processes amongst refugees and ensured a fair and consistent approach to reviewing refugee applications.

Between 2003 and 2007, CIC focused on refugee protection and integration to improve the settlement process. In 2003, CIC continued to review the refugee status determination process and improve the management of the process as well as work with partners and stakeholders who supported resettled refugees (Government of Canada, 2003a, p. 21). In 2004, CIC worked closely with the Immigration and Refugee Board to refine the process in which asylum claimants to appeal the federal governments’ decisions. Additionally, CIC worked with the Canadian Council for Refugees (CCR) to ensure “their participation in the internal review of the Private Sponsorship Refugees Program” (Government of Canada, 2004a, p. 25). In 2006, CIC reviewed their documentation of refugee claimants policy. Additionally, CIC focused on maintaining its relationships with key partners to ensure the refugee settlement process is as smooth and efficient as possible. CIC “strive[d] to improve” (Government of Canada, 2005a, p. 25) program monitoring and performance management through this business line. In the 2006 and 2007 reporting period, CIC prioritized the Interim Health Federal Health (IFH) program. This contributed to optimal health outcomes in a “fair, equitable and cost-effective manner”

(Government of Canada, 2006a, p. 32). Integration services within Canada include health programs for newcomers and the improvement of the IFH program demonstrate policy evolution in the right direction.

Between 2007 and 2012, CIC conducted an evaluation on the private and government sponsored framework and concluded that the treatment of refugees upon arrival “were inconsistent and integration levels varied” (Government of Canada, 2012b, p. 26). As a result, CIC created a quality assurance framework to attempt to streamline the process for refugees entering the country. During this time period, CIC was slower in processing refugee applications and failed to meet its targets consistently throughout the five years. Due to this, the main priority for CIC and IRCC during the next four-year period was achieving the target refugee entry levels between 2013 and 2017. Evaluations and process reviews were a common priority during this period to ensure consistency. During this period, IRCC also committed to taking in Syrian refugees and Daesh survivors. CIC prioritized integrating and resettling these refugees.

Between 2018 and 2020, IRCC worked with provinces and territories to lift the “interim housing pressures” (Government of Canada, 2019b, p. 15) by providing \$474 million to support the affected provinces and municipalities. IRCC also worked with asylum delivery organizations to address “the high volume of claims received” (Government of Canada, 2019a, p. 16). Lastly, under this program, IRCC made “significant progress in improving the management of language training” (Government of Canada, 2019a, p. 25).

Streamlining and ensuring consistency across the refugee protection program has been the primary focus of the Government of Canada’s since 1998. CIC, and later IRCC, has taken steps in the right direction to better integrate refugees in Canada. By focusing on the Interim Federal Health program, the quality assurance framework, streamlining application and appeal processes and by conducting evaluations of both the privately sponsored and government assisted programs, the Government of Canada has provided support to asylum seekers in Canada. In the early 2010s, CIC was more proactive in creating and implementing policy which slowed down towards the end of the decade. This can be seen as a policy review mechanism to understand how the policy affected the newly arrived refugee community. Newcomers coming into Canada through this stream are not given the appropriate services to integrate successfully into the labour market. Performance indicators and data that is collected in the performance reports do not report on the number of refugees entering the labour market. Refugees coming from diverse backgrounds are provided with services and programs to integrate socio-culturally- to ensure they have the language and health services to live in Canadian society.

What have we learned in this section? The evolution of the family reunification stream took a backseat to the economic streams in terms of policy particularly after the 2010s. CIC and IRCC created easier enforcement and less stringent policies particularly for newcomers entering

Canada through the family reunification stream. The focal point of CIC and IRCC's immigration policy is the economic stream. The department continuously refines and updates the points systems to reflect labour market needs. The refugee stream has consistently been updated to strengthen newcomer settlement services and protections. A key theme in all three streams is the noticeable decentralization that occurs in the 2010s. This allowed for provinces and territories to attract skilled workers and persons that would best adapt to their labour market.

### **Concluding Remarks**

The primary objective of the Family Reunification stream is to reunite families in Canada and given that on average 60,000-80,000 individuals, CIC and IRCC are effectively doing this (Government of Canada, 2010b, p. 32; Government of Canada 2018b, p.45). Under the family reunification stream, policies reduced burdens for newcomers by formalizing sponsorship obligations, barring bad faith relationships, eliminating the two-year conditional permanent residency requirement and spousal cohabitation. By increasing the age of dependent children in this stream, the department opened their doors to more newcomers into the country. This however was a higher age than what family reunification dependent ages were in provinces. The policy was eventually changed back to 18 to align closer to provincial standards. CIC and IRCC continued to open the definition of family to include same-sex partners and common-law partners. These policy changes allowed for a more seamless passage of movement for newcomers entering Canada. Throughout the twenty years, CIC made the processing of family reunification applications a priority. This is shown by the department responding to the areas of greater demand by setting up additional processing centers. Trying to reduce processing times within this stream was a priority for CIC and IRCC. Policy development indicates that the federal department is successful in integrating family reunification individuals into the country. It should be noted that family reunification integration and adaptation into the labour market is not discussed in the departmental plans and reports. This indicates that CIC and IRCC have more than an economic model of conformity when it comes to integration. Canada opening its doors to newcomers to reunite with families is indicative of the socio-cultural model of integration. Reunified family members also do not use a model of conformity as there is no data on the comparison that is made with the native born in this stream. In the case-oriented comparative analysis, I concluded that Canada's family reunification stream was stronger than New Zealand and Australia however, from analysis of this stream, family reunification took a backseat to economic immigrants. Despite the reduced policy changes and evolutions over the twenty years, family reunification policy has opened up to allow newcomers to settle into their new country with greater ease.

The primary objective of the economic stream is to attract talent that is "most suitable at adapting to the labour market" (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1998, p. 12). Throughout the twenty years of policy evolution, CIC continuously refined the criteria for selecting economic immigrants. This included changing the points system on language, skills, age, and relationship

to Canadians. By focusing on these attributes, it can be posited that CIC and IRCC used a model of conformity to integrate economic immigrants. This is because language, skills and relationship to Canadians are indicators of how easily one can settle into a new society. Language and skills provide the basis of strong potential to integrate into the labour market while relationships to Canadians and age indicate stronger socio-cultural integration. Settled family members share Canadian values with newcomers and lower ages provide newcomers with a longer runway to adapt to the new society. Policies towards business and investor classes evolved to be more reactive to the labour market. Socio-cultural integration factors amongst the business and investor immigrants are not focused on at all by CIC and IRCC. The primary focus is on economic conformity for this class of immigrants. In the mid-2010s, CIC and IRCC started to decentralize the economic immigrant stream to align closer to provincial standards. This underscores the strength of the socio-cultural conformity model where immigrants need to have the skills and adaptability to settle in a specific province. Through pilot programs such as the Atlantic Immigration Pilot and the Northern and Rural and Northern Immigration program, the Government of Canada, allowed provinces to select specific profiles of immigrants that can best integrate and adapt to their labour market needs.

The primary objectives of the refugee protection stream are to “save lives, offer protection to the displaced and persecuted and provide assistance to those in need of resettlement” (Government of Canada, 1998, p. 3). In the late 1990s, the department launched the Resettlement Assistance Program (RAP) to provide refugees with the necessary supports to settle into their new country. Through evaluations, the Government acknowledged the barriers of refugees to integrate into the country. Refugees present an interesting discourse for the government because the most in-need of support are often the ones that have the toughest time integrating into society. By accepting communities that have been displaced, integration would be a difficult task. In the early 2000s, CIC focused on improving the settlement process by decentralizing the integration process, working with service provider organizations, creating quality frameworks to streamline the refugee integration process, updating health and housing benefits and updating processes such as asylum claim appeals. In the departmental plans and reports, there is no mention of employment outcomes of refugees. This demonstrates that Canada’s vision of integration for refugees rests more on socio-cultural indicators rather than economic conformity. This is further underscored by the RAP providing language training, and housing assistance to refugees because socio-cultural integration is favoured.

*Table 11 Evolution of Canadian immigration streams, 1998-2002, 2009-2015, 2016-2020*

<b>Stream</b>	<b>1998 - 2002</b>	<b>2003 - 2008</b>	<b>2009 - 2015</b>	<b>2016 - 2020</b>
Family Reunification	Added processing centres in high demand areas	Formalizing sponsorship obligation responsibilities	Expand the definition by extending the sponsorship bar to	Eliminated the two year conditional PR requirement; the

	<p>Expanded definition of children to 22; same-sex partners and common-law partners.</p> <p>Introduced sponsorship bars</p> <p>Reduction of sponsorship length.</p>	<p>Streamlined the family reunification stream across the country.</p> <p>Monitored intake of the family reunification stream.</p>	<p>convicts and bad faith relationships.</p> <p>Enhanced focus on family reunification for refugees.</p> <p>Align internal policies closer to provincial standards.</p>	<p>condition that required some spouses and partners to live together for two years.</p> <p>Simplified the application process.</p>
Economic Immigrants	<p>Developed new criteria for the selection process.</p> <p>Investor application process was simplified</p> <p>New eligibility requirements for the business program.</p>	<p>New criteria in all programs focused on language and education and moved away from specific occupation requirements.</p> <p>Fast track process created for highly skilled workers.</p> <p>Monitoring the IRPA</p> <p>Refocused on the Entrepreneur program.</p>	<p>Increased the role of provinces and territories in the immigration plan.</p> <p>Revitalized the self-employed persons program.</p> <p>Implemented the Start-Up Visa program</p> <p>New criteria for skilled worker selection</p> <p>Assessment of foreign credential policy</p> <p>Eliminated the investor and entrepreneur program.</p> <p>Launch of the express entry system.</p>	<p>Launched an Immigrant Investor Venture capital program and an Atlantic Immigration pilot</p> <p>Make changes to the Express entry system</p> <p>Launched a Global skills strategy</p>
Refugee Protection	<p>Developed new criteria to accept refugees into Canada.</p> <p>Updated legislation to reduce barriers to integration.</p>	<p>Improved the management of the process of working with key partners.</p> <p>Refined the appeal process with IRB.</p> <p>Evaluation of the refugee acceptance and integration process.</p> <p>Improved the Interim</p>	<p>Created a quality assurance program to streamline the government assisted and privately sponsored refugee systems, based on evaluation.</p> <p>Slowed down processing applications.</p>	<p>Increased refugee targets.</p> <p>Lifted interim housing pressures for refugees by working with provinces and territories</p> <p>Worked with asylum delivery organizations to address high volume of claims.</p>

		Federal Health program.		Updated language training.
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Source: The data is from Departmental Plans and Performance Reports published by the Government of Canada from 1998 – 2020. Please see the reference list for links of the documents

Note: These specific year ranges have been used due to the similarities noticed in policy development over the twenty years discussed.

We now move to the second part of the discussion which attempts to answer the second research question: How successful has Canada been in integrating the different streams of immigrants? To answer this, please note the themes discovered in the comparative case-oriented analysis namely language training, employment outcomes, and temporary foreign worker policy. These themes shed light on how successful Canada has been in integrating different streams of immigrants as they are the foundational blocks, provided by a government, to ensure that immigrants can contribute successfully to society.

### **Thematic Analysis of CIC’s Departmental Plans and Performance Reports**

From the case-oriented comparative analysis, the research concluded that to successfully integrate newcomers into a country the following priorities must be addressed by policies and programs: language training, temporary foreign migration policy and employment outcomes. In this section, these three themes are analyzed to understand their evolution over the twenty years from the departmental plans and performance reports.

#### **Language Training: Language Training has always been provided to newcomers and the Government of Canada has decentralized and expanded their language services to increase outreach**

In order to successfully integrate newcomers into society, one of the key pillars, seen from the case-oriented comparative analysis, is language training. Newcomers entering Canada come with various levels of English and French language understanding. In order to streamline this process and assist those who have lower levels of the required English and French capabilities, CIC offered training opportunities in their resettlement programs. This section looks at how language training policy evolved over the twenty years to understand the importance and the direction that the federal government is taking with integrating newcomers.

Between 1998 and 2003, CIC budgeted \$93.5 million annually to the Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada program (LINC) to ensure “adult newcomers had the necessary supports to adapt to their new environment” (Government of Canada, 1998, p. 25). Additionally, the federal government worked with English as a Second Language communities to support the Canadian language benchmark initiative. In 1998-1999, a new department was created to ensure

standardization of language requirements across the country and visa processing centres: Centre for Canadian Language Benchmarks (Government of Canada, 1998, p. 26). Since 1998, CIC has continuously refined the criteria for economic immigrants including federal skilled workers and business investors. Between 2001 and 2003, language requirements were given more importance. In the 2003 reporting plan, CIC stressed the importance of language levels of immigrants “to better adapt to the labour market” (Government of Canada, 2004a, p. 33).

Between 2004 and 2009, CIC increased their allocated budget to the LINC program to \$103.3 million (Government of Canada, 2004a, p. 51). The incremental increase in CIC’s allocation towards language training indicates the importance of language in integrating immigrants into Canada. Between 2005 and 2007, CIC expanded the LINC program to be delivered through school boards, colleges and community organizations in workplace or community settings. Both transportation and child-minding services were made available to participants necessary. This demonstrates understanding from the federal department on immigrant contexts and needs. Additionally, CIC funded a project by the Centre for Canadian Language Benchmarks (CCLB) to carry out the “semantic, syntactic and lexical editing of the Standard linguistique canadiens” (Government of Canada, 2006b, p. 37). This upgraded the LINC program to provide online training on language benchmarks.

As a result of consultations and partnerships with local governments, a federal-funded, provincial program on English Language Training (ELT) was created. ELT targets labour market language requirements more than LINC does (Government of Canada, 2006a). In 2007, the ELT program was further decentralized to further “integrate services in communities across Canada” (Government of Canada, 2007a, p. 12). Between 2007 and 2008, CIC increased their investments on both LINC and ELT. In LINC the further investments resulted in a greater outreach of newcomers and led to an “increased enrolment by 10%” (Government of Canada, 2008a, p. 41). This also resulted in “more flexible class schedules to accommodate immigrants, expansion to new service regions especially rural areas, addition of higher level LINC classes; innovative learning models including distance learning, an increase in child-minding assistance, an increase in services to support and improve the delivery of programs, enhanced tools and supporting material such as new standardized assessment tools” (Government of Canada, 2008b, p. 42). Further investments to ELT led to “increased job-finding skills, preparation for licensure exams and the establishment of mentors, contacts and networks” (Government of Canada, 2008a, p. 42). Between 2008 and 2009, a formative evaluation of the ELT program was completed. Findings indicated that it was a successful project that met the needs of the intended population. The work placements and the flexibility of the service delivery were seen as the biggest strengths of the program (Government of Canada, 2009a, p. 18). Improvements made to the LINC program, were, “ changes were made to the quality of language training including training at higher levels of the official language proficiency, French-language assessment tools and curriculum resources for the French immigrants entering Canada” (Government of Canada, 2009b, p. 19).

