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AN ANALYSIS OF CURRENT CANADIAN EMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES

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Résumé – Cet article décrit le flux des Canadiens vers les États-Unis. Par l'entremise d'une analyse des données de 1960 au présent, il fournit une présentation démographique et socioéconomique globale du principal flux d'émigrants canadiens. D'autres études sur l'émigration des Canadiens vers les États-Unis sont brièvement analysées, et certaines causes possibles de ce flux sont dégagées. L'article conclut avec une analyse des effets sur l'émigration canadienne, de quelques facteurs économiques et non-économiques. Par l'examen de la performance prévue des économies canadiennes et américaines, et par celui de la future législation américaine en termes d'immigration, les auteurs cherchent à découvrir les directions futures de l'émigration du Canada vers les États-Unis.

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Abstract – This paper describes the flow of Canadians to the United States. Through an analysis of data from 1960 to the present, it presents a comprehensive demographic and socioeconomic profile of 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 the migratory flow are identified. The paper concludes with an analysis of the effects of selected economic and non-economic factors on Canadian emigration. Through the examination of the projected performances of the Canadian and American economies and future immigration legislation in the United States, the authors attempt to indicate future trends in emigration from Canada to the United States.

Key Words – **Canadian emigration, 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 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 U.S.A., it is important to outline the history of American immigration law, which 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 persons of Anglo-Saxon descent. This was done by limiting the number of immigrants to three per cent (later two per cent) of each nationality's total population in the U.S.A. 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.

Fundamental changes in the laws on immigration were enacted in 1965. The new 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 U.S. citizens, people with exceptional ability, skilled labour and refugees.

Migration of Canadians

A number of researchers have looked at the phenomenon of interchange of populations between Canada and the U.S.A. in the last few decades. Prominent among them are: Boyd, 1976; Brox, 1983; Coats and Maclean, 1943; Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1956; Hansen, 1940; Lavoie, 1972; McKee and Woudenberg, 1980; Pankhurst, 1966; Samuel, 1969 and 1982; Truesdell, 1943; U.S. Bureau of the Census/Statistics Canada, 1986; and Vedder and Gallaway, 1970.

For a very long time, since the settlement of North America, the border between Canada and the U.S.A. has been an open one, since the "mingling of the Canadian and American peoples" (Hansen, 1940:9) or "the spilling of great-waves" (ibid.) was so common. Until the early twentieth century, many immigrants to North America "failed to differentiate between the United States and Canada once they had decided to go to America" (ibid.:254). Many immigrants to the U.S.A. used Canada as a way station or stepping stone to the United States.

At the beginning of twentieth century, 1.6 per cent of the U.S. population was Canadian-born. This was equivalent to 25 per cent of the Canadian population at that time! By 1930, 9.1 per cent of U.S. foreign-born consisted of Canadian emigrants. This meant, as Samuel (1982) observed, that Canada's population in that year would have been about 15 million, or 30 per cent higher if these emigrants had remained in Canada.

After the Second World War, there was a surge of emigration to the U.S.A. from Canada. The number of emigrants doubled annually to 20,000 in the

1940s. According to the April 1, 1946, edition of *Time* magazine, potential Canadian emigrants were "besieging American Consular offices from Halifax to Vancouver in greater numbers than any time since 1921" (p. 38). The major push factor that accounted for this outflow was the continuation of wage controls in Canada. The pull factors included increased availability of U.S. urban employment, with higher wages, better economic prospects in the South and the desire of Canadian brides to join their spouses. Meanwhile, intervening barriers, such as wartime restrictions on labour permits to leave Canada and exchange controls that did not allow money to be taken out of Canada, were lowered.

In 1950 about 10 per cent of U.S. foreign-born, or nearly 995,000 people, were Canadian-born. Immigrants whose former country of residence was Canada (that is, including re-migrants) totalled 1.2 million in 1950. During the 1950s, emigration from Canada to the U.S.A. was in the range of 22,000 to 46,000 per annum. One important change during this period, however, was the decline in the proportion of Canadian-born from four-fifths to two-thirds.

During the first half of the 1960s, the number of Canadians moving south reached its peak for this century – over 50,000 a year. These relatively large numbers caused some concern in political circles in Canada that was echoed in Canadian Parliament. The 1965 changes in U.S. immigration regulations reduced the outflow of Canadians to the south, and by 1969 the level of immigration was less than half of the 1965 level.

The U.S. census of 1970 recorded 0.81 million Canadian-born in that country. When re-migrants from Canada were included, the total number exceeded one million. However, during the first half of the 1970s, emigration to the U.S.A. shrunk by 60 per cent from 27,000 to 11,000 per year. Nevertheless, 0.84 million Candian-born were counted in the United States in 1980 (U.S. Bureau of the Census/Statistics Canada, 1986:26).

An important aspect of the migration of Canadian-born to the U.S.A. which has received scant attention in the literature is the return migration of Canadian-born. Since the United States does not have exit controls, nor does Canada record the return of its citizens, no reliable administrative statistics can be found on this aspect of the interchange of populations between these two countries. Nevertheless, some estimates are available. Comparing stock data with flow data, Pankhurst concluded that the return of Canadian-born emigrants to Canada in the 1950s may have been in the range of one to seven out of eight (Pankhurst, 1971:70). Based primarily on the 1960 U.S. Census, which included data on "Canadian-born in the U.S.A. and abroad, 1955," Samuel (1969:78) estimated return migration of Canadians to be around 35 per cent for the period 1955-66.

