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THE INTEGRATION OF IMMIGRANTS IN CANADA:
LESSONS FOR THE OECD

by the

Strategic Planning and Research Branch
Immigration Policy
Employment and Immigration Canada

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SUMMARY

Canada illustrates a sustained policy of immigration and integration within the framework of a federal and multicultural state. It judges potential (economic) migrants against universal admissibility criteria and has a very liberal record of refugee protection and determination. There are no source country quotas. Finally, citizenship is granted after 3 years residence, dual citizenship is permitted and the rate of naturalization is among the highest in the world.

The evolution of Canada's approach to integration is a reflection of its historical traditions. The French-English duality has been at the core of the Canadian social and political system. The ability to speak English or French is a decisive factor for integration into Canadian society and immigrants must have knowledge of one of these languages in order to qualify for citizenship.

The Canadian model of integration maintains that complete assimilation is not desirable and it encourages immigrants to hold onto some part of their ethnic identity. Integration is seen as a process of accommodation and adjustment on the part of both immigrants and the host society. The country's Multiculturalism Policy is supportive of cultural heritages and attempts to combat racism and discrimination. Various federal and provincial Employment Equity programmes aim to facilitate the access of minority groups to jobs.

There are presently over 4.5 million foreign-born persons in Canada, which represents 17 per cent of the total population. Immigration to Canada surpasses that of Australia, France, the UK and the US on a per capita basis. While Europeans and Americans historically comprised the majority of immigrants, recent trends show a more diverse racial, ethnic and cultural composition; in particular, there has been an increase in flows from Asian countries such as Hong Kong as well as from developing countries and Eastern Europe. In general, Canada's foreign-born population is socially and economically well integrated when one considers determinants such as education, occupational activity and income. Recent evidence, however, shows that immigrants have had difficulty adjusting due to a relative decline in their qualifications and ability to speak one of the official languages. New changes in legislation aim to change this trend through the intake of more highly skilled and highly educated immigrants in order to increase Canada's international competitiveness.

Economic globalization calls for broader forms of political organization and new approaches to immigration. There are parallels to make between the EC and Canada as both seek to maintain linguistic and cultural balances while lifting barriers to the free flow of capital and labour. The Canadian experience of integrating diverse populations in a relatively harmonious way may also be relevant to other countries.

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Strategic Planning and Research Branch
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1. Introduction

Immigrants often hail from social, cultural and economic backgrounds which are quite different from those of the host population. Because of this, integration remains an issue of paramount importance in virtually every immigrant receiving country.

The attitude of a country towards its immigrants hinges on a number of factors. Of these, the historical evolution of the country and its national identity are extremely important. If a country was founded by immigrants, it is unlikely to have a strong sense of national identity and will be more hospitable to immigrants than another country whose residents regard themselves as heirs to a distinct ethnic, religious or cultural tradition. The former type of country will regard membership in its society as a legal matter or as being contingent on the acceptance of certain principles whereas the latter type of country will regard it as a question of affinity based on blood (*jus sanguinis*).

The concept of state and community play a large role in how immigration is viewed and in how immigrants are received. Increasingly, the relevance of the nation state and the dimensions of national sovereignty are being questioned. A variety of forces including migration itself are causing these changes.

2. The Global Context

{Economic globalization and modernization}

World markets are becoming more globalized. In ever increasing numbers, people are crossing international borders to improve their economic and social well-being. This is challenging state sovereignty and is redefining membership in state and society.

As a result of global integration, national cultures are coming under considerable pressure and national governments are being increasingly constrained by international and corporate forces. Community bonds are also

being weakened by large scale migratory movements -- a trend that is accelerating due to technological improvements in communications and transportation.

{The end of the Cold War and ethnic resurgence}

The impact of globalization and modernisation on the nation state is being felt in many ways. States have come under attack from within, as demonstrated by developments in Eastern Europe and elsewhere. Several factors have contributed to this phenomenon. The most important is ethnic resurgence driven by the inability of national governments to address serious, domestic economic, social and cultural problems. Ethnicity has replaced other forms of social mobilisation.

The emergence of new nation states based on ethnicity has major implications for immigration and refugee movements. First, such states tend to be small, weak and subject to continuing ethnic conflict and division resulting from the exclusion and eventual displacement of many ethnic minorities. Ethnic conflicts and "cleansing" are already producing large population flows. Second, small ethnic states are unlikely to prosper in a world which is becoming highly competitive. Eventually they will find it extremely difficult to resist the pressures imposed by the economically more dominant nation states. They are likely to bargain away tax revenues, labour conditions, environmental protection and related considerations to attract foreign capital. While the entire society will suffer economic degradation, the brunt of adjustment will be borne by the lower strata, thus producing a further displacement of people from these regions.