Between 2010 and 2012, CIC increased their focus on the LINC program while ELT took a backseat. ELT continued to be funded however, new policy changes were not implemented. In 2010, LINC continued to be updated to improve French language programming. An evaluation was announced in 2010 to determine the effectiveness and efficiency of the LINC program (Government of Canada, 2011a, p. 33). Additionally, a pilot project to test language training vouchers for newcomers was established as an alternative delivery method for improving newcomer participation. In 2011, CIC began to implement action items from the 2010 evaluation of the Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC). In particular, enhancements were made to the language assessment in the Settlement Program (Government of Canada, 2011a, p. 33). CIC implemented a pilot to test a portfolio-based assessment method in collaboration with LINC service provider organizations. The pilot, which ran until January 2012, “support[ed] ongoing teacher–student dialogue with the objective of improving the student’s progress in acquiring official language proficiency” (Government of Canada, 2012a, p. 33). CIC concluded that the Language Training Vouchers pilot project tested new ways to increase the uptake rate of free LINC language training by newcomers. The results of this one-year pilot showed that clients who received a voucher were 25 percent more likely to access a LINC service than clients who did not receive a voucher. CIC launched the development phase of the on-line national repository of language teaching tools and resources to help language instructors share resources and develop online communities of practice among language instructors. The ‘LearnIT2teach’ project was also implemented to help language instructors in Ontario effectively integrate computers and the web into their teaching methods and classrooms.

In 2013, the portfolio-based language assessment (PBLA) was announced as the standard feature of the LINC and the Cours de langue pour les immigrants au Canada (CLIC) (Government of Canada, 2014a, p. 49). Starting in 2013–2014, the PBLA was phased over a three-year period across all LINC and CLIC courses and enabled teachers to measure the language proficiency of participants. PBLA was first pilot-tested successfully in Ottawa. Between 2015 and 2016, the IRCC, rebranded from CIC, advanced federal-provincial-territorial collaboration with a more strategic and coordinated approach to the design and delivery of language training in Canada, with a focus on the Syrian refugee crisis, overloading the existing language training program. In 2017–2018, IRCC funded over five hundred third-party SPOs, facilitating the delivery of a variety of settlement services to more than 457,000 clients, representing an increase of approximately 8% compared to 2016–2017 (Government of Canada, 2018a, p. 21).

Language training has always been offered by the federal government to newly arrived immigrants in Canada. Newcomers require adequate skill in at least one of Canada’s official languages to fully participate in Canadian society (Government of Canada, 2004a, p. 42). Through the twenty years, CIC has increased their budgetary allocation, greater than the inflation rate, to offer language training to immigrants. In 1998, the government offered Language

Instruction for Newcomers to Canada program (LINC). Over the course of five years, the government recognized the need for language training that is more closely “aligned to labour market needs” (Government of Canada, 2006a, p. 24). This led to the creation of the English Language Training (ELT) program. It was a more decentralized language training program that was supported by provinces and had a greater reach to immigrants. ELT was designed to slowly replace LINC however, due to differing priorities from federal governments, both are still active training programs that are offered to newly arriving immigrants. Various pilot projects were conducted to increase the reach of the training such as the training voucher initiative. The decentralization of language training programs to service providers and provinces demonstrates the federal government’s focus on socio-cultural integration as it allows provinces to adapt their language programs to their specific needs. Evaluations on LINC, ELT and these pilot projects, allowed CIC and IRCC to fine tune language training. In the 2014 and 2015 reporting period, 107,400 out of 355,670 (30%) newly arrived immigrants received language training (Government of Canada, 2016a, p. 33). In the 2017 and 2018 reporting period 105,000 of 457,000 newly arrived immigrants received language training which is roughly a 25% rate (Government of Canada, 2018a, p. 54). It should be noted that not all immigrants would require language training. An explanation for the decrease in the rate of newly arrived immigrants taking language training is that the express entry system has accepted more immigrants who are ready to adapt to the Canadian labour market and do not require the language training. The data on the number of immigrants receiving language training only started appearing in departmental plans and reports after 2014 and is not mentioned in every report after.

**Temporary Labour Migration Policy: The Government of Canada has worked on developing policies to protect temporary workers and help them get permanent residence in the country.**

Temporary labour migration policy refers to those individuals who are employed to “fill skills gaps in the domestic labour market and also transfer to Canadian workers in-demand occupational skills” (Government of Canada, 1999b, p. 22).

Between 1998 and 2002, CIC worked with Industry Canada and Human Resources Development Canada (HRDC- later to be renamed as Employment and Social Development Canada (HRSDC)) to redesign the Temporary Foreign Worker Program. In 1999, the new updates to the pre-existing program included the “need for efficient processing of needed highly skilled foreign workers” (Government of Canada, 1999b, p. 22). A pilot project was also developed during this reporting period to allow spouses of temporary foreign workers to arrive in Canada and apply for jobs in certain “high-skill occupations in key growth sectors of the economy that are authorized” (Government of Canada, 1999a, p. 22). It should also be noted that during this reporting period, CIC accepted 173,025 temporary residents compared to the 163,905 from the previous year (Government of Canada, 1999a, p. 22). This indicates the importance of the program and the value that CIC places on it. In 2000, CIC further redesigned the Temporary Worker program to

be “more responsive to the immediate short-term skill needs of Canadian employers” (Government of Canada, 2000b, p. 14). This included receiving a more comprehensive description package from employers to show how temporary foreign workers fit into the human resources plan for the longer-term benefit of Canadian workers. In the 2000 and 2001 reporting period, CIC continued to work with HRSC and Industry Canada to complete the implementation of this program. CIC engaged in activities centered around the implementation of the program “at the field level, program promotion and external clients. In the 2001 and 2002 reporting period, CIC updated their policy on spouses from 1999 to now allow “spouses or common-law partners of skilled temporary foreign workers to work in Canada regardless of the occupation or sector” (Government of Canada, 2001b, p. 15). This program helped Canadian employers attract skilled workers to Canada as workers were more receptive to accepting offers from Canadian employers when they know their spouse or common-law partner can also work in Canada.

Starting in 2002, CIC implemented the regulations of the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act which gave HRDC and CIC “greater flexibility in determining which skill gaps in Canada may be filled temporarily by foreign workers” (Government of Canada, 2002a, p. 14). This policy update, enabled both departments to work toward a more efficient and client-friendly authorization process and increased the economic benefits to Canadians as “critical gaps are more quickly remedied” (Government of Canada, 2002a, p.14). Between 2003 and 2005, CIC continued to work with HRSDC to ensure that the temporary worker program did not affect employment opportunities for Canadian citizens. The department processed over 88,000 applications. One can see a major reduction in the temporary foreign applications processed in the last five years. In 1999, CIC processed over 170,000 applications and by the end of 2005, that number reduced to 88,000. A reason for this could be CIC ensuring that Canadians are not affected by the entry of temporary foreign workers. This could also be a result of Canadian citizens more aligned to the labour market and the demand for temporary foreign workers from employers reduced because of this.

Between 2005 and 2010, the Temporary Foreign Worker Program underwent drastic changes. Between 2005 and 2006, CIC developed temporary foreign worker units in regions with acute labour shortages (Government of Canada, 2006b, p.14). This was provided between screening services and outreach programs as the areas with the labour shortages were able to scout the foreign workers to target the labour shortages. CIC continued to work with HRDC, renamed to HRSDC, to streamline the temporary foreign worker program. A number of improvements were made to the Temporary Foreign Workers Program (TFWs) in 2006. These included extending the maximum duration of the work permit for Temporary Foreign Workers (TFWs) with less formal training from 12 months to 24 months, extending the maximum duration of the work permit for Live-in Caregivers from one year to three years and three months, and expediting the process for employers hiring a foreign worker by allowing work permit applications to be processed at the same time as the application for a Labour Market Opinion, at the request of the

worker (Government of Canada, 2006a, p.14). These changes depict the importance of the Temporary Foreign Worker Program. CIC worked to increase the duration of workers and decreased processing times of application. This is in benefit of both the employer and the workers as work assignments are processed quicker and extend for longer time periods. Between 2007 and 2008, further investments were made in the TFWP that led to new processing centres in Moncton and Toronto to speed up processing times for applications and to better advise employees (Government of Canada, 2008a, p. 19). The increased attention that CIC gave to this program could be a conservative government's attempt to lower permanent skilled worker immigration by focusing on temporary foreign workers, particularly in lower skilled occupations. This is also underscored by the increase in temporary foreign workers in the last four years. Between 2008 and 2010, CIC developed a package of regulatory amendments which helped improve worker protection and ensure employers are compliant with program requirements (Government of Canada, 2010a, p.21).

Between 2011 and 2014, CIC implemented three sub-programs within the TFWP. Between 2011 and 2012, CIC initiated a review of the Live-in Caregiver Program as this is the first year a category of foreign worker had a prescribed path to permanent residence. The Live-in Caregiver Program (LCP) allows persons residing in Canada to employ qualified foreign workers in private residences to provide care for children, elderly persons or persons with a disability. Applicants come to Canada as temporary residents but can apply for permanent residence after two years of full-time employment or "3,900 hours of full-time employment within four years of their arrival in Canada" (Government of Canada, 2013a, p. 28). Between 2012 and 2013, CIC introduced the labour market opinion alongside HRSDC. The TFW component allowed employers to hire foreign nationals on a temporary basis in situations where no Canadians are available. Some employers required a labour market opinion (LMO) from Employment and Social Development Canada (ESDC) which considered whether a Canadian or permanent resident is available and the wage and working conditions being offered. Once in possession of the LMO, the applicant may then apply for the work permit at a mission abroad, at the port of entry or inside Canada. The foreign national must meet all admissibility and eligibility requirements. Between 2013 and 2014, CIC introduced the new international mobility program. The International Mobility Program allowed Canadian employers to hire foreign workers on a Canadian work permit without the need for a Labour Market Impact Assessment (Government of Canada, 2014a, p. 31). For those entering as temporary foreign workers through the new International Mobility Program, CIC introduced changes to ensure Canadians and permanent residents get a first crack at available jobs in Canada. At the same time, to target the employers with a genuine need to hire foreign workers, new changes helped prevent potential misuse of the International Mobility Program. Some of the changes CIC will be instituting involve employers formally submitting their job offer to CIC, a new employer monitoring system, and new fees that will cover the cost of the compliance system and the gathering of better data.

Starting in 2015, the process of becoming a temporary foreign worker started to become tougher. The federal government managed the entry of foreign nationals to work and scrutinized the job offer to ensure it is both consistent with our goals for economic immigration and was a neutral or positive effect on the Canadian labour market. In fulfilling this role, in order to hire a temporary worker, some employers were required to provide an LMO from Employment and Social Development Canada, which considered whether a Canadian or permanent resident is available and the wage and working conditions being offered. Between 2015 and 2018, CIC reformed the Temporary Foreign Workers (TFW) Program by strengthening the compliance regime in order to better protect the Canadian labour market and foreign workers. The number of work permit holders for both programs in 2015 totaled 249,500 (Government of Canada, 2016a, p. 41). Immigration, Refugee and Citizenship Canada (IRCC), renamed from CIC, reduced barriers to application and process resulting in a faster, two-week work permit processing for specific applicants identified as top talent (Government of Canada, 2017a, p. 11). IRCC also created a dedicated service channel offering enhanced client service and developed work permit exemptions for short-term work and brief academic stays in Canada. A new stream of the Temporary Foreign Worker Program for skilled occupations in positions with human resource shortages and for employers with unique talent needs will be piloting starting June 2017. In 2018, IRCC increased its collaborative efforts with ESDC to ensure that the rights of temporary foreign workers in Canada were protected and enforced through a robust employer compliance regime. Efforts also included working together in order to support: “unannounced inspections under the Temporary Foreign Worker Program; the continued implementation of the International Mobility Program compliance regime; and, the ongoing collection of labour market information related to open work permits” (Government of Canada, 2018a, p. 50). The continued to protect temporary foreign workers and their rights continued to be the focus of the IRCC between 2018 and 2020. To address situations of abuse for workers with employer-specific work permits, the Government introduced the Open Work Permit for Vulnerable Workers in June 2019. This new permit is intended to enable workers with an employer-specific work permit to leave situations of abuse (physical, psychological, sexual or financial) quickly, transition to a new job, and maintain their authorization to work in Canada.

Temporary migration policy has constantly evolved over the last twenty years to ensure that the program is “responsive to the labour market” (Government of Canada, 1998, p. 13). That being said, it should be noted that while policies have catered primarily towards employers and the responsiveness of the Canadian labour market, the Government of Canada has worked on developing policies to make the lives of temporary workers better. The pilot project of allowing spouses to accompany temporary workers and the path to permanent residency are examples of this. Moreover, CIC and IRCC constantly would ensure that workers rights were upheld by employers by instituting compliance regimes, monitoring effects of the IRPA and making regulatory amendments to improve worker protection. Between 1998 and 2007, Canada accepted around 100,000 temporary workers (Government of Canada, 2007a, p. 28). This target increased

considerably in the following years with Canada accepting 178,000 in the 2008 and 2009 reporting period (Government of Canada, 2010a, p. 20). In the 2012 and 2013 reporting period, Canada accepted 213,573 temporary workers (Government of Canada, 2013a, p. 34). This number increased to 291,649 in 2015 (Government of Canada 2015a, p. 31). Till 2020, the number of temporary foreign workers in Canada stayed around the same number. It should be noted that the reporting of these numbers is highly inconsistent throughout the departmental plans and reports. In the 2017 to 2020 reports, IRCC only reported the number of new work permits issued and not the total number of foreign workers entered.

**Employment Opportunities: The Government of Canada has prioritized economic immigrants to enter and adapt into the labour market by providing newcomers with robust services and programs.**

In a country with a relatively small population such as Canada, immigration is a driving force of the labour market. Immigrants enter Canada with the primary desire of finding successful employment (Green & Green, 2004). For this reason, analyzing the employment outcomes mentioned in the CIC's and IRCC's departmental plans and reports are important.

Between 1998 and 2002, Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) worked on refining the pre-existing skilled worker selection system. In the 1998 and 2000 reporting period, CIC developed a skilled worker selection system document to streamline the selection of immigrants and “accept[ed] immigrants capable of adapting to the Canadian labour market” (Government of Canada, 1999a, p. 13). The proposed direction will focus assessment criteria on the “ability of the immigrant to successfully establish in today’s knowledge-based economy” (Government of Canada, 2000b, p. 11). Thus it can be posited that CIC is focused on immigrants that have the necessary skills to adapt to Canada’s labour market. In the 2001 and 2002 reporting period, CIC continued to fine tune the selection criteria for skilled workers due to the duration it took for already admitted skilled workers to find employment in their field. This included “evaluation of the effectiveness of selection elements, such as age, education and language, to determine their impact on economic performance in Canada” (Government of Canada, 2001b, p. 14). In the 2002 and 2003 reporting period, CIC started to place more importance on adaptability in the Canadian labour market. The new model increased the focus on “language and education skills and eliminated specific occupational classifications as criteria for selection” (Government of Canada, 2001a, p. 15).

Starting in the 2003 and 2004 reporting period, CIC increased their pursuit in finding the perfect balance in the points system. In 2003, CIC conducted a “longitudinal survey on employment for immigrants” (Government of Canada, 2003b, p. 21). Through this survey, CIC gathered information on the “adjustment process for newcomers in such areas as employment, language, health, socialization and housing” (Government of Canada, 2003b, p. 43). In 2004, CIC revitalized the Immigrant Settlement and Adaptation Program (ISAP). Starting in 1974, the

government invested in the ISAP program to provide services to newcomers including “reception, orientation, translation and interpretation services, and employment related services” (Government of Canada, 2004a, p.18) particularly in smaller communities. The program was routinely evaluated and in 2004 the federal government worked with partners to develop a toolbox to enhance the capacity of smaller communities to attract and retain newcomers. Between 2005 and 2006, under the ISAP program, CIC funded a new resource entitled ‘Attracting and Retaining Immigrants: A toolbox of ideas for smaller centres.’ It was designed to “help smaller communities identify and develop immigration strategies that are appropriate to their circumstances and needs” (Government of Canada, 2006a, p. 32). Additionally, CIC began a Canadian Orientation Abroad initiative that provided future immigrants with “orientation sessions which includes topics on employment” (Government of Canada, 2006a, p. 33) to better prepare immigrants for their life in Canada.

