

67084

IDRC - Lib
67084

AN ANALYSIS OF CURRENT CANADIAN EMIGRATION
TO THE UNITED STATES

Brian McKee
Carol Vlassoff
John Samuel

73341

A paper presented at the 1985
Canadian Population Society Meetings,
Montreal, May 31, 1985

501

ATLANTA
VLASSOFF
no. 03

An Analysis of Current Canadian Emigration
to the United States

ABSTRACT

This paper, part of a more general study on emigration trends from Canada, describes the flow of Canadians to the United States. Through an analysis of data from 1960 to the present, the paper presents a comprehensive demographic and socio-economic profile of what has been by far the single most important flow of Canadian emigrants. Other studies on the emigration of Canadians to the United States are briefly examined and possible causes of this migratory flow are identified. The paper concludes with an analysis of the effect of selected economic factors on Canadian emigration and discusses the impact of other non-economic considerations. Through the examination of the projected performances of the Canadian and American economies in the next few years and future immigration legislation in the United States, the authors attempt to indicate the trend in the flow of emigrants from Canada to the United States in the near future.

An Analysis of Current Canadian Emigration
to the United States

Introduction

The present paper, part of a more general analysis of emigration from Canada to other countries, describes the characteristics of the flow of Canadians to the United States. We have concentrated upon Canadian - United States emigration here because it is the largest and most important component of the total Canadian emigrant flow.

Before beginning an analysis of data on Canadian emigration to the United States, it is important to briefly outline the history of American immigration law, which, as we shall see, appears to have had a profound effect on the numbers of Canadians leaving this country to establish residence in the United States. Prior to 1921, the United States had what basically amounted to an 'Open Door' policy on immigration. The introduction in 1921 of a quota system, based on the percentage of foreign born in the 1910 United States Census, effectively biased immigration policy in favour of those of Anglo-Saxon descent. This was done by limiting the number of immigrants to 3% (later 2%) of each nationality's total population in the United States in 1910, when the vast majority of all Americans were Anglo-Saxon in origin.

Minor amendments to this law excepted, no changes in immigration policy were enacted until the McCarran-Walter Act of 1952. This Act reaffirmed the quotas and introduced a preference system within the allotted total of each

nation, at least for those countries belonging to the 'Eastern Hemisphere', which consisted essentially of Asia and Africa. Indeed, no preference system was introduced to cover the 'Western Hemisphere' (of which Canada was deemed a part), until a 1976 amendment in the law. Also a ceiling of just over 158,000 was imposed on the Eastern Hemisphere immigrants by the 1952 Act, while none was placed on those coming from the West.

The most fundamental change in the laws on immigration was enacted in 1965. This Immigration Act "... introduced two innovations, (1) a ceiling was put on visas for immigration from the Western Hemisphere, and (2) all non-relative and non-refugee immigrants were required to obtain a labour clearance certifying that American workers were not available for the jobs ..." (Keely, 1979: 19) Of the 120,000 visas granted to the Western Hemisphere, some 20,000 were reserved for Canadians. Later amendments to this Immigration Act have meant that today's Canadian immigrants are subject to a seven preference system. These include preferences for relatives of United States citizens, people with exceptional ability, skilled labour, and refugees.

Limitation of the Data

It is important to note at this stage some of the limitations imposed on the study by deficiencies in the data. For the period 1966 to 1978, data concerning immigration of Canadians to the United States were compiled from the yearly Annual Reports, published by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (I.N.S.) of the United States. For the years 1979 through 1981, data were

compiled from Statistical Yearbooks published on an annual basis by I.N.S. Some inherent limitations in the comparability over time of the I.N.S. data emanate from the fact that the categories used have not been consistent. For example, data collected for the years prior to 1979 provide breakdowns on the basis of "country of birth" and "country of last residence" of the immigrant group. However, data after that year are available only by country of birth.

The lack of consistency on the part of I.N.S. in terms of its presentation of data also makes it difficult, although not impossible, to attempt to anticipate projected trends on the basis of past experience. For example, the terminology used by I.N.S. in data presentation changes periodically and includes little, if any, explanation of the relationships between categories in previous years and those presented in the year in question. In 1980, for example, a new category was introduced, classifying immigrants on the basis of their "foreign state of chargeability". It is nowhere made clear what relationship this label has to those formerly used of "country of birth" and "country of last residence".