Population movements produced by the foregoing forces have already put considerable strain on the international refugee system. International instruments such as the United Nations Convention on the Status of Refugees and the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, afford some degree of protection to the victims of these ethnic struggles.

{The need for broader forms of political organisation}

Economic globalization emphasises the need for broader rather than narrower forms of political organisation. A capacity to regulate on a wider basis will be important if environmental and other major challenges of the future are to be met. Moreover, only democratic institutions can confer the legitimacy needed to make the requisite decisions and to survive the ethnic resurgence. The new political system will need to balance group rights and concerns about cultural preservation against the rights and entitlements of individuals. Obviously, the evolution of the necessary forms of organisation is likely to be slow.

The removal of economic barriers in Europe, for example, has been proceeding for some time. More recently, the Community has taken halting steps toward some forms of political unification. This recognises that a mere lifting of national restrictions on trade will not suffice. The European experience also highlights the need for a new approach to citizenship and immigration.

Currently, there are an estimated 12.5 million temporary workers in Europe. They account for as much as 25 per cent of the work force in some countries thus ensuring that the enfranchisement of temporary workers will be in the forefront of political, social and economic discussions in the years ahead. This, in turn, should lead to new ways of thinking about immigration.

3. The Canadian system and its context

The advocates of political union in Europe have often viewed the United States as the best model available due to its economic and political success. The U.S. has also demonstrated an ability to integrate migrants from diverse backgrounds while, purportedly, maintaining its unity and sense of direction.

The Canadian model, on the other hand, has been largely ignored because it does not seem to promise stable success. Canada's unity, for example, appears to be tenuous. Yet the parallels between the European Community and the Canada are far stronger than those between the European Community and the United States. Whereas in the U.S., the hegemony of English culture and language has never really been questioned, Canada has two official languages and two important cultures. It is hard to conceive of any form of political union in Europe which would allow for linguistic and cultural hegemony.

Clearly, guarantees of cultural and linguistic balance and protection will be prerequisites for any form of European Union. In these respects, the new Europe will resemble Canada's weak federation rather than the United States.

The selfsame contractual arrangements among constituent countries will have implications for how migrants are received and integrated. To the degree that they have a role in the settlement of immigrants, the states of Europe will not allow their linguistic and cultural integration to be left to market forces as in the U.S. A proactive stance seems more likely.

In many respects, Canada furnishes an illustration of a sustained policy of immigration and integration within the strictures of a federal and multicultural state. Canada's record of refugee protection and its system of refugee determination are among the most liberal in the world. In addition to protecting refugees and allowing for the reunification of families, Canada selects immigrants for the economic contribution they make to the country. All applicants for immigration are judged according to universal admissibility criteria and (for the economic migrants) qualifications. The migrants' country of origin is irrelevant and Canada maintains no source country quotas. Citizenship is accorded as a right after three years of residence. The corresponding period is five years in the US. Dual citizenship is also permitted in Canada and the rate of naturalisation is among the highest in the world.

Through the Federal Integration Strategy, Canada makes an effort to integrate immigrants in a way that involves accommodation on their part as well as on the part of the host society. To the extent that they do not conflict with the evolving social contract or rights of other groups and individuals, Canada's immigrant groups are encouraged to maintain their own cultural values

and traditions. The Multiculturalism Policy of Canada attempts to build pride in all cultural heritages and to combat racism and discrimination. Protection against discrimination is also guaranteed under the Charter of Rights. Employment Equity programs operated by the federal and provincial governments attempt to ensure that visible minority groups have access to jobs in the public sector and in large private sector institutions commensurate with their share of the population.

4. The evolution of Canada's system

Canada's past responses to the problem of immigrant integration have not been based on a well defined or co-ordinated plan. On the contrary, the evolution of integration strategies is best explained by the country's history as a multi-ethnic federation.

The Canadian system is not based on a social contract among individuals. Instead, as the country grew it absorbed pre-existing societies with their own social contracts. European settlers signed treaties with the aboriginals. French Canada was also incorporated into the country largely as an acknowledged society.