Between 2006 and 2010, CIC turned its attention to labour market outcomes of refugees. Based on an evaluation conducted in 2004, CIC enhanced the Resettlement Adaptation Program (RAP) to “more effectively meet the immediate and essential needs of Government-Assisted Refugees” (Government of Canada, 2007a, p. 35). RAP allowances were increased to match increases in social assistance rates by the provinces (Government of Canada, 2007a, p. 36). CIC continued to monitor the ISAP program during this time but no policy modifications were made. In the 2007 and 2008 reporting period, CIC increased “income support provided under RAP as it [was] essential to providing basic life needs” (Government of Canada, 2008b, p. 22). Therefore, RAP programming was reviewed to ensure it met the increasing needs of GARs. To support program development, CIC funded research on various elements of RAP to determine which areas require enhancement. CIC also began a pilot program of the Foreign Credential Recognition Program (FCRP). This program organizes sessions in which skilled immigrants who have qualifications and are awaiting completion of final immigration requirements are provided with information on foreign credential recognition processes, as well as information on the Canadian labour market (Government of Canada, 2008a, p. 6). The Foreign Credential Recognition Office (FCRO) also worked closely with federal, provincial and territorial partners and stakeholder groups (e.g., regulatory bodies and employers) to improve foreign credential recognition processes in Canada. For example, the FCRO partnered with the Alliance of Sector Councils to develop a foreign credential recognition roadmap for employers that included step by step information. Between 2008 and 2010, recognizing the growing pressures on the Resettlement Assistance Program (RAP), CIC continued a second year of temporary funding to match provincial social assistance rates and to provide increased orientation services for approximately “5,400 government-assisted refugees under RAP” (Government of Canada, 2009a, p. 28). Under the FCRP, CIC also laid the foundation to fulfil its mandate of providing prospective immigrants overseas and newcomers in Canada with the information, “path finding, and referral services to facilitate their integration into the Canadian labour market” (Government of Canada, 2009a, p. 34). As part of this approach, the FCRO has begun developing an overseas platform to support a larger pool of

immigrants, in more source countries, whose credentials and experiences are linked to identified, priority occupations.

Starting in 2011, CIC started to decentralize the resettlement assistant program. Resettlement became more of a provincial priority. Through agreements with CIC, the provinces of British Columbia and Manitoba became responsible for the design, delivery and management of settlement services in their respective jurisdictions, supported by federal funding through contribution agreements. However, as part of Budget 2012, the Government of Canada resumed its responsibility for settlement delivery in Manitoba in 2013 and in British Columbia in 2014 (Government of Canada, 2013b). The reason for this was to support a more coherent settlement program across Canada (outside of Quebec), while continuing to build in policy flexibility for local needs. The Canada–Quebec Accord relating to immigration also provided Quebec the responsibility for providing settlement and integration services to all immigrants in Quebec, including all refugees. The Foreign Credentials Referral Office (FCRO) was established to help internationally trained individuals (ITIs) receive the information, path-finding and referral services to have their credentials assessed as quickly as possible so they can find work faster in the fields for which they have been trained. In 2012, Service Canada delivered in-person and telephone services on behalf of the FCRO. Information on Foreign Credential Recognition (FCR) is also available through the FCRO website to prospective immigrants overseas. The FCRO works with partners, and with national associations, recognition bodies and employers, to strengthen FCR processes across Canada (Government of Canada, 2013a, p. 11).

Between the 2013 and 2014 reporting period, CIC found that 78% of federal skilled workers show employment earnings “three to five years after landing” (Government of Canada, 2014a, p. 27). CIC also found that approximately 49% of “federally selected skilled workers showed employment earnings at or above the Canadian average five years after landing” (Government of Canada, 2014a, p. 27). In the 2015 and 2016 reporting period, CIC created targets to increase the employment earnings percentage from 78% to “87% by 2020” (Government of Canada, 2016a, p. 22). With the start of the express entry system in 2015, the Government of Canada, attempted to “better align job offer requirements with the Canadian labour market realities” (Government of Canada, 2017b, p. 13). The development of the express entry system resulted in immigrants “supporting the labour market up to 100%” (Government of Canada, 2017a, p. 15). The department also launched an Atlantic Immigration Pilot project which focused on contributing to long-term economic and population growth in the Atlantic provinces” (Government of Canada, 2017a, p. 14). The Start Up Visa program also continued to grow with “an increase in submitted applications” (Government of Canada, 2017a, p. 12). Between 2017 and 2018, IRCC saw the “highest number of admissions (50,000) in the Provincial Nominee program” (Government of Canada, 2018b, p. 11). This demonstrates the priority that IRCC has on distributing the “benefits of immigration across all regions of Canada by filling the labour market needs” (Government of Canada, 2018a, p. 11). Between 2018 and 2020, IRCC continued to monitor the Atlantic

Immigration program and due its success, launched a new provincial immigration program entitled the Rural and Northern Immigration Pilot (RNIP). As of March 2019, “over 2,000 Atlantic employers have made over 4,000 job offers to skilled workers” (Government of Canada, 2019a, p. 29). The federal immigration program “aims to address the diverse economic development and labour needs of smaller communities in northern and rural areas” (Government of Canada, 2019a, p. 29). During this time period, the provincial nominee program continued to see success in “spreading the economic benefits of immigration across Canada in meeting the unique labour market needs.

Providing effective employment opportunities is a key indicator of how successful an immigration program is. Immigrants come to a new country to make a new home and successful employment is essential in creating a strong foundation. Between 1998 and 2020, Citizenship and Immigration Canada and later Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada have taken the employment outcomes of newly arrived immigrants seriously by continuously refining selection criteria to select newcomers “most capable of adapting to the Canadian labour market” (Government of Canada, 1998, p. 11). The department revitalized and increased funding for the Immigrant Settlement and Adaptation Program (ISAP) and the Resettlement Adaptation Program (RAP). This built networks and increased opportunities for newly arrived immigrants and refugees to find successful employment opportunities. By the mid 2010’s, the department started to decentralize their programs similar to Temporary Foreign Migration policy and language training programs. This allowed provinces to select economic immigrants that suited their complex labour market needs and underscores the federal department’s focus on socio-cultural integration. Furthermore, the department launched the Atlantic Immigration Pilot and Rural and Northern Immigration Pilot programs to further increase employment opportunities across the country for immigrants. Data in the performance reports and plans have been inconsistent in reporting employment outcomes. In 2014, 78% of federal skilled workers show employment earnings “three to five years after landing” (Government of Canada, 2014a, p. 27). CIC also found that approximately 49% of “federally selected skilled workers showed employment earnings at or above the Canadian average five years after landing” (Government of Canada, 2014a, p. 27). With the launch of the express entry program, the percentage of newly arrived immigrants in Canada receiving employment within one year of arriving was 77%. This was a big improvement within the six year mark. The department in 2017 also started to move away from ensuring all immigrants found work and instead ensured the distribution of economic benefits across the country.

*Table 12 Evolution of Canadian immigration streams, including temporary foreign migration policy, employment outcomes and language training, 1998-2002, 2009-2015, 2016-2020*

<b>Stream</b>	<b>1998 - 2002</b>	<b>2003 - 2008</b>	<b>2009 - 2015</b>	<b>2016 - 2020</b>
Language Training	Funded the Language Instruction for	Increased funding and service delivery for	Conducted an evaluation on LINC	Decentralized the language training

	<p>Newcomers to Canada program (LINC).</p> <p>Created the Canadian language benchmark initiative to standardize language requirements across the country.</p> <p>Refined skilled worker criteria to emphasize importance on language.</p>	<p>LINC.</p> <p>Funded transportation and child-minding services for immigrants to take language.</p> <p>Launched the English Language Training (ELT) program to target labour market specific language.</p> <p>Increased enrollment of the training programs.</p>	<p>and ELT.</p> <p>Updated French-language programming for Francophone communities.</p> <p>Launched and concluded a pilot project to test language training vouchers.</p> <p>Launched an online repository of resources for language instructors.</p> <p>Launched a portfolio-based language assessment as part of LINC and the French equivalent (CLIC).</p>	<p>process and gave more agency to provinces and territories.</p> <p>Funded service provider organizations to deliver language training.</p>
Temporary Labour Migration Policy	<p>Redesigned the pre-existing Temporary Foreign Worker Program (TFWP) including updating the application process and more responsive to the labour market demands.</p> <p>Launched a pilot project to allow spouses to enter alongside the skilled worker.</p>	<p>Implemented the IRPA which resulted in the TFWP becoming more flexible.</p> <p>Monitored the TFWP program to ensure it does not impede Canadian citizen prospects in the labour market.</p> <p>Developed units in regions with acute labour shortages to reduce application processing time.</p> <p>Extended the maximum duration of the work permit to double the initial allowance.</p> <p>Redesigned the program to extend live-in caregivers terms in Canada.</p> <p>Launched new processing centres in</p>	<p>Developed a package of regulatory amendments which helped improve worker protection and ensure employers comply.</p> <p>Launched a Live-in Caregiver Program to address the growing demand in this profession.</p> <p>Created policies to allow temporary foreign workers to apply for permanent residence.</p> <p>Launched the labour market opinion (LMO) to hire foreign nationals on a temporary basis.</p> <p>Launched the International Mobility Program to allow employers to hire foreign workers without a LMO.</p> <p>Greater scrutiny to hire</p>	<p>Continued to strengthen the compliance regime in order to protect the Canadian labour market and foreign workers.</p> <p>Reduced barriers to application and process resulting in 2-week processing times of TFWP applications.</p> <p>Launched a dedicated service channel to speed up claims in the TFWP.</p> <p>Introduced the Open Work Permit for Vulnerable workers to enable workers to leave situations of abuse.</p>

		Moncton and Toronto.	temporary foreign workers.	
Employment Opportunities	<p>Refined preexisting skilled worker selection system for newcomers to better adapt to the labour market.</p> <p>Implemented regulations to streamline the selection of immigrants.</p> <p>Conducted an evaluation of the skilled worker system.</p> <p>Removed the specific occupation classifications and focused on immigrants who can adapt to the labour market.</p>	<p>Continued to refine the selection criteria to accept economic immigrants.</p> <p>Revitalized the Immigrant Settlement and Adaptation Program (ISAP).</p> <p>Conducted evaluations in the entire economic immigrant experience to alleviate barriers.</p> <p>Launched resources to help smaller communities retain economic talent.</p> <p>Launched a Canadian Orientation Abroad Initiative to assist future immigrants.</p> <p>Enhanced the Resettlement Adaptation Program (RAP) for refugees to find work.</p> <p>Began a pilot program of the Foreign Credential Recognition Program (FCRP).</p>	<p>Increased funding to better support the RAP and FCRP.</p> <p>Started to decentralize the resettlement process involving provinces and territories more.</p> <p>Continued to refine the selection criteria for economic immigrants.</p> <p>Launched the Express Entry system.</p> <p>Enhanced focus on the Provincial Nominee Program.</p>	<p>Launched the Atlantic Immigration Pilot and the Rural and Northern Immigration Pilot.</p> <p>Enhanced focus on the Start-Up Visa program to attract investors to Canada.</p> <p>Conducted evaluations on the Provincial Nominee Program.</p>

Source: The data is from Departmental Plans and Performance Reports published by the Government of Canada from 1998 – 2020. Please see the reference list for links of the documents.

By reviewing how CIC and IRCC developed immigration policy through the family reunification, economic immigrants and refugee protection stream, it can be posited that Canada defines integration differently based on the background of immigrants. While economic immigrants are integrated into the labour market and are provided with programs to make them adaptable to the labour market, refugees and family reunified immigrants are provided with support to integrate socio-culturally into the Canadian context.

Knowing one of the two official languages in Canada is a crucial indicator of successful integration either economically or socio-culturally. For this reason, CIC and IRCC provided multiple language training programs for newcomers including Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada and English Language Training, in various formats. When permanent economic immigrants could not fill complex labour market demands, Canada's immigration department relied on temporary labour-focused immigrants to fill in those gaps. CIC and IRCC first experimented with temporary labour migration policy to be more provincially reactive which led to permanent economic immigrants policy following suit and being decentralized to be more responsive to provincial needs. Particularly for skilled immigrants, CIC and IRCC continuously refined the selection system to ensure newcomers were as adaptable to the Canadian labour market as possible. By creating and updating programs such as the Immigrant Settlement and Adaptation Program (ISAP), the Resettlement Adaptation Program (RAP), the Foreign Credential Recognition Program (RAP), the Provincial Nominee Program, and the Express Entry system, the immigration department increased employment outcomes and opportunities for newcomers into Canada. As the data has showed us, this does not mean that all newcomers receive appropriate employment as they arrive but within one year of arrival close to 80% of newcomers...here you need to come back to your core argument and bring out what this chapter has contributed: That integration into Canada is complex, that economic and socio-cultural integration policies play complementary roles, that language plays a role in economic integration but that all in all socio-cultural integration contributes a great deal more than expected in view of the original assumption.

## Chapter 7: Policy Recommendations and Final Remarks

This thesis has explored the strengths and weaknesses of Canada's federal immigration policies. It has looked at immigration policy evolution and development since 1998 to 2020. By defining what integration looks like in the Canadian context, this thesis has identified socio-cultural integration as Canada's strength. However, analyzing how data is reported in Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada's departmental plans and reports, one can notice considerable disparities amongst different governments and between the different streams of immigration.

### Policy Recommendations

The research conducted in this thesis has built on the knowledge base in a variety of ways. Firstly, it has clarified an age-old discussion in the literature on which model of conformity is used by Canada: due to its complex nature, Canada uses different models of conformity for different streams of immigrants. Economic immigrants are compared to their native born counterparts in the labour market, while refugees and immigrants through the family reunified stream are integrated socio-culturally. Data on how economic immigrants integrate socio-culturally is unavailable. Similarly, economic data on reunified immigrant families and refugees are not available.

Second, the research conducted elaborates the extent to which Canada's immigration policies have integrated immigrants. While Canada's immigration policies are not perfect and can be improved, from their starting point in 1998, the federal department has come a long way in integrating the three streams of immigrants. The evolution of immigration policy across the three streams indicates the federal government's priorities and indicates a stronger attention on economic immigrants. However, comparing family reunification policy among other jurisdictions, Canada is far ahead in integrating newcomers through this stream. While economic immigrants are well integrated into the Canadian labour market, their participation in the socio-cultural sphere is unknown. Thus, the first policy recommendation of this paper is for Immigration, Refugee, and Citizenship Canada to collect additional data on economic immigrants particularly socio-cultural indicators such as voter participation, and sense of community for example. Official language data does not need to be collected as economic immigrants have the language skills to participate in the Canadian labour market (Li, 2003; Hum & Simpson, 2006; Thompson, 2010; Clutterbuck & Novick, 2003, Green & Green, 2004).