The types of data provided by I.N.S., furthermore, severely limit one's ability to explore areas of special interest. For example, data are not presently available from the American authorities concerning Canadian immigrants' province of origin or stated occupation by sex. Additionally, information concerning settlement could be enhanced if cross-tabulated by stated occupation, sex and age, allowing for a much more detailed examination and explanation of immigrant settlement patterns. In the following analysis of the

recent history of emigration from Canada to the United States, these data limitations must be kept in mind.

Socioeconomic and demographic characteristics of
Canadian emigration to the United States

Volume of emigration

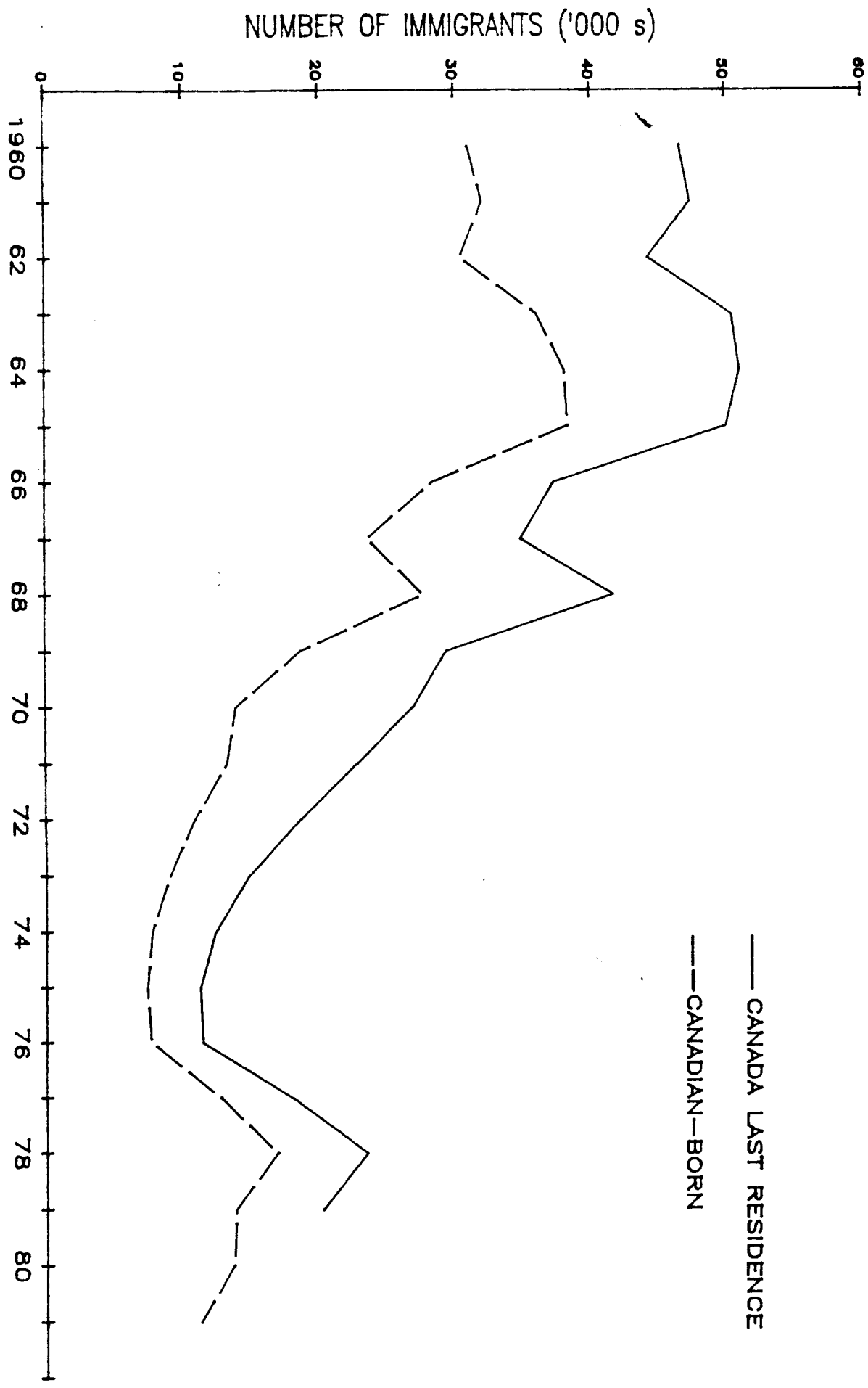
From 1964 to 1975, with the exception of only one year, the number of persons admitted as immigrants to the United States who gave Canada as their country of last residence decreased steadily. Such a trend was in marked contrast to that observed in the years following World War II when, almost each year, greater and greater numbers of immigrants left Canada for the United States. Owing to the "... increased availability of employment ... the higher wages of American industry and better economic prospects in the United States" (Samuel, 1982: 179), immigration from Canada rose from a low in 1943 of 9,571 to a peak in 1964 of 51,114. Thereafter, an almost steady annual decline in the number of immigrants to the United States, whose country of last residence was given as Canada, was recorded in official immigration statistics. From a peak of over 51,000 in 1964, the number of such immigrants was reduced by almost four-fifths, to about 11,200 some ten years later in 1975. While there was an upward trend over the next three years, the 1979 figure once more revealed a decrease in numbers, with just over 20,000 persons emigrating from this country to the United States. This total, while higher than some preceding years, still represents only slightly over 40% of the 1964 total.