The British tradition which combined market individualism with sovereignty vested in a monarch did not lead to a sense of community or nationhood. Canadians were initially subjects of the British Crown, however, this allegiance was shared throughout the Commonwealth and connoted no particular national character. Nor was Canada defined by any national revolution. Canadian citizenship dates only from 1947. As a consequence, no strong national identity exists to this day and the capacity of the Canadian state to intervene and protect the rights of individuals is often circumscribed by intervening group rights. Concurrent and sometimes conflicting social contracts apparently exist in Canada.

The conflict between the French and the English is at the basis of our social system. This duality largely dictated the federal institutional form of the country and reinforced its weak national identity. The French and the English are Canada's so called charter groups. The balance between them necessitated the enshrinement of group rights in the form of official languages and denominational schools.

Initially English and French Canadians were quite divided on the issue of immigration policy. While English Canadians saw immigration as a means of integrating the country into the British Empire, importing labour to extract resources for British markets, French Canadians tended to regard immigration as a threat to their national survival. Recently, however, there appears to have been a change in the attitude of French Canadians to immigration. As a result of recent language legislation and a larger provincial role in immigrant selection and settlement, the francophone province of Quebec now feels secure enough to endorse higher levels of immigration. Immigrants are seen as one way of preserving the province's demographic and political weight within Canada.

Under the current Canada-Quebec Accord on Immigration the Federal Government has undertaken to ensure that Quebec's immigrant intake is commensurate with the province's existing share of the total population of

Canada (i.e. about 27 per cent). Barring any subsequent migration within Canada, this should ensure that immigration does not exert a negative influence on Quebec's population relative to Canada's population and, consequently, on its political importance.

The Accord also gives the province an important role in immigrant selection and settlement. This is being used to ensure that immigrants destined to Quebec either speak French or receive French language instruction after arrival. The Federal Government is now negotiating immigration agreements with most of the other provinces.

The French-English balance has profound implications for the integration of immigrants. The ongoing struggle between these two groups renders any explicit attempt at the complete assimilation of immigrants problematical since there does not exist any agreed upon norm to which they could conform. The balance between the charter groups could, moreover, easily be disturbed if immigrants were to assimilate disproportionately to one group over the other.

Complete assimilation is not desirable (or practical) because it involves the total surrender of ethnic identity and imposes a painful sacrifice on immigrants. It is also likely to be resisted by minority ethnic groups who envy the two charter groups and would like the same sort of status. In this, they are able to appeal to precedent and principle. The current policy of multiculturalism and its celebration of Canada's diversity can be explained in this way, juxtaposing the Canadian 'mosaic' for the American 'melting pot'.

So far, nothing approaching the charter group status of English and French Canadians has been conferred on immigrant minorities. The latter do not enjoy the right to publicly funded education in their own language or religious denomination. The Multiculturalism Act provides for the advancement of minority language rights only "... in harmony with the national commitment to the official languages of Canada." Nor do immigrants share in the yet to be defined right to self government apparently conferred on Aboriginal groups under the treaties that were signed with their ancestors but largely ignored.

Canada has, for some time, been officially committed to a model of integration which allows immigrant groups to maintain at least a portion of their ethnic identities. In conjunction with its announcement of increased immigration levels in 1989, the Federal Government stipulated that it views integration as a bi-directional process involving accommodation and adjustment on the part of both migrants and the host society. The Federal Integration Strategy emphasises the removal of barriers to the participation of minorities in the common culture. Other initiatives such as the Federal Employment Equity Program and similar provincial efforts buttress this strategy. The aim is to find some ideal medium between assimilation and segregation whereby individuals will be able to participate fully in all aspects of Canadian society while retaining some portion of their original identity. The participation of both immigrants and native born Canadians is intended to ensure the harmonious existence of all groups within a well integrated system.

The existence of constitutionally entrenched official languages has dictated an active policy on the part of the state in the area of language acquisition. Knowledge of one of the official languages is a formal

prerequisite for citizenship as well as a practical necessity for the exercise of individual rights and for meaningful participation in Canadian society. Training in official languages is funded by both federal and provincial governments.

5. Canada's experience with immigrant integration

{Canada's immigrants}

In Canada there are over 4.5 million foreign-born persons. They constitute almost 17 per cent of the total population of the country. Given its population base, Canada reports one of the highest levels of immigration in the world. In per capita terms the Canadian level of immigration now exceeds that of Australia, France the United Kingdom and the United States. Only Israel and possibly Germany (if one counts the Aussiedler or ethnic German immigrants who are automatically citizens) have experienced higher rates of immigration per capita.