Family reunified immigrants in the departmental plans and reports are considered integrated into Canadian society once they have knowledge of an official language and the department has made the process to enter Canada through this stream simpler however, there is no data indicating how well family reunified immigrants integrate in the labour market. Thus, the second policy recommendation for Immigration, Refugee, and Citizenship Canada to implement is to collect additional data for the family reunification stream particularly their contribution to the Canadian

labour market. While knowing persons in the country and the official language is important for integration, for immigrants to prosper in the country, they need to receive an income.

The amount of attention that economic immigrants and family reunified immigrants receive from the federal department is greater than what the refugee protection stream receives. From the departmental plans and reports, it is evident that there is a lack of data and performance indicators monitored in the refugee protection program. Despite this, CIC and IRCC funded and refined the Resettlement Assistance Program (RAP) to provide the “necessary supports required for refugees to integrate into Canada” (Government of Canada, 2008b, p. 32). The third policy recommendation will be for Immigration, Refugee, and Citizenship Canada to strengthen its monitoring regime of the refugee protection program to include additional data points, specifically on how integrated refugees are in the Canadian labour market. This will allow the federal department to create stronger programs to ensure refugees have the necessary supports to continue to stay in Canada since the federal government or private sponsors support them up to one year of their arrival.

By strengthening data collection and monitoring practices, Immigration Refugee, and Citizenship Canada will firstly be streamlining the models of integration across all the three streams of immigrants. By collecting data, IRCC will understand the current shortcomings of the programs and where they can further strengthen their policymaking. Through this study, it is evident that the federal government prioritizes immigration in Canada and has continuously attempted to improve the system by which newcomers enter Canada and their first experiences in the country. The system is not perfect and has its shortcomings- delay processing times of certain streams and lack of labour market integration in certain immigration streams to name a few- however, understanding the evolution of the immigration system, Canada is moving in the right direction of integrating immigrants.

### **Final Thoughts**

This thesis has looked at the concept of integration in immigration policy in Canada. As discussed in the first chapter, integration of newcomers can take on various definitions: the literature defines integration through two diverging lenses. According to certain authors, economic conformity is how integration is defined. Hum and Simpson argue that “immigrants should ideally attain the same level of remuneration for their labour services as similarly qualified native born Canadians is desirable” (Hum & Simpson, 2006, p. 48). Economic conformity rests on newcomers having the necessary skills to attain the same level of remuneration as their native born counterparts. Analyzing the Provincial Nominee Program, Barber argued that Canada’s immigration policy was used as a method to increase the level of skilled workers in a particular field and that criteria for successful integration into Canada referred to how well the individuals entering the labour market worked. The second diverging lens argues that Canadian immigration policy uses a socio-cultural approach in integrating

newcomers. Authors found that nationalist immigrants are slower to integrate into Canadian society and that regardless of occupation, the sense of belonging amongst non-native Francophone speakers in Quebec was low. While the findings in the document analysis indicated that IRCC prioritized the development of economic integration immigration policy, the case-oriented comparative analysis showed alternative results. When comparing immigrant outcomes between Canada, New Zealand and Australia, the findings concluded that Canada has the strongest socio-cultural integration policies. Canada scored higher than the other two case studies on the voter participation and fluency of an official language indicators. This phenomenon can be explained by the federalization and decentralization of immigration policies to the provincial level. As discussed in chapter six, the federal government developed provincial programs such as the Provincial Nominee Program, the pilot programs in the Atlantic and Northern and rural provinces to ensure that newcomers could integrate and adapt to the specific demands of the labour market. Counter-intuitively, this demonstrates strengthening of socio-cultural integration as immigrants have to integrate to the specific needs of a province.

Authors in the literature are not wrong to use a model of conformity to understand immigrant integration. However, the economic and socio-cultural divergence becomes clearer when understanding the type of immigrant that is the focus in their study. Skilled economic immigrants including temporary and permanent residents are assessed on how quickly and strongly they adapt to the labour market (Li 2003; Boucher 2020; Hum & Simpson, 2006; Barber, 2009; Flynn & Bauder). The Government of Canada solely assesses economic immigrants based on the economic conformity model. For this reason, the departmental performance reports, between 2014 and 2017, had performance indicators in this program that compared immigrants who arrived in Canada within one year to immigrants who had arrived closer to five years and native born. Policies created by CIC and IRCC led to 49% of federally selected skilled workers earning “at or above the Canadian average five years after landing” (Government of Canada, 2014b, p. 27). Furthermore, the development and implementation of the Provincial Nominee Program, the pilot programs in the Atlantic provinces and the Northern and rural provinces all indicate the federal immigration department’s desire to integrate economic immigrants into the labour market as quickly and effectively as possible.

Despite the literature indicating the necessity for all immigrants to integrate into the labour market, CIC and IRCC’s departmental plans and performance reports had little data on non-economic immigrants and their role in the labour market. Thus, it can be posited that the federal government does not use the economic conformity model to assess how well integrated non-economic immigrants are. Integration of immigrants who are entering Canada via the family reunification or refugee protection stream are assessed on socio-cultural indicators such as knowledge of official language. Since these two streams are not targeting specific Canadian needs such as economic immigrants being accepted to fill in gaps of the labour market, the focus on how well these streams integrate are not as rigorous. Another reason why the strength of

integration for these two streams is lower than that of economic immigrants is because for the first year, both immigrants entering through the family reunification stream and through the refugee protection stream have sponsors covering the first year of their stay in Canada. Family reunited newcomers receive remuneration from their sponsors while refugees are either sponsored by a private citizen or by the government. Similarly, socio-cultural indicators are not seen in the departmental reports and plans particularly indicators that compare newcomers to native born Canadians however, resettlement programs and the evolution of policy indicates that the federal government integrates family reunified immigrants and refugees into Canadian society as opposed to the labour market (Banting & Saroka, 2012; Carpentier & Sablonniere, 2013; Hennebry, 2012; Banerjee et al, 2018). These data inconsistencies across the three streams are problematic as all immigrants, regardless of the stream they enter through will have to integrate economically and socio-culturally into society. Strengthening their data monitoring and reporting processes will assist the federal government in understanding where the current gaps are in the integration process for immigrants. A potential reason as to why this data was not included in IRCC's departmental plans and performance reports could be because they did not have access to it. In the document analysis, it was posited that the federal government decentralized many of their policies to the provincial level as well as outsource their programs to service provider organizations. It is unclear how strong the reporting mechanisms and compliance regimes were when this shift occurred. This is the primary limitation of the federalized system of immigration in Canada.

From the case-oriented comparative analysis, Canada was compared with New Zealand and Australia's immigration policies due to the similarities in their cases. While New Zealand and Australia's immigration policy focuses on immigrants from OECD and native English-speaking countries, Canada accepts immigrants from non-native English-speaking countries. However, Canada does specify in the immigration process the importance of speaking one of the two official languages. A possible reason to explain this trend is the robust language training that Canada offers is accessible and helps non-official language speakers pick up the language to help integrate them into society. By funding and expanding the Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada program, the English Language Training and the *Cours de langue our les immigrants au Canada* (CLIC), CIC and IRCC prioritize language comprehension without discriminating on the source countries of immigrants. Furthermore, Canada continuously refined its selection criteria to place stronger emphasis on language comprehension in its point systems. By strengthening its language training and emphasizing on language skills in the selection process, CIC and IRCC successfully integrated newcomers into Canada. This is underscored by the fact that immigrant source countries are not native to the English or French language. The development of language training programs indicates Canada's focus on both the economic and socio-cultural conformity models of integration.

The second divergence found in the case-oriented comparative analysis is on temporary labour migration policy. New Zealand uses temporary foreign migration policy to attract low-skilled immigrants to work in pockets of the labour market that require greater attention. Australia uses an employer-driven approach to accept temporary foreign work. Canada diverges from the two countries by accepting both low and high skilled temporary workers and using the gaps of the labour market to drive temporary foreign worker policy. The research conducted through reviewing the departmental plans and reports have shown that Canada's policy on temporary labour migration has a stronger focus on ensuring protection of workers' rights as well as more compliance on the part of the employer to adhere to workers' protections. Acceptance of temporary foreign worker applications has increased significantly since the late 1990s. In 1998, 80,000 workers came into Canada on a temporary basis; that number has increased to close to 300,000 (Government of Canada, 2015a, p. 31). Canada uses temporary foreign labour migration policy to continue to address the needs of the Canadian labour market but has made it easier for temporary residents to become permanent residents. They have strengthened workers' rights in the workplace and made it easier to enter Canada through this channel. It can be posited that Canada heavily relies on temporary labour migration policy and has made it easier for temporary workers to integrate into society.

The final divergence found in case-oriented comparative analysis is employment outcomes/opportunities. While both New Zealand and Australia had very strong labour market integration rates, the literature suggested that Canada's labour market integration had been dropping for years (Hawthorne, 2014, p. 12). The research evidence suggested that the contemporary selection system was "out of synch with the labour market in a context where Canada was reported to be ignoring and therefore wasting the human capital of newcomers" (Hawthorne, 2014, p. 5). This is inconsistent with my findings as CIC and IRCC continuously refined policies to ensure economic immigrants in particular received the necessary supports to enter the labour market. Particularly during the early 2000s, one can see the number of initiatives and amount of funding provided to the economic immigrant stream to ensure economic immigrants could enter the labour market: revitalizing ISAP, conducting evaluations, piloting the Foreign Credential Recognition Program, launched a Canadian Orientation Abroad initiative to name a few. Furthermore, my research demonstrates the success of these initiatives. By 2016 with the development of the express entry system, 100% of immigrants were supporting the labour market in some capacity (Government of Canada, 2016b, p. 22). Additionally, CIC and IRCC found that 78% of federal skilled workers showed employment earnings in their field "three to five years after landing" (Government of Canada, 2014b, p. 27). This percentage increased to 87% in 2020. Through this divergence, it can be posited that Canada realized their shortcomings in the early 2000s in terms of skilled worker retention of work and developed decentralized programs and policies to support economic immigrants to adapt and enter provincial labour markets.

How then, have Canada's immigration policies, among the different streams, evolved since the 1990s? Under the Family Reunification stream, the Government of Canada has made the process of integration easier for newcomers. Under the economic immigrants stream, the Government of Canada has decentralized the skilled worker experience and created more economic subcategories to meet the provincial needs of their respective labour markets. Under the Refugee Protection stream, the Government of Canada has developed policies to ensure refugees enter Canada in a consistent and streamlined way. Through the evolution of the different immigration streams, it can be posited that IRCC prioritizes socio-cultural integration. Through its refinements of policy, it is clear that IRCC considers consistent immigrant experiences important.

Finally, on the definition of integration, what has this paper shown us? In chapter one, we learned about how the literature diverges on the definition of integration. While both sides of the argument agree that comparisons to native born Canadians is the most common way of assessing how successful integration is, they differ on whether Canada integrates newcomers through an economic lens or a socio-cultural one. The literature review also saw more empirical articles that argued the economic conformity model was a more accurate representation of Canada's immigration policies. In chapter two, we compared how immigrants integrate in Canada, New Zealand and Australia based on the history of their immigration policy. Findings from the chapter provided a contrary view of integration to what we learnt in chapter one: Canada integrates immigrants socio-culturally more successfully than New Zealand and Australia. The two other jurisdictions have stronger policies that allow immigrants to integrate and adapt to the labour market. Despite scoring the least in the economic conformity model indicators, Canada is still considered a leader in skilled migration policy. Policymakers in Canada are designing and developing programs within the economic immigrant program to accelerate economic conformity within the country. In chapter three, the thesis reviewed twenty years of departmental plans and performance reports from the federal department responsible for immigration policy- Citizenship Immigration Canada and after 2016 Immigration, Refugee, and Citizenship Canada- to see how policies evolved since 1998 to understand IRCC's priorities on integrating immigrants. The primary finding from this chapter is that integration is viewed differently between the three immigration streams in Canada: family reunification, economic immigrants and refugee protection. Newcomers coming from the family reunification stream are integrated more through programs that promote socio-cultural integration such as language training. Newcomers coming through the refugee protection program experience similar programs that help settle them into society but less policy focus on integrating refugees into the labour market. Lastly, economic immigrants are solely provided programs to integrate into the labour market. However, due to the federalized and decentralized nature of these supports, immigrant economic integration in specific provinces indicate IRCC's focus on socio-cultural integration.

While the system is not perfect and it takes time and skill for newcomers, across the three streams to integrate economically and socio-culturally, the evolution of immigration policy is moving in the right direction to integrate newcomers successfully. Integration cannot be cordoned off into a purely economic or socio-cultural model in Canadian immigration discourse, the two models work hand in hand to successfully integrate immigrants into Canada. The findings in this research have further research implications that could be explored. An evaluation of immigrant needs with IRCC's priorities could be compared to understand the gaps in the services that need to be provided. Data reporting in the federal government's open data portal could be analyzed to further understand the effectiveness of immigration policy on the integration of newcomers.

## Appendices

### Annex A

This section is an analysis and summary of Citizenship and Immigration Canada's (1998 – 2016) and Immigration, Refugee and Citizenship Canada (IRCC)'s departmental plans and reports since 1998 till 2020. The section is divided by year and includes a departmental plan that is released at the beginning of the fiscal year and a performance report that is released at the end of the fiscal.

Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) released its first departmental report and plan in 1998. The plans and reports despite a few changes have more or less stayed the same. There is an opening remarks section where the Minister outlines the CIC's mandates, the priorities for the year and the importance of immigration. Most minister remarks confirm the data found in the literature review: "immigration plays an important role in positioning Canada to meet the challenges and opportunities of the knowledge-based economy while preserving primary access to jobs for qualified Canadians" (Government of Canada, 1998, p. 2). The forces of the labour market can already be seen impacting immigration policy.

The objective of Citizenship and Immigration Canada as outlined in the departmental plans is "to ensure that the movement of people into Canada and membership in Canadian society contribute to Canada's social and economic interests and the protection of the health and safety of Canadians" (Government of Canada, 1998, p.4). The objective statements again confirm data that was reviewed in the literature review on the importance of both economic and social integration indicators for immigrants entering Canada. The CIC acknowledges that immigrants will have to contribute socially and economically to the country to integrate successfully.

CIC divided the departmental plan and performance report by business lines, later to be rebranded as strategic outcomes:

1. Maximizing Benefits of International Migration,
2. Maintaining Canada's Humanitarian Tradition, and
3. Promoting the Integration of Newcomers.

This section will be divided into one year segments to describe and analyze the policy priorities laid out by CIC. This section will try to answer the question, how has CIC's policies evolved over the years among the different immigration streams: the family reunification sponsorship method, economic immigrants, temporary foreign immigrants capable of adapting to the Canadian labour market and refugees.

1998 - 1999

Under the Maximizing Benefits of International Migration business line, the CIC tries to "derive maximum economic and social benefit for Canada from the global movement of people" (Government of Canada, 1998, p. 10). To achieve this goal, new criteria are being developed for the selection process of economic immigrants to support "the entry of people who are adaptable

to the Canadian labour market” (Government of Canada, 1998, p. 11). No changes were being made to the family class sponsorship.

New criteria is also being developed for those seeking residency in Canada for humanitarian and compassionate considerations. The plan acknowledges the need for “maximizing the effectiveness of resources devoted to the resettlement of refugees from abroad” (Government of Canada, 1998, p. 13).