Unfortunately, 1979 was the 1st year in which information on "country of last residence" was made available (at least in published form) by the American authorities. However, one can still follow the progress of Canadian emigration to the United States by reference to information on "country of birth".

While similar trends can be observed between the two sets of data "Country of birth" tables show lower total figures for the number of Canadians leaving the country to take up residence in the United States. It would appear from this comparison that many emigrants from Canada to the United States are former immigrants to this country and not native-born. So, for example, in 1960 the proportion of Canadian born to those stating Canada as their country of last residence was 66.4%. This figure rose to 76.6% in 1965, after which it has declined somewhat. By 1979, the proportion of Canadian-born in this population was 68.2%. Such a decline is hardly unexpected given the downturn in immigration to Canada from the rest of the world, at least in recent years.

The similar trends in the data can best be seen by examining Figure 1. With the exception of 1968, the total number of Canadian-born immigrants to the United States declined until 1975. The increase over the next three years gave way to further declines from 1979 to 1981, the year of the latest published statistics. In the latter year, only some 11,200 Canadians entered the U.S. as immigrants, representing about 30% of the peak figure recorded in 1965. In other words, since 1968, the first year of the implementation of the 1965 Immigration Act, fewer Canadians have been emigrating to the United States than allowable under the quota system introduced in that year. Undoubtedly, one

Figure 1: VOLUME OF IMMIGRATION FOR CANADIAN-BORN AND THOSE WITH CANADA AS COUNTRY OF LAST PERMANENT RESIDENCE 1960 - 1981



major factor in this decline was the introduction of this Act (Boyd, 1976b: 99), which effectively curtailed the free flow of Canadians southward, permission to settle being granted only to relatives of American citizens or persons with specified skills.

Occupational Characteristics

While the 1965 Act undoubtedly affected the volume of immigrants from Canada to the United States, it also appears to have had an impact on the demographic and socioeconomic makeup of this emigration flow. One way in which this can be observed is through analysis of data on the occupational structure of the Canadian emigrant population, as in Table 1. It is apparent from this table that, over the period of twenty years, the majority of immigrants were housewives or other dependents. Indeed, in 1971 almost 70% of the Canadian-born immigrants belonged to this category. While the percentage total of such dependents decreased from that year to 1979, the last year for which information was made available on the occupations of immigrants, this group still accounted for slightly over 60% of the total population. According to Boyd, this phenomenon may be attributable to the recording practices employed by American (and Canadian)* immigration authorities. As she states, "... data on

* Although Boyd's paper is primarily concerned with U.S. immigration to Canada, she cites evidence that this practice is true of the U.S. classification of immigrants as well.

Table 1. Canadian-born Immigrants by Occupational Category, 1960-1979.

	Prof./ Tech.	Manag./ Prop.	Sales/ Serv.	Cler./	Labour./ & Other	Farm	Housewives & no Occup.	Total Number
1960	11.4	2.5	5.3	10.4	15.2	1.0	54.3	30990
1961	11.1	2.3	5.6	10.1	15.0	0.8	55.1	32038
1962	11.6	2.1	6.5	10.1	14.6	0.8	54.2	30377
1963	11.2	2.1	6.1	9.9	15.3	0.7	54.7	36003
1964	11.5	2.4	6.3	10.4	14.5	0.5	54.4	38074
1965	12.1	2.4	5.6	10.4	15.5	0.6	53.6	38327
1966	13.1	2.5	4.8	8.6	12.5	0.5	58.1	28358
1967	14.5	2.5	3.9	4.2	9.8	0.3	64.8	23442
1968	13.8	2.8	3.9	6.0	12.6	0.3	60.6	27662
1969	13.1	2.3	3.7	5.8	12.1	0.3	62.8	18582
1970	10.7	2.2	2.3	4.5	10.8	0.4	69.0	13804
1971	13.0	3.2	2.6	4.4	8.0	0.3	68.5	13128
1972	13.3	3.4	2.6	4.4	8.5	0.3	67.5	10776
1973	12.7	4.1	2.9	4.9	8.3	0.3	66.8	8951
1974	11.8	4.0	3.4	5.0	9.5	0.3	66.1	7654
1975	13.0	4.2	3.9	5.3	7.4	0.4	65.9	7308
1976	13.9	5.6	3.7	5.4	6.1	0.3	65.0	7638
1977	15.6	7.3	4.4	4.4	5.3	0.3	62.6	12688
1978	14.8	8.1	4.7	5.0	5.3	0.3	61.9	16863
1979	15.6	6.9	5.0	5.3	6.2	0.2	60.8	13772