Canada's foreign-born come from a wide variety of countries. Recently, the developing world and, in particular, Asian countries such as Hong Kong have supplanted Europe and the United States as the main sources of immigrants. However, substantial flows are emerging from Eastern Europe.

The new racial, ethnic and cultural composition of immigration clearly has implications for policy, especially with respect to the integration of newcomers. In this context, the chief danger to Canada lies in the formation of a persistent and ethnically based underclass.

{Entrance, residence and citizenship}

In a strict legal sense, membership in Canadian society is regulated at three points or through the operation of three gates. They are:

1. Access to the territory or entrance restrictions,
2. Access to permanent residence and employment,
3. Access to full citizenship or naturalisation.

These boundaries represent successively more complete forms of integration or membership. The first and second gates are controlled by Employment and Immigration Canada. The Department of Multiculturalism and Citizenship regulates the third.

Admission to the country is the first hurdle on the road to becoming a Canadian. According to the 1991 census, about 223 000 people live in Canada without the rights of citizenship or permanent residence. This constitutes about 5 per cent of the foreign-born population. These people are typically in the country for a specific purpose on some form of visa or permit with a fixed duration. They may hold a temporary Employment Authorisation, Student Authorisation or Visitor's Visa. They may also be awaiting a decision on their refugee claim. Minister's Permits to remain in Canada are given to persons who would not normally be admitted but whose presence is tolerated due to special circumstances.

Temporary residents do not have the right to remain in the country beyond the period specified on their document. They must also abide by other specified restrictions concerning, for example, employment. Refugee claimants whose claims are found to be invalid are similarly expected to leave. Everyone on Canadian soil, however, enjoys the protection of the Charter of Rights and is entitled to due process of law.

The number of persons living in Canada illegally is thought to be rather small. Canada's open refugee determination process has traditionally provided a legal means for almost anyone to remain in the country. Recent reforms to that process may reduce the stock of incomplete claims and thus the number of people whose status is uncertain.

Access to permanent residence or landing is conditional upon admissibility and eligibility under the Immigration Act. Applicants must not represent a threat to Canada and must meet several other criteria. They must demonstrate that they:

1. Can support themselves and contribute economically to Canada;
2. Are a close relative of a permanent resident in Canada who is willing to sponsor them;
3. Require Canada's protection as refugees because they fear persecution and are unable to avail themselves of protection.

The number of people admitted under the first category is managed on an annual basis. As for the second category, the number of people who are sponsored depends on private decisions by individuals based on domestic and international circumstances. With regard to the third category, while the government limits the number of refugees which it is willing to sponsor from abroad, any person on Canadian soil can make a claim to refugee status which, if substantiated, will result in that person being granted permanent residence in Canada.

Landed immigrant visas are normally granted abroad although a substantial number of visas are granted to persons already in the country. For these people, landing can be viewed as the second stage in the integration process.

Approximately 27 per cent of Canada's foreign-born population consists of permanent residents who have not yet become citizens. Table 1 of Appendix I gives a breakdown of this population by place of birth. Table 3 shows that over two hundred and thirty thousand people were landed in 1991. Almost 30 per cent of these were granted landing from within Canada.

Permanent residents have the right to remain and to work in Canada indefinitely. They can re-enter the country, provided that they are not deemed to have abandoned their residence. They can also sponsor their immediate family members for landing. Permanent residence status can be revoked only for serious criminal behaviour.

Over 80 per cent of immigrants who have met the requirement of three years residence have acquired citizenship. Immigrants from such areas as

Eastern Europe and the developing world tend to obtain Canadian citizenship as quickly as possible whereas those who hold citizenship from relatively affluent countries such as the U.S. and Western Europe tend to wait longer. Naturalised immigrants enjoy all the rights and responsibilities of those born in Canada, including the right to enter and leave the country and the right to vote in federal, provincial and local elections. Citizenship can be removed only if it was obtained fraudulently. Over 7 per cent of the foreign-born are also citizens of another country, usually their country of origin. This represents almost four hundred thousand Canadians.

The short residency requirement and the option of dual citizenship probably account for the high rate of naturalisation among Canada's foreign-born. The attraction of Canadian citizenship is probably somewhat reduced by the modest array of rights conferred beyond those of permanent residents. The policies of sending countries with respect to dual citizenship also exert an influence.