The two initiatives under the Under the Promoting the Integration of Newcomers business line include settlement renewal and post settlement renewal services. Settlement renewal is an initiative to develop new partnership arrangements for the management and delivery of settlement services to newcomers. A framework for a new approach to delivering settlement and integration services was developed in 1997 to realign provinces and territories to “administer federal settlement funds and services according to their own needs” (Government of Canada, 1998, p. 16). The post settlement renewal program involves the federal government and its commitment to providing income support and immediate essential services for government-assisted refugees. There is also mention of the development of an “electronic interface” (Government of Canada, 1998, p. 16) for information exchange between parties involved in the settlement. In 1998, integration indicators still were not fully developed by the government of Canada. Multilateral work with stakeholders had not concluded on a list of integration indicators.

In the 1999 Performance Report released by CIC, a review of the activities planned in the departmental report on plans and priorities released in 1998 can be assessed. Firstly, there is mention of the release of an Immigration Database (IMDB) that allows the “CIC to link immigrant economic performance directly to immigrant program and policy levers (Government of Canada, 1999a, p. 15). This allows CIC to interact with service providers to streamline the integration process. CIC defined this result as a success as there was improved “client service through effective call centres” and strong “handling of the Public Money Project” (Government of Canada, 1999a, p. 15). The Public Money Project was an initiative that allowed applicants to pay fees to “mose Canadian financial institutions” (Government of Canada, 1999, p. 15) and not just a single designated financial institution.

The report concluded that CIC strengthened relations with federal partners on integration of newly arrived immigrants by bolstering relationships with the provinces and territories. The most common interaction between the federal and provincial authorities are bilateral agreements through consultations. CIC has additionally been working with other federal partners including the Department of Justice and Health Canada to improve the policy to process war crimes and improve the medical screening procedures used to protect public health respectively.

The number of immigrants accepted through both the family reunification class and the economic class were lower than expected numbers. A number of external factors influence this business line including “changing trends in international immigration, increasingly demanding and litigious clientele and changes in the international and domestic economy” (Government of Canada, 1999a, p. 17). Despite the lower numbers, CIC was successful in decreasing the time for processing applications for spouses and accompanying dependent children and developed

strategies to reduce incidence and cost of sponsorship breakdown (Government of Canada, 1999a). To do this, CIC added new staff in areas of high volume such as New Delhi and Beijing. Processing times were reduced from 80% of cases processed in 7 months to 95% of cases being processed in under 6 months. To reduce the cost of sponsorship breakdown, the CIC uses the IMDB to share information on sponsorship to provinces electronically.

In 1999, the CIC implemented the new Immigrant Investor program after lengthy consultations with provinces and territories. The new changes to the program include simplification of program administration, reduction of the potential for abuse and increased economic benefits to provinces and Canadians. The redesigned model requires investments of \$400,000 from applicants who must have a network of \$800,000. On selecting immigrants capable of adapting to the Canadian labour market, the CIC has redesigned the system through which these recipients are selected. The new selection system emphasizes importance on “official language skills, age, and existence of relatives in Canada” (Government of Canada, 1999a, p. 20).

In December 1998, following the successful first year of the Pilot Project for Software Professionals- during which approximately 950 software industry workers were brought to Canada- CIC announced alongside Industry Canada that the federal government would continue to expedite the processing of software development workers until the redesign of the Temporary Foreign Worker Program has been completed (Government of Canada, 1999a). The new program balances the need for efficient processing of needed highly skilled foreign workers with the need to protect the interests of Canadian workers and job seekers.

Under the Successful Integration of Newcomers into Canadian society business line, the performance report concludes that the federal government does a successful job of integrating immigrants into Canada. Immigrant settlement services include “language training for adult newcomers, orientation services, interpretation and translation services, referral to community resources and para-professional and employment counselling” (Government of Canada, 1999a, p. 26). The three main programs that assist newcomers are The Resettlement Assistance Program (RAP), The Immigrant Settlement and Adaptation Program (ISAP) and The Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC). The language program was initially provided in host countries but that proved to be ineffective and was replaced (Government of Canada, 1999a).

#### 1999-2000

In the Departmental Plan released in 1999 for the reporting period of 1999 till 2001, the CIC has increased the overall budget allocations in all three lines: Maximizing Benefits of International Migration, Maintaining Canada’s Humanitarian tradition and Promoting the Integration of Newcomers. Under the first business line, the government is revising the selection policy as new immigration legislation is being developed. The overall immigration plan maintains the same overall range of newcomers as the previous year: 200,000 - 225,000 (Government of Canada, 1999b). In the performance report released in 2000, CIC was able to achieve this goal by tabling the 2000 Immigration Plan in Parliament. However, they failed to: “meet target immigration levels, self-regulate consultants and did not refine medical admissibility criteria” (Government of Canada, 2000a, p. 11). External factors such as the Kosovo refugee crisis caused significant

resources to be diverted temporarily from overseas processing offices to the relief effort. Second, processing of immigrant applications was delayed by factors such as “poor infrastructure” (Government of Canada, 2000a, p. 14) in the three top source countries: India, China and Pakistan. There was also a significant increase in applications from all three non-immigrant categories (visitor, students and temporary workers).

The family reunification plan is being modified by “expanding the definition of dependent children from the current limit of less than 19 years of age to include children under 22” (Government of Canada, 1999b, p. 13). This provision that dependent children must be in full time studies and financially dependent would be maintained. Under the economic stream, the federal government is providing new criteria for the selection of economic stream immigrants. The proposed direction will “focus assessment criteria on the ability of the immigrant to successfully establish in today’s knowledge-based economy” (Government of Canada, 1999b, p. 13). The immigrant investor program is also being redesigned to “reduce the potential for abuse” (Government of Canada, 1999b, p. 14): sharing the economic benefits more equitably among provinces. CIC is developing a new temporary worker program designed to be more responsive to the immediate short-term skill needs of Canadian employers. From the performance report, the government was successful in achieving their goals for family reunification: “there was enhanced family reunification and better observance of sponsorship obligations” (Government of Canada, 2000a, p. 23). The investor program was successfully redesigned and the selecting immigrants who are capable of adapting to the Canadian labour market was also achieved (Government of Canada, 2000a, p. 25). A pattern can already be noticed: the policies surrounding the business line are all promoting the Canadian labour market. This is evident in the selection of economic stream immigrants, the redesign of the temporary foreign worker program and the realignment of the investor program.

Under Maintaining Canada’s Humanitarian Tradition business line, CIC plans on updating legislation and policies to respond to contemporary needs and challenges by “increasing flexibility in the eligibility and selection criteria, swifter processing of urgent protection cases, new procedures to maintain the family unit and more effective use of existing international non-governmental organizations (NGOs)” (Government of Canada, 1999b, p. 18). CIC’s intent in this business line was to mitigate barriers for refugees in the integration process. The government, however, failed to meet these targets and was only able to meet the government-assisted refugee targets (Government of Canada, 2000a, p. 35).

Under the Promoting the Integration of Newcomers business line, CIC will seek new citizenship legislation in order to “modernize the expression of what it means to be Canadian” (Government of Canada, 1999b, p. 20). The aim for this is to reinforce the “integrity, equity and effectiveness of the process through which citizenship is acquired” (Government of Canada, 1999b, p. 21). Key features include “reducing the distinction between children adopted abroad by Canadian citizens and Canadian-born children; defining residence as a physical presence in Canada and refocusing the role of citizenship judges to that of more accurately titled citizenship commissioners” (Government of Canada, 1999b, p. 20).

From the performance report, the federal government was most successful in meeting its objectives in this business line. The government had productive conversations with service

providers, provinces and territories to establish the roles of each party. International orientation programs were established in Eastern Europe, Kenya and Vietnam that offered employment opportunities and information about Canada's cultural environment. CIC was also successful in advancing accountability to ensure effectiveness and efficiency in the delivery of settlement programs (Government of Canada, 2000a, p. 21).

## 2000-2001

Under the Maximizing the Benefits of International Migration business line, CIC's priorities are to maintain the intake of immigrants to between 200,000 and 225,000 (Government of Canada, 2000b, p. 13). Second CIC plans to facilitate family reunification by modernizing the definition of "family" to make it more "relevant to contemporary society" (Government of Canada, 2000b, p. 13) including definitions for same-sex and common-law partners. Under the Economic stream, CIC plans to develop new policies and procedures that will improve the new economic benefits derived from business immigrants, through the process of legislative reform. This includes making the selection of business immigrants more effective by "implementing objective and verifiable definitions for this activity" (Government of Canada, 2000b, p. 14). Certain indicators such as ages, education and language will be reassessed to evaluate the effectiveness of the selection elements.

In the fiscal year 2000-01, CIC completed negotiations with Prince Edward Island, Yukon Territory, Manitoba and Saskatchewan on the Provincial Nominee Program. This program places provinces at the centre of the immigration process. The labour market demands of the province will determine the selection criteria of immigrants in a given year (Government of Canada, 2001a, p. 24). CIC also will develop various policy initiatives to facilitate the entry of foreign students such as "facilitating the processing of permanent residence applications...who meet the selection criteria" (Government of Canada, 2000b, p. 14).

CIC will work alongside Human Resources Development Canada (HRDC) to complete the implementation of the redesigned Temporary Foreign Worker Program to respond to employer needs faster and more facilitative processing of employment authorizations for "workers destined to fill labour shortages" (Government of Canada, 2000b, p. 14).

In the Performance Report published by CIC in 2001, the Government of Canada was successful in achieving only two of the proposed results in the departmental report. CIC was able to table the immigration plan in parliament and they were able to achieve the target immigration levels of between 200,000 to 225,000. They were unsuccessful in streamlining the immigration process for spousal applications. The CIC pursued "new measures to facilitate family reunification" (Government of Canada, 2001a, p. 10) such as proposing changes to the definition of family and proposed regulations to increase the age of dependent children. The language implies that the initial steps have been taken to achieve their targets but could not complete them. Second, the CIC was developing a new model for selecting economic stream immigrants. In the performance report, the CIC described the selection of immigrants meeting Canadian labour market needs as "critical" (Government of Canada, 2001a, p. 20). A new selection criteria is in development but has not fully been approved as a framework. Third, CIC was unable to launch the first phase of the Temporary Foreign Worker Program. Due to the novel nature of the temporary foreign

worker program, CIC had to draft a new bill (Bill C-11) to "provide the necessary legal basis for implementation of the redesigned program" (Government of Canada, 2001a, p. 20).

Under the Maintaining Canada's Humanitarian Tradition business line, the CIC plans on developing an operational framework for the implementation of the proposed legislative and regulatory changes to the refugee determination system in Canada (Government of Canada, 2000b, p. 17). This will assist in creating a more streamlined process to accept refugees and provide them with services across the country.

Under the Promoting the Integration of Newcomers business line, CIC commits to developing and implementing a settlement accountability framework including "performance measures, a national data collection and reporting system" (Government of Canada, 2000b, p. 19). Improved delivery of settlement services through close collaboration between provinces and territories, and reduced potential for fraud and misuse of documents are also additionally cited as planned results for the 2000-2001 reporting period. CIC will focus on refining their internal systems in this reporting period under this business line which is why there are not many policy changes.

## 2001 - 2002

The Deputy Minister, Janice Cochrane, in the Minister's Message opens the 2001-02 Departmental Report with a commitment to building a "world-class economy driven by innovation, ideas and talent" (Government of Canada, 2001b, p. 2). Citizenship and Immigration programs played a key role in facilitating the entry of skilled workers, business people, students and reuniting families. The language in the Minister's message continues to remain unchanged from previous departmental reports with reduction in processing times and emphasizing collaboration and partnerships between the federal government and provinces and territories being repeatedly cited.

Under the Maximizing the Benefits of International Migration business line, CIC immigration target levels remain unchanged from the 200,000 to 225,000 number. A reason for that is the application backlog created in 2000-2001 which the CIC is addressing by assigning special processing teams to go over "31,000 additional applications" (Government of Canada, 2001b, p. 14). CIC additionally, accepted the Treasury Board Secretariat's "invitation" (Government of Canada, 2001bb, p. 14) to develop and implement departmental frameworks and tools pertaining to service standards, and quality assurance. This will be implemented over the next two years. Third, CIC will prioritize attracting skilled workers who "can be effective economic agents in Canada" (Government of Canada, 2001b, p. 14). CIC, from the previous year will continue developing a new approach for the selection of economic stream immigrants to move to a selection model based on human capital attributes. This model will focus on language, education skills and will eliminate specific occupational classifications as criteria for selection to increase flexibility. It can be noted that this language on economic immigrants continues to remain stagnant. Skilled workers with the necessary economic outputs will be allowed entry into the country. This can be explained by the continuous process of streamlining the policy and refining it to focus on the indicators that make for the "ideal immigrant." Fourth, CIC will continue to work with HRDC to develop a new tracking system for temporary workers entering Canada. Fifth, the federal government is in consultations with provinces to increase the time that foreign

students study in all fields. Under the family reunification file, CIC will continue to monitor sponsors and whether or not they are meeting their obligations to their family members. The plan does indicate that “vast majority of sponsors” (Government of Canada, 2001b, p.16) live up to their sponsorship responsibilities. However, no policy changes were proposed. Lastly, the government will continue to develop criteria, from the last year, on selecting business immigrants. Again one can see how economic immigrants have constant policy refinement.

The Performance Report released in October 2002 posits that the CIC was far more successful in reaching its targets than the previous year. That being said, many of the policies achieved in 2002 started its initial steps in 2000. CIC was successful in achieving target immigration levels and improved service delivery to clients. In fact, Canada “exceeded its target for total immigrants and refugees” (Government of Canada, 2002b, p. 5) largely because it exceeded its target for skilled workers who bring many economic and social benefits to Canada.

The focus of CIC was largely on the family reunification category and was successful in:

- Increasing the age of dependent children,
- Recognition of common-law and same sex partners under the family class,
- Creation of an in-Canada class for spouses,
- Reduction in the length of sponsorship of spouses,
- Introduction of sponsorship bars, and
- Improvement in the method of recovering costs of social assistance.

To help reunite Canadian sponsors with their immediate family, CIC has streamlined the application process for close family members. The then new Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (IRPA) was successfully passed in parliament which streamlined many processes and policies for immigrants. IRPA explicitly addresses Canada's changing social values. For example, under IRPA, excessive medical demand is no longer a bar to processing family class applications from a sponsor's spouse, common-law partner or conjugal partner, or their children. This reflects Canada's commitment to family reunification.

With the business immigrants, CIC was successful in developing new eligibility requirements for business immigrants. The new regulations introduce objective and measurable standards for business experience, net worth and business establishment in Canada. These standards will make the selection requirements more transparent. They should also make the program more efficient and easier to apply consistently. The amendments will reduce non-compliance and increase the program's economic benefits, as they ensure that Canada will select those most likely to succeed (Government of Canada, 2002a, p. 16). Under the new regulations, CIC will assess investors and entrepreneurs against a selection grid “similar to the skilled immigrants grid” (Government of Canada, 2002a, p. 17). The grid will consider business experience and adaptability, measured by “the applicant’s demonstrated interest in participating in a business in Canada” (Government of Canada, 2002a, p. 17). Quebec operates its own Immigrant Investor Program by virtue of the Canada-Quebec Accord Relating to Immigration and Temporary Admission of Aliens.