Source: INS Annual Reports.

intended occupation are selective of single, widowed, and divorced women compared to males of all marital statuses." (1976a: 77) Married females are therefore simply registered as housewives, regardless of their occupations. Such practices obviously lead to problems when one attempts to analyse immigration flow by occupation.

"... if the married women who are classified as housewives are highly trained, their omission from occupational tabulations leads the researcher to underestimate the flow of highly qualified labour. Conversely, if immigrant women who are classified as housewives intend to enter blue collar or service occupations, their omission from data on intended occupation leads to an over-estimation of the contribution which immigration makes to the Canadian or American pool of highly skilled labour." (Boyd, 1976a: 78)

Another noticeable trend, especially since 1968, has been the decline in the proportion of labourers in the total population flow of Canadians to the United States. From a high in 1965 of 15.5% of the total immigrant population, or 33.4% of the population with a stated occupation, the category of labourer has experienced the most marked decrease in importance of any of the occupational categories. By 1978 labourers made up only 5.2% of Canadian-born immigrants to the United States, which represented about 13.6% of the total number of workers in the immigrant population. Given, however, that this occupational category includes unskilled and semi-skilled labour, and that the Immigration Act intended, among other things, to regulate the flow of these types of workers, such a marked decrease is not surprising. Indeed, Keely argues that the process of labour certification introduced by the Act has been a key factor in the overall suppression of Canadian immigration to the United

States. (Keely, 1971: 167). Conversely, as one would have expected, at the other end of the occupational scale, it was the "professional, technical and managerial" category which registered the most marked increase, especially since 1970. In that year, only 42% of immigrants who stated an occupation belonged to that category of highly qualified professionals. This represented only about 13% of the total number of immigrants. In 1978, however, this group constituted over 58% of the working population or almost 23% of all immigrants in that year.

As we have already seen, the largest group of Canadian-born immigrants between the period 1966-1979 were those who either worked as full-time homemakers or stated no occupation. By looking at information on the age structure of the annual immigrant flow from Canada to the United States, it becomes apparent that a large number of these immigrants were in fact dependents.

Age-Sex Distribution

Over the last two decades, the single most important age group of emigrants has been that of the 20 to 29 year olds (Table 2). Declining in relative importance from 1975 to 1978, this group had once more established its prime position in 1981 with almost 30% of all the Canadian immigrants belonging in this category. Furthermore, in that year, the slightly older age group, 30-39 year olds, had risen to include almost one-fifth of the population. By combining all age groups from 20 to 59, we can see that this general working age category has, in all but one year since 1960, always constituted over half the immigrant population. Indeed, the proportion of this group to the entire

Table 2. Canadian-born Immigrants by Age Group, 1960-1981.