From the point of view of integration, illegals pose a serious problem. Since they are constantly trying to evade the authorities, they lack any real access to social services, medical attention or the protection of the law. As a consequence, they are vulnerable to exploitation by employers and by criminal elements. This in turn means that they are likely to form an underclass and produce a variety of social problems including increased crime.

Refugee claimants, temporary residents and temporary workers are also more vulnerable to exploitation, though it is more a question of their not having adequate information rather than a question of their rights being circumscribed. Due to its proximity, the United States is the principal source country for Canada's temporary residents. Apart from the U.S., it appears that most people seeking temporary entry are from the developing world.

{Socio-economic status}

The economic and social integration of immigrants can be gauged in a variety of ways. This includes such things as participation in higher education, labour market activity, occupational distributions, incomes and the ownership of homes and businesses (see appendix II). According to most indicators, the foreign-born population (as a whole) performs above the Canadian average. There is, however, evidence suggesting that more recent immigrants are experiencing difficulty in attaining Canadian norms and, thus, are unable to participate fully in society and to access its benefits. These individuals are in danger of forming an underclass. One reason is that recent immigrants require more time to adjust to Canada.

Overall it would appear that immigrants are integrating quite well into Canadian society.

{Official Languages}

The ability to speak English or French is one of the leading determinants of immigrant integration. Immigrants unable to speak either of

these languages have lower rates of labour force participation, higher unemployment rates and lower incomes. The inability to speak one of Canada's chief languages also renders participation in the culture and politics of the larger society impossible. It may even have the effect of limiting access to basic human rights. Immigrants without official language skills are almost certainly destined for segregation and isolation.

Throughout the 1980's, between 40 per cent and 50 per cent of immigrants arriving in Canada could not speak either official language. Whereas independent immigrants to Canada are selected on labour market criteria which include official language ability, refugees and family class immigrants are not assessed on these skills. Hence they more often arrive in Canada without being able to speak either English or French.

The proportion of immigrants unable to speak an official language has grown over the past decade. This is not due to a change in source areas, but rather to the expansion of the Family and Refugee Classes since 1978. In fact, official language skills among immigrants were probably at their highest between 1966 and 1978.

The present situation is not unprecedented. For example, the level of language ability among recent immigrants in the 1940's and 1950's was similar to the situation of the 1980's.

In conjunction with its Five Year Immigration Plan, the Federal Government moved to correct some of the deficiencies in language training. In particular, more funds were committed to language training for adults thus recognising the importance of language in the general integration process. Training programs were directed to a broader range of clients. Particular attention has been given to the language and learning requirements of women and persons with little formal education.

It keeps things in perspective to note that, as of the 1986 Census, over 98 per cent of Canadians speak one or both official languages. About two-thirds of the population speaks only English, just under 16 per cent speak only French and a little over 16 per cent speak both languages. Only about 1.2 per cent of those who reside in Canada do not speak an official language.

{Behaviour and beliefs}

There is considerable evidence that ethnic identity in Canada declines with time and that immigrants are adjusting to life in several ways apart from language acquisition. The higher the level of education, the more this pattern of assimilation is likely to hold.

As Canadian society becomes more secular, the importance of religion as a social barrier is diminishing. With time in the country, immigrant groups seem to be progressively less concentrated residentially and they appear to intermarry with greater frequency, although this pattern is not yet firmly established among some new groups.

{The role of the ethnic enclave}

Ethnic enclaves play an important role in the settlement and integration of immigrants. Ethnic solidarity mobilises groups against discrimination. There is attitudinal research suggesting that enclaves form for protective or defensive purposes (engendered by opposition from the dominant groups) rather than for cultural retention as such.

Ethnic enclaves also help recent immigrants to adjust, mediating the initial shock of entry into a new society. The immigrant is able to draw on the experiences of others who preceded him/her and can access information about the new society in his or her own language. Established ethnic groups provide many of the services offered by mainstream settlement and social service agencies. In many cases, members of ethnic groups operate the settlement servicing agencies and often act as mediators and translators between the new arrivals and the wider public.

From a less positive perspective, it has been argued that ethnic enclaves impede integration by shielding recent immigrants from the norms, values and behaviour of the society into which they have entered. Enclaves can also be destructive insofar as they restrict individual freedom, confine members to ghettos and serve only the ends of ethnic elites and power brokers.