Since 2000, CIC was creating a new selection system for skilled worker immigrants and in 2002 they were able to release these new criteria (Government of Canada, 2002a, p. 20). The new regulations allow CIC to select skilled workers through a human capital approach, valuing

flexible skills over intended occupation. To this end, the points awarded for education, language ability and experience were increased. Points are also awarded for arranged employment in Canada and adaptability (for example, a spouse's or a common-law partner's education, or previous work experience in Canada), both of which will help immigrants adjust to Canada's economy and society (Government of Canada, 2002a, p. 21). CIC was also successful in making the processing of student and foreign students applications more efficient (Government of Canada, 2002a, p. 5). The new regulations increased the exemption period for a study permit from three to six months to harmonize it with the length of stay normally authorized for visitors.

Lastly, in regards to temporary workers, CIC have been working with HRDC since 2000 to develop immigration policies to strengthen the Canadian labour market. CIC launched a program to allow spouses or common-law partners of skilled temporary foreign workers to work in Canada. This program will help Canadian employers attract skilled workers to Canada as workers will be more receptive to accepting offers from Canadian employers when they know their spouse or common-law partner can also work in Canada.

Under Maintaining Canada's Humanitarian Tradition business line, CIC will continue to pilot new resettlement concepts such as the "In-Canada Service Provider Pilot Project which has been designed to provide assistance to private sponsors" (Government of Canada, 2001, p. 19). To ensure program effectiveness, CIC will also be developing and implementing program monitoring and evaluation tools such as Resettlement and Assistance Program (Government of Canada, 2001). The main priority for the reporting period of 2001-2002 is ensuring Bill C-11 passes parliament. The bill contains a number of initiatives that seek to enhance the integrity and efficiency of the refugee determination process.

Under the Promoting the Integration of Newcomers business line, CIC continues to develop the accountability framework alongside service provider organizations. In 2000, the ministry developed its performance measurement and evaluation framework which represents the first two components of the larger framework. CIC anticipates that by the spring of 2002 the final three components of the accountability framework will be completed. The planned results for the reporting period of 2001-2002 is improved delivery of settlement programs to newcomers, improved monitoring of service providers and improved labour market readiness for new immigrants.

## 2002 - 2003

In the 2002-03 departmental plan and priorities document, Citizenship Immigration Canada stresses on building capacity within the country to achieve the department's strategic outcomes. Under the Maximizing the Economic and Social Benefits of Migration to Canada business line, CIC, for the first time in five years, increased the number of immigrants from 200,000-225,000 to 210,000-235,000 (Government of Canada, 2002b, p. 12). CIC will attempt to amend the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act in this reporting period to update and "ensure that the criteria are clear" (Government of Canada, 2002b, p. 13) for the family reunification stream. Under the economic immigrant stream, CIC will also be amending the aforementioned Act to allow "people with transferable skills rather than the necessary occupation of applicants" (Government of Canada, 2002b, p. 13). The proposed changes place more emphasis on language

and education skills instead of matching an immigrant's single intended occupations with narrow labour market demand niches (Government of Canada, 2002b, p. 13). This will extend to the selection of business investors coming to Canada: CIC will improve the “objective and measurable standards” (Government of Canada, 2002b, p.14) in the criteria that selects business class immigrants. Admission of temporary workers and foreign students’ files are not changing as big changes occurred in the previous year. CIC will continue to refine their implementation approach on these streams.

Maintaining Canada’s Humanitarian Tradition business line has been renamed to Protecting Refugees and Others in Need of Resettlement. New changes in the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act will result in “enhancement in CIC’s Overseas Resettlement Program by placing greater emphasis on the need for protection and less on assessment of an individual’s ability to resettle in Canada” (Government of Canada, 2002b, p. 17). The primary goal of this is to make refugee family reunification faster and easier (Government of Canada, 2002b, p. 17). CIC will also continue to work on implementing program monitoring and evaluation tools.

The Promoting the Integration of Newcomers business line has been renamed to Supporting the Settlement, Adaptation and Integration of Newcomers into Canadian Society. The language used in this section is more high level and vague than the previous section. For example, CIC claims to improve the integration of newcomers by “working through stakeholders and partners to more effectively promote understanding of integration issues among Canadians” (Government of Canada, 2002b, p. 22). It is unclear what the deliverables or action items are in this business line. There is mention of the development of a Contribution Accountability Framework to “ensure effectiveness and efficiency in the delivery of settlement programs” (Government of Canada, 2002b, p. 22).

It is interesting to note that since the new Deputy Minister arrival, Michael Dorais, the structure of the departmental plan has changed. Previous plans would have a “planned results” section after each business line that would outline that key deliverables that one could expect from the CIC in that reporting period. That has been removed from the new structure of the departmental plan and may result in reduced accountability of the CIC.

There was no departmental report for the 2002-2003 period.

2003 - 2004

Under the Maximizing the Economic and Social Benefits of Migration to Canada, the migration level targets increased from the previous year: 220,000 - 245,000 (Government of Canada, 2003b, p. 16). Of these, CIC aims to achieve a 60-40 split between economic and non-economic immigrants. With regards to the family reunification stream, the CIC will continue to monitor the impact of the changes that were made on the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act particularly on “the expanded family definition, the process for selecting spouses and partners and the simplified criteria for measuring sponsor’s income” (Government of Canada, 2004b, p. 17).

With the arrival of many skilled workers, regulations around foreign credentials were important to review. In the departmental plan, the CIC plans on working with HRDC and Industry Canada to develop a fast-track process for highly skilled workers who have arranged employment (Government of Canada, 2003b, p.18). Furthermore, a new application process for highly skilled workers to expedite processes will also be looked into in this reporting period. Additionally, in consultations with provincials and territorial ministers, CIC is looking to develop strategies to share the benefits of immigration more evenly across the country. At the time, 75% of immigrants settled in Toronto, Vancouver and Montreal (Government of Canada, 2003b, p. 18). Attracting immigrants to smaller centres and other regions will be a key issue to solve in this reporting period. In selecting business immigrants, temporary workers and international students, the CIC will continue to work on the priorities set in 2002: closely monitor the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (IRPA) and its effects on the aforementioned parties.

Under the Protecting Refugees and Others in Need of Settlement business line, CIC will continue to “enhance the integrity of Canada’s humanitarian program” (Government of Canada, 2003b, p. 21). To do this, the CIC will review the refugee status determination process and improve the management of this process (Government of Canada, 2003b, p. 21). Additionally, CIC will strengthen relationships with partners and stakeholders who can support resettled refugees.

Under the Supporting the Settlement, Adaptation and Integration of Newcomers into Canadian Society business line, CIC will achieve their strategic outcomes by supporting and “enhancing the delivery, both directly and indirectly, of integration programs for newcomers to Canada” (Government of Canada, 2003b, p. 25). To do this, CIC will plan a national conference on settlement/resettlement with increased opportunities to discuss issues among service provider organizations. CIC uses a language such as partnerships and consultations a few times in this section with stakeholders, and service providers however, concrete policy action is missing. The partnerships CIC plan on leveraging seem vague. In the last two years, this business line has become less of a policy mechanism to integrate immigrants and more an internal review mechanism in trying to make processes more efficient.

Similar to 2002-2003, this reporting period did not have a departmental report.

2004 - 2005

The 2004-05 departmental plan starts off with a message from the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration which is a change from the previous plans that included messages from the deputy minister. A synopsis of the minister’s message includes how CIC’s programs continue to contribute to the strength of the economy by obtaining maximum benefits from immigration and the global movement of people. Judy Sgro continues to say that immigrants represent a significant component in the growth of our labour force and help fuel an economy driven by skills, ideas and innovation (Government of Canada, 2004b, p. 4). The structure of the report has also changed with a new section included at the beginning: Planning Overview and Departmental Priorities (Government of Canada, 2005a, p. 9).

Under the Maximizing the Economic and Social Benefits of Migration to Canada business line, CIC will try to “achieve immigration target levels; support family reunification; select skilled

immigrants who are capable of adapting to the Canadian labour market; select business immigrants who can support the development of the Canadian economy; admit temporary workers to fill skills needs in the domestic labour market; and admit visitors and foreign students who can also contribute to Canada's economic growth" (Government of Canada, 2004b, p. 18). Target immigration levels did not change from the previous year with a desired intake of 220,000 to 245,000 immigrants with a similar 60-40 split between economic and non-economic immigrants (Government of Canada, 2004b, p. 19).

Similar to the previous year's departmental report, CIC continues to use language such as "strengthen its relationship with provinces and territories" (Government of Canada, 2004b, p. 20) which does not provide any accountability measures to determine whether they are successful in reaching their goal. Aside from that note, CIC will also work with the Canadian Revenue Agency (CRA) to develop a "Canada-wide mechanism to collect social assistance from sponsors and pay it out to the persons whom they sponsored" under the family reunification stream (Government of Canada, 2004b, p. 20).

In terms of reaching their objectives for economic immigrants including those who can adapt to the labour market and the selection of business immigrants, CIC will continue to monitor the effects of the IRPA "and make adjustments where required" (Government of Canada, 2004b, p. 20). Continuing their work for the previous year, CIC will continue to work on developing foreign credential recognition and develop an accountability framework for business immigrants (Government of Canada, 2004b, p. 22)..

Under the Protecting Refugees and Others in Need of Resettlement business line, the CIC will achieve its strategic outcomes by: "reaching targeted levels of refugees, strengthening the Refugee Resettlement Program, and developing more effective relationships between the Immigration Refugee Board (IRB) and CIC" (Government of Canada, 2004b, p. 23). the IRB is an independent administrative tribunal with a quasi-judicial process to determine refugee claims.. Citizenship Immigration Canada slightly increased their refugee intake for the 2004-2005 period with Canada receiving "between 29,400 and 32,800 refugees" (Government of Canada, 2004b, p. 25). Secondly, CIC will continue to work with the Canadian Council for Refugees (CCR) to ensure "their participation in the internal review of the Private Sponsorship Refugees Program" (Government of Canada, 2004b, p. 25). Another way CIC will strengthen the resettlement program for refugees is by group processing and streamline refugee and international region programs.

Under the Supporting the Settlement, Adaptation and Integration of Newcomers into Canadian Society business line, CIC will achieve its strategic goals by: "enhancing the delivery of orientation, adaptation and language programs for newcomers, and directing and supporting the citizenship program" (Government of Canada, 2004b, p. 27). In 2004-2005, CIC will update their language program by implementing benchmarks for French as a second language to reflect the new language requirements in the IRPA. CIC will also "develop curriculum guidelines, assess training capacity and determine language assessment needs" (Government of Canada, 2004b, p. 29). CIC will leverage their existing programs such as LINC and ISAP to focus on regionalization to further promote the French language in Canada. This is an effort to help attract and retain minority French communities. Second, CIC will continue to work with service

providers on the implementation of the Contribution Accountability Framework that was started in 2003-2004. This will ensure accountability for settlement spending and results by monitoring service delivery effectiveness and efficiency (Government of Canada, 2004b, p. 30).

The performance report released in 2005 was the first report released in three years with a gap in 2003 and 2004. The report has been restructured with additional context mentioned in the front end matter of the report. For the purposes of this paper, the key section to analyze is the "Performance by Strategic Outcome" section (Government of Canada, 2005a, p. 15). Under the first business line, CIC was successful in achieving all strategic plans: "achieving target immigration levels, selecting immigrants capable of adapting to the Canadian labour market, selecting business immigrants, admission of temporary workers and foreign students" (Government of Canada, 2005a, p. 26).

The key initiative that the CIC focused on in 2004-2005 was the selection of business immigrants including investors. CIC, for the first time, met its commitment to finalize 1,000 investor applications (Government of Canada, 2005a, p. 30). Additionally, CIC took a number of steps towards revitalizing its operational and policy partnerships with business immigration stakeholders "including workshops and training sessions with immigration officers" (Government of Canada, 2005a, p. 31).

Under the Protecting Refugees and Others in Need of Resettlement business line, CIC was successful in its four priorities including: "achievement of targets for refugees, provision of an effective and more responsive refugee resettlement program, development of effective and efficient working arrangements between the IRB and CIC and enhancement of Canada's influence to international initiatives to protect refugees" (Government of Canada, 2005a, p. 35). Of noteworthy amongst these outcomes is the relationship between IRB and the CIC. In 2004-2005, CIC streamlined the refugee determination system and was able to process twice the number of applications (Government of Canada, 2005a, p. 36).

Under the Supporting the Settlement, Adaptation and Integration of Newcomers into Canadian Society business line was successful in its four priorities including: "successful integration of newcomers into Canadian society, advancement of accountability to ensure effective and efficient delivery of settlement programs, accordance of full participation in Canadian society to eligible permanent residents, effective promotion and understanding of citizenship and integration issues" (Government of Canada, 2005a, p. 42). Of interest of these accomplishments are the successful integration of newcomers: CIC took several steps to enhance existing programs designed to facilitate the integration of immigrants into Canadian communities "increasing their opportunities to make economic, social and cultural contributions to Canada" (Government of Canada, 2005a, p. 42). One of these critical steps is providing \$15 million to enhance language training opportunities. To address specific barriers to labour market integration, CIC reinforced its partnerships with HRSDC, the provinces/territories, professional associations, regulatory bodies, and had several roundtables to promote the integration of trained workers into the Canadian labour market (Government of Canada, 2005a, p.42).

The Departmental Performance Report is the first release in three years which may be a reason why the ministry was so successful in all its priorities. In the past, there has not been a year where all the intended results occurred.

#### 2005 - 2006

Under the Maximum Contribution to Canada's Economic, Social and Cultural Development from Migration business line, which has replaced the Maximizing the Economic and Social Benefits of Migration to Canada, the CIC has prioritized evaluating the eligibility criteria for fast-track processing of immigrants, monitoring compliance in the business immigration program, the treatment of temporary workers, and expansion of opportunities for foreign students to work in Canada (Government of Canada, 2005b, p. 19).

Under the Reflection of Canadian Values and Interests in the Management of International Migration, Including Refugee Protection which has replaced the Protecting Refugees and Others in Need of Resettlement business line, the CIC has prioritized the strengthening of the refugee determination system and the resettlement program (Government of Canada, 2005b, p. 24). They will do this by reviewing their documentation of refugee claimants policy. Additionally, the CIC will focus on maintaining its relationships with key partners to ensure the refugee settlement process is as smooth and efficient as possible. CIC will "strive to improve" (Government of Canada, 2005b, p. 25) program monitoring and performance management through this business line.

Under the Successful Integration of Newcomers and Promotion of Canadian Citizenship business line, CIC expects to update its resettlement assistance program to focus on "adequate language skills, recognition of professional credentials and foreign work experience (Government of Canada, 2005b, p. 27) for newcomers in Canada. In this section, there is a detailed account of the various settlement programs that CIC has; however, the priorities focused in this business line have not been focused on.

The performance report released in March 2006, claims that the CIC was overall very successful in reaching its targets as it "achieved its target immigration plan" (Government of Canada, 2006a, p. 6) in economic, family and refugee streams. It is interesting to note that a pattern is somewhat emerging from the performance reports. One year that is successful in completing multiple priorities will be followed by a slower planning year. As in the departmental plan, the performance report provides the operating context of the current resettlement programs. Minor improvements such as funding criteria for the enhanced language training program are mentioned (Government of Canada, 2006a, p. 33) however, the key policy updates mentioned in the departmental plan have not been executed.

#### 2006 - 2007

The departmental plan of 2006-2007 starts by prioritizing the implementation of an integrated policy framework to face the challenges in terms of "changing demographics, labour market and international contexts" (Government of Canada, 2006b, p. 7). The framework will "provide a strategic roadmap to ensure all CIC programs and policies are working together [and] modernize

client service models” (Government of Canada, 2006b, p. 8). It can be posited that the CIC is attempting to adapt their internal processes with the changing landscape of immigration.