	Under 9		10 - 19		20 - 29		30 - 39		40 - 49		50 - 59		60 +	
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%
0	8140	26.3	4295	13.9	9102	29.4	5041	16.3	2769	8.9	1181	3.8	461	1.5
1	8542	26.7	4730	14.8	9341	29.2	4738	14.8	2829	8.8	1246	3.9	612	1.9
2	7927	26.1	4581	15.1	8895	29.3	4508	14.8	2662	8.8	1196	3.9	605	2.0
3	9652	25.8	5676	15.8	10684	29.7	5115	14.2	2992	8.3	1332	3.7	552	1.5
4	9839	25.8	6177	16.2	11676	30.7	5356	14.1	3053	8.0	1376	3.6	597	1.6
5	9530	24.9	6173	16.1	12422	32.4	5337	13.9	2928	7.6	1394	3.6	543	1.4
6	7504	26.4	4718	16.6	8222	29.0	3880	13.7	2243	7.9	1267	4.5	524	1.8
7	7277	31.0	3684	15.7	5894	25.1	3152	13.5	1835	7.8	998	4.3	602	2.6
8	8040	29.1	4215	15.2	7541	27.3	3878	19.0	2117	7.7	1233	4.5	638	2.3
9	5314	28.6	3015	16.2	4858	26.1	2435	13.1	1467	7.9	907	4.9	586	3.2
0	4249	30.8	2409	17.5	3613	26.2	1554	11.3	949	6.9	594	4.3	436	3.2
1	3822	29.1	2132	16.2	3516	26.8	1514	11.5	938	7.1	702	5.3	504	3.8
2	2855	26.5	1767	16.4	3191	29.6	1214	11.3	713	6.6	561	5.2	475	4.4
3	2222	24.8	1501	16.8	2852	31.9	995	11.1	549	6.1	443	4.9	389	4.3
4	1775	23.2	1458	19.0	2352	30.7	837	10.9	472	6.2	400	5.2	360	4.7
5	1550	21.2	1348	18.4	2204	30.2	902	12.3	472	6.5	449	6.1	383	5.2
6	1522	19.9	1342	17.6	2281	29.9	1124	14.7	585	7.7	386	5.1	398	5.2
7	2340	18.4	2213	17.4	3023	23.8	2163	17.0	1198	9.4	939	7.4	812	6.4
8	3183	18.9	2930	17.4	3977	23.6	2934	17.4	1686	10.0	1086	6.4	1067	6.3
9	2801	20.3	2451	17.8	3909	28.4	2417	17.6	1120	8.1	675	4.9	429	3.1
0	2553	18.8	2276	16.7	3892	28.6	2621	19.3	1160	8.5	700	5.1	407	3.0
1	2153	19.2	1795	16.0	3288	29.4	2151	19.2	933	8.3	508	4.5	363	3.2

Source: INS Annual Reports.

annual Canadian-born immigrant flow has been steadily increasing since about 1970. In 1981, the working age category included ~~over~~ 61% of all immigrants from Canada to the United States.

Table 2 also shows that one of the largest single age groups, at least since 1960, has been that aged 9 and under. By 1981, just under one-fifth of those emigrating from Canada to the United States belonged to this age group. Furthermore, if one were to expand this category of 'children of immigrants' to include those aged 10 to 19, then just over one-third of all Canadian-born immigrants to the United States in 1981 were dependent children. In saying this, we make the assumption that most, if not all, of the second youngest age group were not independent immigrants; an assumption which, given the normal working age and the age preference for independent immigrants, would appear to be legitimate.

A similar assumption, that most, if not all, of certain groups would have remained unemployed on emigrating may also be made with regard to those aged 60+ who would be in the main retirees. While at no time constituting more than 6.5% of all immigrants, this elderly group, in conjunction with dependent children, accounted for 38.4% of all immigrants in 1981.

This is not to imply that all those under 20 and over 60 are dependents and that all those between these ages are workers. As we have seen over 60% of all immigrants have been classified as dependents. A major confounding factor is the high proportion of females in the flow of immigrants from Canada to the United States, as can be observed from Table 3. In 1973, for example, over 57%

Table 3. Proportion of Women in Specified Age Groups among Canadian-born Immigrants, 1960-1979.

	Under 9	10 - 19	20 - 29	30 - 39	40 - 49	50 - 59	60 +	TOTAL no.	%
60	48.9	55.5	60.0	47.7	49.2	51.8	62.9	16502	53.2
61	47.5	52.8	57.5	48.5	49.5	55.1	58.3	16667	52.0
62	47.2	51.9	58.6	47.0	49.8	51.8	56.5	15745	51.8
63	48.3	51.8	57.3	45.2	49.5	51.4	58.2	18523	51.4
64	48.2	50.5	56.3	46.8	49.4	53.3	59.5	19538	51.3
65	48.8	50.3	56.0	44.9	48.2	51.6	59.1	19567	51.1
66	48.5	53.2	63.0	47.1	49.8	52.4	55.9	15527	53.7
67	48.7	54.1	66.7	47.9	50.8	56.2	57.6	12285	53.6
68	50.0	54.1	66.7	47.9	50.8	56.2	57.6	14834	53.6
69	47.4	50.8	64.1	49.9	51.4	56.7	56.8	9982	53.7
70	48.2	52.0	66.0	49.1	55.7	55.7	58.7	7561	54.8
71	47.6	54.4	67.4	51.1	56.5	57.7	57.7	7347	56.0
72	46.7	55.0	65.5	53.1	56.8	61.0	60.0	6062	56.3
73	49.8	50.5	66.4	54.7	60.1	59.8	58.4	5124	57.2
74	48.6	49.7	65.0	54.8	56.8	60.8	58.1	4294	56.1
75	50.8	51.6	64.1	57.2	53.6	61.5	59.0	4167	57.0
76	49.9	52.3	64.4	54.9	57.6	58.8	68.1	4350	57.0
77	47.6	49.9	61.6	50.8	51.3	54.7	50.1	6714	52.9
78	47.7	51.5	64.4	55.2	50.7	57.1	51.3	9216	54.7
79	48.0	51.3	63.4	55.2	51.4	50.8	54.3	7535	54.7