{Changes in Canadian society}

There has been a fairly steady long-term trend towards increased tolerance of immigrants and racial minorities among the majority host population of Canada. Over the shorter term, however, this level of tolerance is sensitive to fluctuating insecurity about the general political and economic situation and there remains a certain social distance between charter group members and visible minorities.

In general, it appears that immigrant and ethnic groups maintain their respect for Canadian institutions and perceive them to be fair and impartial. Research indicates that ethnic groups are quite prepared to rely on the organisational structures of the broader society, even for such things as redressing problems involving discrimination. Immigrants also quickly take an interest in and begin to participate in the political process.

Clear problems nonetheless exist with respect to certain institutions and groups. An example of this is the tension that exists between West Indian blacks and the police forces in Toronto and Montreal. Contrary to what theory might predict, however, groups in conflict with mainstream institutions do not seem to rely on their own community structures to resolve the problems but, rather, appeal to wider societal mechanisms.

{Where are we failing?}

Perhaps nothing is more emblematic of conflict between individuals and their society than criminalization. Immigrants who turn to crime or are

criminalized are plainly not integrated. There is an obvious disjunction of values and behaviour. The incarceration of immigrants is the clearest indicator of alienation and of failure in the integration process.

Crime is apparently not rampant in Canada's immigrant communities. Research utilising the records of the country's most serious criminals clearly indicates that, while some groups may have problems, the foreign-born overall are under-represented among inmates of Canada's federal prisons. The non-aboriginal visible minority population is also under-represented among the federally incarcerated.

The offence patterns of immigrant criminals do differ from those of native born criminals. Immigrants tend to be imprisoned for "black market" offenses such as narcotics. This pattern could be indicative of differing moral values or of analogous social structures in the form of organised gangs.

It must be pointed out that certain groups, notably Caribbeans and Latin Americans, are over-represented in the prison population and their numbers appear to be growing. The relationship of these groups with law enforcement agencies has become a flash point for violence in our urban centres.

Not coincidentally, the same groups fall below Canadian norms on measures of socio-economic status. They exhibit high rates of unemployment, low incomes and high rates of state dependence. They also experience the most discrimination and lack access to Canadian society and its institutions. It may be significant that these groups are more likely to have gained access to Canada by irregular means, including amnesties and special adjustment programs.

6. Conclusions

Canada has maintained a relatively open immigration policy and has attempted to integrate people from diverse cultures. Membership in Canadian society is not contingent on any particular ethnic religious or cultural background. Citizenship is easily obtained and programs are in place to combat discrimination and to remove barriers to the full participation of immigrants in Canadian society.

The need for some cultural preservation and the positive role of ethnic enclaves has been recognised. The attempt to build an accommodation between immigrants and Canada's charter groups seems to be working. Certainly the threats to Canadian unity do not come from immigrant groups.

On the whole, Canada's immigrants have integrated quite well. The foreign-born exceed Canadian norms in terms of their incomes; they are less likely to be unemployed or to rely on state support; they are also more likely to own a business. There is, however, recent evidence suggesting that the adjustment period for immigrants has been lengthening due to a relative decline in the qualifications of the immigrant population and in their ability to speak an official language. This problem is being addressed by way of Canada's new immigration legislation and by policies which will ensure that Canada receives the highly skilled and highly educated immigrants that it needs to become internationally competitive and prosperous.

New immigrants naturally require a period of adjustment. Ethnic groups and ethnic enclaves can be quite important in facilitating this transition. Evidence suggests that most immigrants are not confined perpetually to their ethnic enclaves.

Racial or ethnic conflict involving immigrants has been minimal in Canada. Canada's selection system and the early extension of permanent residence, citizenship and full rights apparently mitigate against the formation of an immigrant underclass. All in all relations have been relatively harmonious and problems have been confined to a few groups. Paradoxically these groups have been those who have had the weakest enclaves. They have also typically not received broad public support and a significant portion seem to have gained entry initially as temporary workers, refugee claimants or as illegals.

Canada's approach to immigrant integration, including recent legislative and policy changes, successfully addresses the challenges posed by economic globalization and ethnic resurgence. This path has not been without problems but, as the free flow of goods, capital and labour expands globally, forms of social and political organisation similar to Canada's will be essential. Inevitably, ethnically homogeneous states will need to open their borders to the free flow of capital and labour, however, without Canada's experience in integrating diverse populations they will find it exceedingly difficult to adjust.

END-OF-TEXT