Under the Maximum Contribution to Canada’s Economic, Social and Cultural Development from Migration business line, CIC will work to improve the services for economic immigrants to make them “rapidly economically successful” (Government of Canada, 2006b, p. 23). To do this, CIC will primarily work on developing the integrated policy framework. Other noteworthy priorities in 2006-2007, under the business line include refocused delivery on the entrepreneur program to “maximize the economic benefit to Canada” (Government of Canada, 2006b, p. 24). The other priorities include immigration targets being met and continued progress on priorities from previous years.

Under the Reflection of Canadian Values and Interests in the Management of International Migration Including Refugee Protection business line, the CIC will prioritize the Interim Federal Health (IFH) program to “improve health and integration outcomes for” (Government of Canada, 2006b, p. 31) refugees. This will help contribute to optimal health outcomes in a “fair, equitable and cost-effective manner” (Government of Canada, 2006b, p. 32). Integration services within Canada include health programs for newcomers and the improvement of the IFH program shows movement in the right direction.

Under the Successful Integration of Newcomers and Promotion of Canadian Citizenship business line, CIC will continue to work on establishing a foreign credential assessment system with HRSDC “to complement the existing program” (Government of Canada, 2006b, p. 34). Under this business line, CIC further strengthens the argument for working on an integrated framework to “better tailor the needs of newcomers” (Government of Canada, 2006b, p. 34).

In the Performance Report, released in March 2007, CIC confirmed that the ministry was successful in providing supplementary and basic health-care coverage for refugee claimants (Government of Canada, 2007a, p. 34). Over 500,000 claims were processed through this program in the 2006-2007 reporting period. The success of the initial program has led to CIC starting to develop a risk management accountability framework to “improve the efficiency, responsiveness and integrity of the IFHP” (Government of Canada, 2007a, p. 34).

There is no mention of the foreign credential system which suggests that the priority is yet to be completed. CIC was successful under their first business line in developing the integrated policy framework. The implementation of the framework has yet to be done however CIC will work closely with other departments and provinces and territories to support the future direction (Government of Canada, 2007a, p. 11). The primary priority focus of this reporting period was to improve the health programs for refugees and CIC was successful in meeting that target.

2007 - 2008

In the 2007-08 departmental plan, the CIC rebranded the business lines to strategic outcomes. Under the first strategic outcome: Maximizing Contribution to Canada’s Economic, Social and Cultural Development from Migration, the CIC will continue to “work with its partners toward increasing the contribution of the economic immigration stream to support Canada’s economic

immigration stream” (Government of Canada, 2007b, p. 24). To do this, the government will continue to explore ways to facilitate the transition from temporary to permanent resident and explore a framework for multi-year immigration (Government of Canada, 2007b, p. 27). Of noteworthy plans, CIC will evaluate how skilled workers were selected in the post-IRPA labour market and review the policy effectiveness of the Entrepreneur program. On top of these priorities, CIC will continue to evaluate the remaining immigration streams and deliver the respective components to the 2007 immigration plan (Government of Canada, 2007b, p. 28). For the temporary foreign workers program, CIC will implement changes to the program to make the program more “facilitative and more responsive to labour market needs and shortages and to improve program integrity” (Government of Canada, 2007b, p. 30). This is the biggest priority the CIC will undergo in the 2007-08 reporting period.

Similarly, the performance report released in March 31, 2008 has been reformatted compared to the previous four years’ of reports. CIC was successful in the achievement of immigration target levels in the range of 240,00 and 265,000 (Government of Canada, 2008a, p. 23). The central policy achievement made under the first strategic outcome (Maximizing Contribution to Canada’s Economic, Social and Cultural Development from Migration) was creating an immigration system that is more responsive to labour market needs, prevent the backlog of 925,000 people from growing and produce significant backlog reduction methods (Government of Canada, 2008a, p. 24). A new theme in this new report is that the plans and priorities are repeated 2-3 times. This was not the case in older versions of the performance report. The strategic outcomes focused on monitoring and evaluating the various immigration programs to evaluate its efficiency and effectiveness. This CIC focused on data collection perhaps to feed into the new immigration system mentioned above. In regards to the temporary resident program, CIC “welcomed a record number of 165,198 foreign workers” (Government of Canada, 2008a, p. 27). Compared to the program in 2004, there has been an increase of 46% in admission of foreign workers. Thus, it can be posited that CIC was successful in updating the temporary foreign workers program.

Under the second strategic outcome: Reflection of Canadian Values and Interests in the Management of International Migration, Including Refugee Protection, the CIC has prioritized re-developing the private sponsorship of refugees program “based on program analysis” (Government of Canada, 2007b, p. 35). Other than this priority, CIC will continue to formulate international migration policy and continuously improve the international engagement of refugees. As outlined in the performance report, CIC completed an evaluation of the Private Sponsorship of Refugees Program and conducted various consultations with “sponsoring groups and key stakeholders” (Government of Canada, 2008a, p. 32). This legwork resulted in the establishment of a Quality Assurance framework for the program (Government of Canada, 2008a, p. 32).

Under the third strategic outcome: Successful Integration of Newcomers and Promotion of Canadian Citizenship, CIC will prioritize their work from the previous year on developing a foreign credential system and focus on elements to enhance the current integration system by developing a “broader suite of client-centred integration programs for newcomers, developing complementary programs that encourage Canadians support and update program delivery

partnership and funding arrangements” (Government of Canada, 2007b, p. 38). The planned result of this is to create a strong framework to better assist integration of newcomers to Canada. CIC was only successful in launching the Foreign Credentials Referral Office in May 2007 (Government of Canada, 2008a, p. 35). This office provides “information, path-finding and referral services on foreign credential recognition processes and Canadian labour market” (Government of Canada, 2008a, p. 35). In 2007-08, CIC also increased investments to expand their language learning program. There is no mention of the integrated framework that was cited in the departmental plan.

2008 - 2009

The departmental plans have undergone yet another change in formatting this year. The change is one that keeps CIC more accountable: Under each business line a table outlines the priorities, expected results and key performance indicators to ensure that CIC is able to achieve each of the desired outcomes (Government of Canada, 2008b, p. 30).

Under the first strategic priority, CIC will prioritize monitoring and assessment of all their current programs (Government of Canada, 2008b, p. 32). Under new leadership, the CIC is looking to review and assess the effectiveness and efficiency of current processes and programs. An audit is also going to be undertaken which can explain the evaluation of their current programs.

Under the second strategic priority, CIC will continue to work with other departments to “assert Canada’s role in international migration and protection” (Government of Canada, 2008b, p. 36). The performance indicator for this is “number and description of negotiations led or undertaken” (Government of Canada, 2008b, p. 36). This is not a justifiable indicator on how inter departmental coordination is assessed. It can be noted that while the structural change of the report has taken steps in the right direction, the performance indicators are not as strong to evaluate the priorities.

Under the third strategic outcome, CIC will develop policies and programs to “support the settlement, adaptation and integration of newcomers into Canadian society” (Government of Canada, 2008a, p. 41). The performance indicator for this is labour market participation. Thus, the CIC posits that the integration and settlement of newcomers is based on labour market participation. Of noteworthy policy improvements/changes, there is mention of continuous improvement of language programs for newcomers. Specifically, the language programs will focus on “addressing the particular requirements of Canadian workplaces” (Government of Canada, 2009a, p. 35). This will be evaluated through monitoring the results from the language centres.

The performance report released in March 31, 2009, CIC posited that closing the gap between immigrant outcomes relative to the Canadian average remains a challenge (Government of Canada, 2009a, p.10). The most recent data available shows that even three years after landing immigrant income was “90% of their Canadian counterparts” (Government of Canada, 2009a, p. 9). However, earnings have been shown to increase with time. Under the second strategic outcome, CIC led and contributed to “negotiations on over 10 United Nations resolutions” which

was the primary priority for this reporting period. Although acknowledgements have been made that address the labour market disparity between newcomers and native born Canadian, the CIC does not provide any course of actions to tackle this issue.

#### 2009 - 2010

In the 2009-2010 departmental plan, under the first strategic outcome: Migration that significantly benefits Canada's economic, social and cultural development, while protecting the safety and security of Canadians, CIC continues the initiatives from the previous year. CIC will work with HSRDC to improve the Temporary Foreign Worker program (Government of Canada, 2009b, p. 18) and better respond to employer's needs. CIC will continue to prioritize the family reunification stream by "giving priority to the processing of applications" (Government of Canada, 2009b, p. 19). Lastly, CIC will continue to improve the "labour market responsiveness by admitting the skilled people who are more likely to succeed and who are most needed by the labour market" (Government of Canada, 2009b, p. 19). The performance indicator for this priority is labour market participation of "immigrants who moved to Canada for less than five years" (Government of Canada, 2009b, p. 21).

Under the second strategic outcome, International recognition and acceptance of the principles of managed migration consistent with Canada's border foreign policy agenda, and protection of refugees in Canada, CIC will continue to accept refugee persons in the range of 23,600 and 27,200 (Government of Canada, 2009b, p. 24).

Under the third strategic outcome: Successful integration of newcomers into society and promotion of Canadian citizenship, CIC will continue to improve immigrant economic outcomes "relative to the Canadian average" (Government of Canada, 2009b, p. 25). Furthermore, the CIC will measure social participation by "donor and volunteer rates" with a target of "80% giving and 20% volunteerism by immigrants" (Government of Canada, 2009b, p. 29). The CIC will continue to try to supplement the "existing language assessment process by introducing a more standardized exit assessment system" (Government of Canada, 2009b, p. 30). Lastly, evaluations of the Resettlement Assistance Program and the service providers providing language programs will be conducted to ensure "efficiency and effectiveness" (Government of Canada, 2009b, p. 31).

In the departmental performance report for the reporting period of 2009-2010, CIC were successful in meeting all the performance indicators in the labour market participation for recent immigrants (Government of Canada, 2010a, p. 17). In the Temporary Resident Program, CIC exceeded their performance status by increased entry visas than forecasted in the departmental plan: 178,478 (Government of Canada, 2010a, p. 19).

Under the second strategic outcome, CIC met all their performance indicators by "responding to all ad hoc requests in the number of new and renewed international agreements" (Government of Canada, 2010a, p. 23).

Under the third strategic outcome, CIC was not able to improve the participation rate of recently arrived immigrants relative to the Canadian average (Government of Canada, 2010a, p. 28).

Labour force survey data show that the employment rate of recent and established immigrants declined relative to Canadian-born individuals (Government of Canada, 2010a, p. 28). The CIC was successful in “maintaining or improving in settlement programming participation rates” (Government of Canada, 2010a, p. 29).

#### 2010 - 2011

Under the first strategic outcome, the primary performance indicator is “income from all sources for skilled worker principal applicants after three years compared to Canadian benchmark” (Government of Canada, 2010b, 17). A point of interest here is that the previous years looked at immigrants in the labour market over the last five years. CIC will complete an evaluation of the Federal Skilled Worker program and begin evaluation of the provincial nominee program (Government of Canada, 2010b, p. 20).

The performance report released on March 21, 2011, under the first strategic outcome: labour market participation continues to decline for both “the Canadian born and very recent immigrants” (Government of Canada, 2011a, p. 20). Labour force participation continues to be lower “than the Canadian-born population by 6.6%” (Government of Canada, 2011a, p. 20). The report further states that the gap “between males is much smaller (1.3%) than the gap for females in the labour force market (Government of Canada, 2011a, p. 20). Under the Temporary Resident Program, CIC failed to meet its targeted temporary residents: “182,276 arrived in Canada with the anticipated demand between 185,000 and 220,000” (Government of Canada, 2011a, p.21). The family reunification stream also was updated: “a regulatory proposal to expand the current family sponsorship bar for those who have been convicted of family violence crimes; and amendments to strengthen and clarify the regulations that prohibit the use of bad faith relationships for the purpose of immigration” (Government of Canada, 2011a, p. 21).

Under the second strategic outcome, the primary performance indicator is “number of protected persons and Convention refugees granted permanent residence” (Government of Canada, 2010b, p. 23). From the performance report, it can be posited that CIC failed to meet its refugee targets between 19,600-26,000 (Government of Canada, 2011a, p. 29). The report fails to mention the total number of refugees that entered Canada. From the performance status, it seems as though roughly 14,000 refugees entered Canada in the 2010-2011 period.

Under the third strategic outcome, CIC’s primary performance indicator is “income from all sources for all immigration categories after five years and after ten years compared to the Canadian benchmark” (Government of Canada, 2010b, p. 28). It is of interest to note that the first strategic outcome looks at employment up to three years of moving to Canada compared to the five and ten. One explanation could be integration is seen as a longer-term outcome. In the performance report, CIC confirmed that newly arrived immigrants (five years after arriving) increased their labour force market participation from “62% to 66.7%” (Government of Canada, 2011a, p. 32). Immigrants who had settled in Canada within 10 years’ employment rate decreased from “54.2% to 54%” (Government of Canada, 2011a, p. 32). It is clear that this year the CIC failed to meet most of their targets.

#### 2011 - 2012

In the 2011-12 departmental plan, under the first strategic outcome, Migration of permanent and temporary residents that strengthens Canada's economy, CIC is planning to improve the long term immigration plan and increased involvement of "provinces and territories to align with the federal vision" (Government of Canada, 2011b, p. 25). CIC will also continue to "review the role of temporary foreign workers in the Canadian economy" (Government of Canada, 2011a, p. 26) for future policy improvements.

Under the second strategic outcome, Family and humanitarian migration that reunites families and offers protection to the displaced and persecuted, CIC will continue to reunite families up to 58,500 residents (Government of Canada, 2011b, p. 28). It is interesting to note that the family unification stream has been repositioned from the first strategic outcome to the second strategic outcome. The CIC will continue to accept resettled refugees in the world (Government of Canada, 2011a, p. 29). The ministry will also continue to refine their policies in the family reunification stream from the previous year.

Under the third strategic outcome, Newcomers and citizens participate to their full potential in fostering an integrated society, CIC will continue to monitor "percentage of labour market participation of newcomers versus non-comers" (Government of Canada, 2011a, p. 32). A new performance indicator has been added: "percentage of newcomers with language proficiency of the Canadian Language Benchmarks" (Government of Canada, 2011a, p. 32). New policy requirements state that 90% of immigrants applying for citizenship will have CLB 4 of higher level.

The departmental report that was released in March 31, 2021, the CIC updated their performance targets under the first strategic outcome. CIC found that: "39% had higher incomes just three years after landing, 46% had higher incomes four years after landing and 49% of PRs had higher incomes five years after landing." (Government of Canada, 2012a, p. 14). Furthermore, the CIC continues to track temporary foreign workers and international students.

Under the second strategic outcome, CIC was able to admit refugees in their initial allocation of 23,200 and 29,000 persons (Government of Canada, 2012a, p. 15). CIC failed to meet their family reunification targets: they were able to reunite 56,446 persons with their families (Government of Canada, 2012a, p. 15).

Under the third strategic outcome, CIC posited that compared with the Canadian-born, the income gap was "54% for men and 47% for women" (Government of Canada, 2012a, p. 16) in regards to non-visible minorities. The number is even lower for visible minorities: "35% for men and 39% for women" (Government of Canada, 2012a, p. 16). It is clear then both immigrants and visible minorities status has an impact on income disparities.