Source: INS Annual Reports.

of these Canadians were females, a figure which had declined by only about 2% in 1979 when statistics were last released on the breakdown of immigrants by sex. Interestingly, moreover, it is the 20-29 age group which has, in every year since 1966, displayed the heaviest preponderance of females over males. At no time during the 1960 to 1979 period did females make up less than 56% of those in this age group, and in at least two years they constituted over two-thirds of this subpopulation of immigrants.

A noticeable trend over this period among the 30-39 year olds as well has been the increasing proportion of women who, according to the latest figures, accounted for over 55% of the people within that age group.

Indeed, in these latter two age groups, males are outnumbered by females to a greater extent than among the oldest immigrants aged 60 and over, contrary to what one might expect. However, even the latter category displays quite a heavy preponderance of females who made up over 54% of that population in 1979. In fact, it is only among the youngest age group that males have dominated numerically for most years from 1960.

Destinations of Canadian Emigrants

Another aspect of Canadian immigration to the United States deserving of some attention is the destination of these immigrants within that country. Despite

the overall decline in immigration in the 1960's and 1970's, certain states have retained their attractiveness for Canadian immigrants. Both California and Florida, the latter a noted area for retirees and the former a traditionally economically prosperous state, continue to accept significant proportions of the Canadian incoming population. In 1979, almost 20% of Canadian emigrants intended to reside in California, while 11.6% anticipated taking up residence in Florida. Most other states which receive significant number of Canadians are relatively close to Canada and have or have had important industrial centres. However, the importance of these states would appear to be diminishing while that of the new economic growth areas, such as Texas, has steadily increased over the past years.

Such a shift in Canadian immigration from the old to the new industrial states is, perhaps, best seen when one regroups the United States into economic zones as in Table 4. This table, shows that both the South-East and Pacific areas are attracting an increasing proportion of Canadian immigrants. A similar upward trend can also be observed in the South-West, at least until recent years. Such an increase has been at the expense of the East, which now accepts less than one-quarter of new Canadian immigrants, as compared with the figure, recorded in 1969, of 41.8%.

If one takes this analysis one step further, recognizing the similarity between the economic development of the industrial East and the industrial Mid-West, then one can compare the proportion of Canadians settling in these traditional centres with the proportion taking up residence in the new economic growth areas. In 1969, a peak year in postwar American industrial development,

e 4. Canadian-born Immigrants by Area of Intended Settlement, 1960-179.

Pacific	West	Mid-West	South-West	South-East	East	Other	TOTAL
33.8	2.1	16.2	3.2	8.9	32.4	3.3	30990
33.4	2.4	15.2	3.3	8.0	34.0	3.7	32038
32.5	3.4	14.5	3.3	7.0	34.8	4.5	30377
32.1	3.0	13.9	3.4	6.5	36.8	4.4	36003
34.5	2.8	14.2	3.1	6.5	34.4	4.5	38074
32.5	3.3	15.9	3.1	6.4	33.2	5.6	38327
29.5	3.0	19.6	2.9	8.2	31.9	4.9	28358
20.9	2.8	23.1	3.6	9.0	38.1	2.5	23442
22.8	2.4	20.3	3.3	9.7	38.7	2.9	27662
18.9	2.7	18.5	3.5	11.6	41.8	3.0	18582
19.0	3.0	20.6	3.0	11.7	40.8	1.9	13804
18.1	3.4	18.7	3.6	14.3	41.3	0.7	13128
17.6	4.0	18.8	4.5	14.8	39.8	0.7	10776
18.9	4.2	19.0	4.5	15.5	37.6	0.3	8951
20.0	4.6	19.4	5.1	15.7	34.6	0.6	7654
22.4	5.2	18.9	3.8	17.6	31.5	0.5	7167
20.9	5.0	20.6	6.1	17.0	30.0	0.3	7638
25.2	4.7	17.0	8.1	21.0	23.8	0.2	12588
24.8	4.8	15.6	10.0	22.4	22.3	0.2	16859
26.7	5.0	15.7	9.1	19.4	23.9	0.2	13772

:

- Pacific - Alaska, California, Hawaii, Oregon, Washington;
- West - Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, Utah, Wyoming;
- Mid-West - Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota, West Virginia, Wisconsin;
- South-West - Arizona, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Texas;
- South-East - Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia;
- Other - Connecticut, Delaware, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont, District of Columbia;
- Other - Guam, Puerto Rico, Virgin Islands, Other)

Source: INS Annual Reports

the heavy industrial areas of the East and Mid-West attracted 60.3% of all Canadian immigrants. By 1979, this figure had fallen to only 39.6%. On the other hand, the areas of greatest economic growth during the 1970's in the United States (i.e. Pacific, South-East, South-West) have seen an increase in the proportion of Canadian immigrants from 34.0% in 1969 to 55.2% in 1979. It is reasonable to assume that this trend will continue as the United States economy moves further away from staple industries and concentrates on the high technology industries of the future.

While American authorities discontinued to report the intended state of residence of Canadian immigrants from 1979 onwards, information is still available on the present address of resident aliens. By regrouping, once more, this information in terms of specific economic regions of the United States, we can see that the trends noted previously still appear to hold. The Eastern section of the country continued to decline in importance as a major recipient area for Canadians, with the South-West region marginally improving its position. However, interpretation of these figures is confounded somewhat by the fact that they include immigrants from former years along with newcomers.

Evidence of the economic motive in Canadian emigration to the
United States

In the literature on why people migrate, whether internally or across international borders, economic factors have been generally attributed the greatest importance. This seems to be equally true of the literature on the motivation of Canadians to move to the United States. (Samuel, 1982; Lines,

1978; Brox, 1983) Such observations, that migration patterns are related to regional income differentials, are usually seen as support for the human capital model which interprets migration as an investment made to increase the market value of one's productive capacities. (Thurlow, 1970)

If the human capital framework is correct, then after a transition period one would expect the income level of migrants to exceed that of stayers. Hard evidence for this phenomenon among Canadian-born immigrants to the United States is difficult to find, but there is at least some indirect evidence in support of the human capital model. As Samuel (1982: 188) points out:

A survey of Canadian immigrants in the United States in the seventies asked the reasons why they had decided to migrate. The immigrants were free to give more than one reason. Over half of them mentioned opportunities for a "better job" and another half wanted to improve "future prospects". Over one third mentioned "better living conditions", and two out of five cited American family ties or friends.

A recent study by Brox (1982) also examined economic incentives for Canada-United States migration in the light of labour market adjustment. He also took into account the influence of social changes in the two societies since 1965, such as the new immigration policies of both countries and conditions associated with the Vietnam War and racial unrest in the United States. His conclusion was that migration between the United States and Canada over the post-war period was largely attributable to differing income levels in the two countries and to differing unemployment rates.

The study also found that structural change since 1965 was significant

in reducing Canadian migration to the United States, in that it tended to be below the expected level for prevailing economic conditions. Evidence was found that the new United States immigration policy "has caused the migration response to labour market signals to be altered". (Ibid:9) American migration to Canada, on the other hand, has been higher than would be expected as a natural response to labour market conditions. It was suggested that this trend was "due to social and political motives rather than to any changed response to labour market conditions caused by the changed immigration policy". (Ibid.)

It is therefore clear that economic factors, while no doubt important, cannot entirely account for migration between Canada and her southern neighbour. Besides the political and social motives noted above, several additional factors have been cited. These include greater intellectual and career-related challenges for scientists and other professionals and, as previously noted, the warmer climates of the American south.

Of the factors noted above, economic trends, at least for the immediate future, are perhaps easiest to predict. For example, we know that over the past few years, the economy of the United States has continued to outstrip that of Canada on almost all economic indicators. While the United States economy grew by 6.9% in 1984, the comparable figure for Canada in growth of the real Gross National Product was only 4.7%, as reported by the Conference Board of Canada.

Although over the past year, unemployment has been on the decline in Canada, falling 0.9% from June 1983 to June 1984, it stood, in this month,

significantly above the seasonally adjusted rate for the United States. The comparable Canadian and American figures were, respectively, 11.2% and 7.1%. Furthermore, the downward trend in unemployment south of the border was much more marked in the year ending June 1984, with almost a 3% reduction being recorded. (CBC, 1984). By March 1985, unemployment had risen in the United States to 7.3% while the Canadian figure had remained constant at 11.2% (CBC, 1985).