## 2012 - 2013

In the departmental plan of 2012-2013, CIC has prioritized "improving/ modernizing client service" (Government of Canada, 2013a, p. 5). Under this ambitious priority, CIC will continue to transform service delivery across its network, making "services more accessible and expedient

for clients while ensuring program integrity" (Government of Canada, 2013a, p. 5). Under the performance report released on March 31, 2013, the CIC was successful in improving client service delivery: "expenditure reduced by \$13 million" (Government of Canada, 2013b, p. 23). The modernization of services led to the efficient reduction in expenditures.

Under the first strategic outcome, the CIC will continue to focus on permanent residents earning higher income "three to five years after landing" (Government of Canada, 2013a, p. 11). Once again, one can see the change from four years to five years of landing. The shifting priority is of note. This exceeded its expectations as the number of permanent residents entered were "57,213 of the 55,000 planned" (Government of Canada 2013a, p. 25). CIC has also increased their business program to include self-employed persons in addition to the investor and entrepreneur stream. The self-employed persons stream is defined as "been a self-employed person in cultural activities or athletics at a world class level" (Government of Canada, 2013a, p. 21). For entrepreneurs, CIC implemented the Start-Up Visa Program: "it is the first program which allows the Minister to issue instructions to create economic immigration programs, limited to a duration of five years" (Government of Canada, 2013a, p. 30). No new policies were developed for the temporary foreign worker program.

Under the second strategic outcome, CIC will prioritize the number of "protected persons and their dependants abroad granted permanent residence" (Government of Canada, 2013b, p. 12). The other priority under the second outcome is the "number of people reunited with their families" (Government of Canada, 2013b, p. 12). Both of these were successfully met, as per the 2013 performance report (Government of Canada, 2013a p. 38). No new policies were initiated or implemented in this reporting period for either stream.

Under the third strategic outcome, CIC will prioritize the "comparison of income disparities among the four population groups- [visible minority and foreign-born, non visible minority and foreign-born, visible minority and Canadian-born, non-visible minority and Canadian born]" (Government of Canada, 2013b, p. 13). The analysis that the CIC is starting to conduct is far more intricate than what they had prior to 2012. Since the priority in this strategic outcome was to collect data on the four population groups, they were successful in achieving this (Government of Canada, 2013a, p. 58).

#### 2013 - 2014

CIC's strategic priorities for the 2013-2014 reporting period is the continuation of the previous year's priority: strengthening "people management and promoting management accountability" (Government of Canada, 2013b, p. 8). In order to promote integration, the CIC will be re-evaluating their internal systems to ensure they are "effective and efficient and CIC will emerge as a strong, higher performing institution" (Government of Canada, 2013b, p. 8).

CIC's departmental report released on March 31, 2014, confirmed that the strategic priorities (people management and promoting management accountability) are "ongoing" (Government of Canada, 2014a, p. 10). Of noteworthy, the improvements made by CIC include: expanding the global visa application centre network to improve access to services for applicants (Government of Canada, 2014a, p. 11). Business lines continue to be transferred to the Global Case

Management system (GCMS) in order to replace legacy systems (Government of Canada, 2014a, p. 11). Furthermore, CIC transformed many internal processes such as “implementing the Common Human Resources Business Processes across all human resources disciplines in order to streamline and standardize HR processes” (Government of Canada, 2014a, p. 12). Another new initiative that is of note is the creation of an “online workforce dashboard to provide CIC management and staff with streamlined data” (Government of Canada, 2014a, p. 12).

Under the first strategic outcome, CIC targeted to rank 5th within the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) of employment rate for all immigrants and came 6th (Government of Canada, 2014a, p. 23). Under the Federal Skilled Workers program, CIC updated the requirements to include “new minimum language requirements, and mandatory education credential assessments of foreign educational credentials (Government of Canada, 2014a, p. 27). There were major changes in the federal business immigrant programs: the CIC announced the intention to eliminate the existing investor and entrepreneur program (Government of Canada, 2014a, p. 32). Instead, the government will turn its attention to “attracting experienced business people and raising investment capital that is of maximum benefit to Canada’s economy” (Government of Canada, 2014a, p. 32). CIC will also continue to work with the Start-Up Visa program from the previous year. Under the temporary foreign worker program, the CIC “imposed new conditions on employers and gave the government more authority to conduct inspections to ensure employers are meeting the conditions of the program” (Government of Canada, 2014b, p. 37). The government is strengthening their evaluation processes to better analyze the temporary foreign worker program.

Under the second strategic outcome, Canada exceeded their target and reunified 6,231 more families than planned (Government of Canada, 2014b, p. 39). CIC however were not successful in meeting its target in accepting government assisted refugees by 1,000 persons (Government of Canada, 2014a, p. 44). Under the family reunification program, CIC is changing their policies to become “more aligned with provincial standards” (Government of Canada, 2014a, p. 40). Furthermore, the CIC is pausing the applications of parents and grandparents in family reunification.

Under the third strategic outcome, CIC’s performance indicator was on how many newcomers are “provided appropriate support and services to assist in their settlement in Canada” (Government of Canada, 2014, p. 51). They targeted more than 26% and in the 2013-2014 period, CIC provided 33% (Government of Canada, 2014a, p. 51). In regard to language needs, CIC wanted more than 67% of newcomers to acquire the official language skills they need in Canada and only achieved 58% (Government of Canada, 2014a, p. 53). In regard to labour market access, CIC’s performance indicator was newcomers report that they have “the knowledge and abilities to find and apply for employment” (Government of Canada, 2014a, p. 53). The performance target was more than 85% and the achieved 86%. However, this indicator does not seem to fully encapsulate newcomers' access to the labour market. Integration is becoming more associated with labour market demands.

2015 - 2016

In 2015-2016, CIC continued to focus on “people management and promoting management accountability” (Government of Canada, 2015b, p. 7). The strategic priorities under each outcome remain unchanged. In 2016 Citizenship Immigration Canada was rebranded to Immigration, Refugee and Citizenship Canada (IRCC)

Between the release of the departmental plan and the report, the CIC mandated a new priority: the resettlement of 25,000 Syrian refugees (Government of Canada, 2016b, p. 12). In 2015–2016, IRCC implemented 35 small-scale pilots to support the social and labour market integration of Syrian refugees under the themes of informal language learning, community connections, employment and leveraging technology. Over 2,000 Syrian refugees across the country benefited from these pilots (Government of Canada, 2016a, p. 13).

Under the first strategic outcome, IRCC launched the express entry system and has gone away with the “first-in, first-out processing method” (Government of Canada, 2016a, p. 33) The Express Entry process focuses on inviting only the top ranked candidates to apply for permanent resident ((Government of Canada, 2016b, p. 33). The Provincial Nominee Program continues unchanged from the previous year. Under the Federal Business Immigrants Program, IRCC will continue to monitor the growth of the Start-Up visa program. IRCC also launched a new pilot program: the Immigrant Investor Venture Capital program to support venture capital investment in Canadian businesses (Government of Canada, 2016a, p. 34). In the Temporary Foreign Workers program, IRCC strengthened the “compliance regime in order to better protect the Canadian labour market and foreign workers” (Government of Canada, 2016a, p. 37). Additionally, IRCC also identified key sectors that would benefit from the labourMarket Impact Assessment (Government of Canada, 2016a, p. 37).

Under the second strategic outcome, IRCC reformed the asylum system to include “the development of a Refugee Appeal Division at IRB to accelerate processing time lines and limit access to appeal measures for asylum claimants” (Government of Canada, 2016b, p. 42). IRCC is also continuing to engage with provinces and service providers to improve the resettlement program for refugees. No changes were made to the family reunification program.

Under the third strategic outcome, following consultations with partners and stakeholders across Canada in 2014, key settlement priorities, such as providing work-focused language training and extending community partnership networks like Local Immigration Partnerships, were developed for future settlement programming. Furthermore, to support the intake of Syrian refugees, thirty-five small-scale pilots were created to “support the social and labour market integration under the themes of informal language training” (Government of Canada, 2016a, p. 45).

IRCC advanced federal-provincial-territorial collaboration with a more strategic and coordinated approach to the design and delivery of language training in Canada, noting that the Syrian refugee crisis impacted these ongoing collaborative efforts. Newcomers continued to show signs of settling and integrating into Canadian society. In 2015–2016, a total of 40.64% of language training clients completed Canadian Language Benchmark level four or higher (in listening and speaking), which is the level of language proficiency required to obtain Canadian citizenship.

## 2016 - 2017

In the 2016-17, IRCC completed their revamp of internal systems and are no longer continuing to focus on “people management and promoting management accountability.” Under the first strategic outcome, IRCC is continuing to improve the Express Entry system by introducing changes by “better aligning job offer requirements and points with Canadian labour market realities, provide a one-year duration for offers or arranged employment, ensure candidates have enough time to complete their application” (Government of Canada, 2017b, p. 14). Under the Temporary Foreign Worker Program, IRCC implemented a new program called the Global Skills Strategy. This initiative aims to attract top global talent by offering “a dedicated service channel with enhanced client service and provides work permit exemptions for short term work and brief academic stays in Canada” (Government of Canada, 2017a, p. 18).

Under the second strategic outcome, IRCC implemented a new policy for the family reunification program that eliminates the “two-year conditional permanent resident requirement” (Government of Canada, 2017a, p. 22) to spouses seeking to reunite with a Canadian spouse. Service improvements were made to the family sponsorship application process, including: simplified information guides and forms to make application preparation easier; increased online communications; and “quicker submission of applications by such measures as allowing medical exams to take place after processing has begun, which reduces the likelihood of having to renew expired documents” (Government of Canada, 2017a, p. 22). Under the refugee protection program, IRCC consulted with stakeholders to determine lessons learned to “inform resettlement and settlement policy and programming” (Government of Canada, 2017a, p. 24). The priority under this program is to ensure that the newly arrived Syrian refugees are well settled.

In 2016–2017, the Department funded through RAP, 41 organizations in 37 communities (Government of Canada, 2017a, p. 36) across Canada to provide direct services to refugee clients, which include port of entry services, assistance with temporary accommodations, help locating permanent accommodations, orientations on financial and non-financial topics, life skills training, and links to settlement programming and mandatory federal and provincial programs (Government of Canada, 2017a, p. 36). .

Under the third strategic outcome, the Department funded over 500 organizations across Canada and overseas to provide a variety of settlement services to more than 400,000 clients in 2016–2017, including over 111,000 clients who received language training. Clients also received a variety of other services, such as needs assessment, information and orientation, employment services, community connection services, and others. Clients from all immigration categories such as economic immigrants and their spouses, family class, and those who landed as refugees, including the Syrian cohort, received settlement services. The Department continued to work with provincial and territorial partners to improve newcomer settlement outcomes (Government of Canada, 2017b, p. 24).

## 2017 - 2018

Under the first strategic outcome, IRCC focused on economic immigration. IRCC began an Atlantic Immigration Pilot to “increase the rate of immigration to the four Atlantic provinces in

order to address demographic gaps and fill labour gaps” (Government of Canada, 2018a, p. 12). One of the primary features of this program is the increased role of employers in the retention of newcomer employees and their families. The ministry spent the year focusing on increasing awareness of the project by “700 engagement and outreach activities” (Government of Canada, 2018b, p. 12). Under the Express Entry program, the department introduced two new changes: French language proficiency and a job bank registration” (Government of Canada, 2018a, p. 13). No new changes were implemented in the temporary foreign worker program. Under the International Experience Canada program, IRCC is conducting public opinion research to “better understand the motivators and barriers to work experiences” (Government of Canada, 2018a, p. 18).

Under the second strategic outcome, In 2017, the Department admitted approximately 41,000 protected persons and refugees. This included granting permanent residency to approximately 26,000 refugees. Resettlement of survivors of Daesh. In early 2017, the Government of Canada committed to resettling 1,200 survivors of Daesh, including vulnerable Yazidi women and children. Under this initiative, individuals were primarily resettled to Toronto, London, Winnipeg and Calgary. These cities were chosen following comprehensive consultations with stakeholders to identify where existing Yazidi communities were established and where adequate support services, including medical and psycho-social services and interpreters, were in place. Under the family reunification program, IRCC made two regulatory changes: “eliminated the condition that required some spouses and partners to live with their sponsor for two years and increased the age of dependency from under 19 to under 22 years so that parents are able to include single children” (Government of Canada, 2018a, p. 21).

Over the past year, IRCC significantly improved the family spousal sponsorship process, making it faster and easier for Canadians and permanent residents to reunite with their families. In December 2016, IRCC made a commitment to reduce the backlog of spousal applicants by 80% and to shorten processing times to 12 months. As of December 31, 2017, the global spousal backlog of 75,000 applications was reduced by more than 80% to 15,000. As of the same date, IRCC began processing 80% of new applications (received after December 7, 2016) within 12 months.

Under the third strategic outcome, IRCC funded over 500 third-party SPOs, facilitating the delivery of a variety of settlement services to more than 457,000 clients, representing an increase of approximately 8% compared to 2016–2017 (Government of Canada, 2018a, p. 23). The Department also funded pre-arrival settlement services for those who have not yet landed in Canada (Government of Canada, 2018a, p. 29). The 2017 Settlement Program evaluation found there is a continued need for settlement services to support newcomer integration in Canada, especially for vulnerable populations such as refugees. The program is effective in improving clients’ knowledge of Canada and facilitating their integration. Furthermore, clients reported pre-arrival services were useful in their preparation prior to arriving as permanent residents (Government of Canada, 2018a, p. 29).

2018 - 2020

Immigration plays an important role in strengthening Canada's economy, particularly in contributing to labour force growth (Government of Canada, 2018b, p. 19). In 2017, landed immigrants accounted for 26.9% of the Canadian labour force. According to demographic projections, immigrants will make up 32.6% of the working age population by 2036. The departmental performance report and plans were restructured once again in this reporting period.

IRCC opened 26 new visa processing centres across the world to facilitate the increased intake of temporary workers. IRCC continues to develop the Global Skills Strategy program to accept temporary workers to "fill the gaps in the labour market" (Government of Canada, 2019a, p. 10). Under the International Experience Canada program, IRCC will conduct an evaluation to better understand the barriers and limitations of the program (Government of Canada, 2019a, p. 10).

In the refugee protection program, the IRCC worked with provinces and territories to lift the "interim housing pressures" (Government of Canada, 2019a, p. 15) by providing \$474 million to support the affected provinces and municipalities. IRCC will also continue to work with asylum delivery organizations to address "the high volume of claims received" (Government of Canada, 2019b, p. 16). Lastly, under this program, IRCC has made "significant progress in improving the management of language training" (Government of Canada, 2019a, p. 25). This can be seen under all immigration programs: the improvement of language services as a settlement service. There is no mention of policy changes under the family reunification, and permanent resident programs.

In the last fiscal year, over 71% of newcomer survey respondents agreed that their community was welcoming to newcomers (Government of Canada, 2020, p. 21). The government recognizes that it is important for immigrants and refugees to feel a sense of belonging and connection to Canada in order for them to be active participants in Canadian society. To this end, IRCC funds programming such as Canada Connects aimed at helping immigrants build connections within their local communities (Government of Canada, 2020, p. 10). The government also recognizes the importance of supporting French-speaking newcomers. In addition, IRCC launched the new Welcoming Francophone Communities Initiative and provided funding for the delivery of innovative initiatives.

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