A similar, more marked trend is the greater increase in employment in the United States than in Canada between 1983 and 1984. While employment rose 228,000 or 2.1% in Canada, American employment rose by 5,005,000 or 5%. Furthermore, the increase in the seasonally adjusted labour force was, in the same period, greater in the United States, with a 1.8% change, than in Canada where only a 1.1% change was reported.

As for the near future, the American economy is expected to slow down somewhat, with a growth rate of 3.0% in 1985, being forecast. (USCB, 1985) This would, however, be a better performance than that expected, by some forecasters, for the Canadian economy. The Conference Board of Canada, for example, anticipated a 2.2% increase this year, for Canada. It would appear that, in the short term at least, the American economy will prove more attractive than that of Canada. Nonetheless, free labour market adjustment will no doubt continue to be regulated by the restrictions of United States immigration quotas.

The future social and political climate in the United States cannot be easily foreseen. However, with the recent return of President Reagan as President, there is no reason to assume that the present environment will alter significantly in the next few years, or at least in any ways which will greatly affect current migration streams. It is probable, for example, that the Sun Belt of the southern United States will continue to attract a small percentage of retirees. It is also probable that Canadians will continue to balance the hopes of greater economic gain against such positive factors as better environmental conditions, relatively low crime rates and a more comprehensive and subsidized medical care system in their home country.

Conclusion

The evidence cited earlier seems to demonstrate that, most of all, it has been the introduction and implementation of the 1965 Immigration Act which has suppressed the level of Canadian migration to the United States. Interestingly, since 1969, Canada has not fulfilled its quota of 20,000 and, in most years, contributed just over half this number. While many Canadians may have wished to emigrate, the instituting of a preference system and the emphasis on family class immigration, seems to have meant that the number of Canadians has been kept well below the allowable limits. What, then, is the likelihood that such conditions will change over the next few years?

Immigration policy in the United States has been under serious and continuous review since 1978 when the Carter Administration founded the Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy (SCIRP) which began a comprehensive

review of policies related to immigration and refugees. The Reagan Administration has since made several proposals which, in many ways, have built upon SCIRP's recommendations, especially with regard to the punishment of employers who hire illegal aliens. The Simpson-Mazzoli Bill, introduced in 1981, and based upon the Administration's proposals, attempted to effectively gain control over immigration to the United States. This was proposed through various means to curb the influx of undocumented workers and, on the other hand, through measures to deal with the problem of mass political asylum which had emerged in 1980 with the arrival of thousands of unexpected Cuban and Haitian refugees.

This is not the place for a detailed description of the Simpson-Mazzoli proposal,* especially as the Bill has finally not been accepted as United States policy. However, one of its provisions was of particular relevance to Canada, namely, the proposition of doubling the Mexican and Canadian quotas to 40,000 each, and allotting unused Canadian visas to Mexico (or vice versa). Since Canadians have not been filling their quotas, this was seen as a means of relieving the present backlog of Mexicans pressing for admission. It seems reasonable to assume, therefore, that even if this proposal had been accepted and implemented, the level of Canadian emigration to the United States would not have been significantly altered.

* For more detailed analyses, see Martin and Houston, 1984.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Boyd, Monica, 1976 a. "Occupations of female immigrants and North American immigration statistics." International Migration Review 10(1): 73-80.
- Boyd, Monica, 1976 b. "Immigration policies and trends: A comparison of Canada and the U.S." Demography 13(1): 83-104.
- Brox, James A., 1983. "Migration between the United States and Canada: a study of labour market adjustment." International Migration 21(1).
- Chiswick, B.R., 1979. "The economic progress of immigrants." In Contemporary W. Fellner (ed.), Economic Problems. Washington, IPPR.
- Conference Board of Canada, 1984. "Medium Term Outlook." Ottawa
- Conference Board of Canada, 1985. "Medium Term Outlook." Ottawa
- Keely, C.B., 1979. U.S. Immigration: a policy analysis. New York: Population Council.
- Lines, Kenneth, 1978. British and Canadian immigration to the United States since 1920. San Francisco: R. & E. Research Associates.
- Martin, Philip L. and Marion F. Houston, "European and American immigration policies." In Richard E. Hofstetter (ed.), U.S. Immigration Policy. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Samuel, T.J., 1982. "Canadian immigration to the United States." In D.L. Cuddy (ed.), Contemporary American Immigration. Boston: Twayne.
- Thurlow, Lester, 1970. Investment in human capital. Wadsworth Series in Labour Economics and Industrial Relations. Belmont: Wadsworth.
- United States Conference Board, 1985. Quarterly Review. Washington