Limitations 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.

The first few years of the 1980s saw a continuation of this decline, according to estimates provided by American and Canadian official statistics (U.S. Bureau of the Census/Statistics Canada, 1986:63). However, since the 1982 low of 14,300 emigrants from Canada to the U.S.A., each successive year has seen a slight increase. By 1985, the total emigration figure was over 16,000 – the highest it had been for five years.

Unfortunately, 1979 was the first 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 of "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 Canada 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 per cent. This figure rose to 76.6 per cent in 1965, after which it has declined somewhat. By 1979, the proportion of Canadian-born in this population was 68.2 per cent. 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 per cent 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.

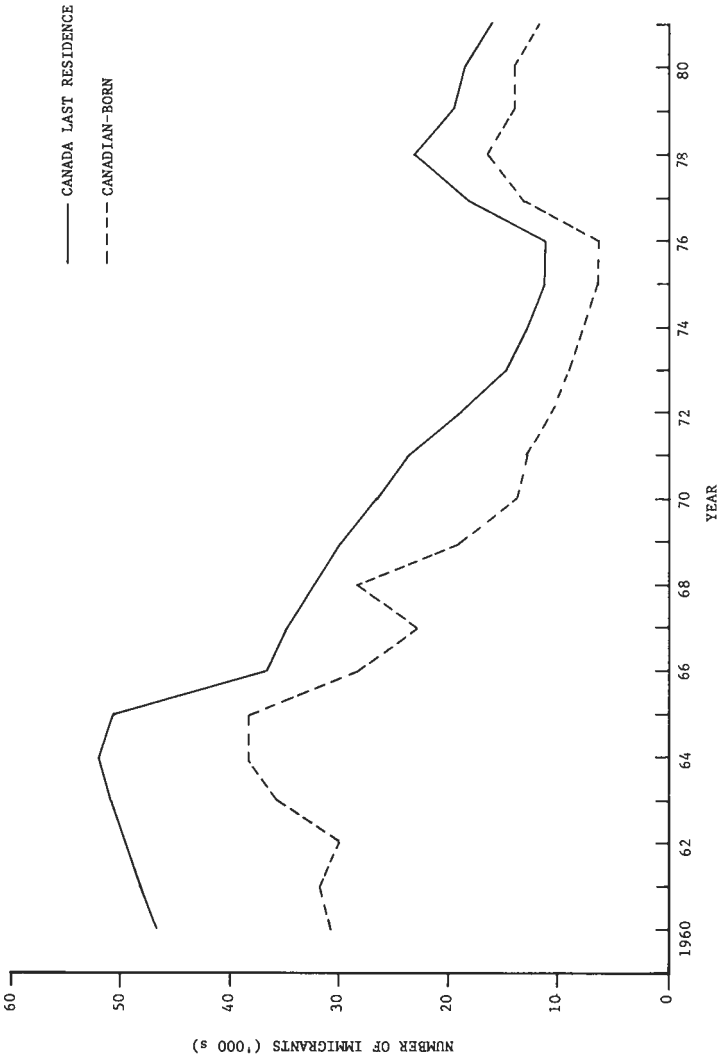

FIGURE 1. VOLUME OF IMMIGRATION FOR CANADIAN-BORN AND THOSE WITH CANADA AS COUNTRY OF LAST PERMANENT RESIDENCE, 1960-1981

Undoubtedly, one major factor in the decline was the introduction of this Act (Boyd, 1976b:99), which effectively curtailed the free flow of Candians 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 composition 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 20 years, the majority of immigrants were housewives or other dependents. Indeed, in 1971 almost 70 per cent 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 per cent of the total population. According to Boyd, this phenomenon may be attributable to the recording practices employed by American (and Canadian) immigration authorities. (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 in-migrants as well.) As she states, "data on 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 analyze 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 overestimation 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 per cent of the total immigrant population, or 33.4 per cent of the population with a stated occupation, the

TABLE 1. CANADIAN-BORN IMMIGRANTS BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY, 1960-1979

Year	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

Souce: INS Annual Reports.

"labourer" category has experienced the most marked decrease in importance of any of the occupational categories. By 1978 labourers made up only 5.2 per cent of Canadian-born immigrants to the United States, which represented about 13.6 per cent 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 supression of Canadian immigration to the United States (Keely, 1979:167). 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 per cent of immigrants who stated an occupation belonged to that category of highly qualified professionals. This represented only about 13 per cent of the total number of immigrants. In 1978, however, this group constituted over 58 per cent of the working population, or almost 23 per cent of all immigrants in that year.

As we have already seen, the largest group of Canadian-born immigrants from the years 1966 to 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 20-29 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 per cent 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 contributed over half the immigrant population. Indeed, the proportion of this group to the entire annual Canadian-born immigrant flow has been steadily increasing since about 1970. In 1981, the working age category included over 61 per cent 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 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.

TABLE 2. CANADIAN-BORN IMMIGRANTS BY AGE GROUP, 1960-1981

Year	Under 9		10 - 19		20 - 29		30 - 39		40 - 49		50 - 59		60 +	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1960	8140	26.3	4295	13.9	9102	29.4	5041	16.3	2769	8.9	1181	3.8	461	1.5
1961	8542	26.7	4730	14.8	9341	29.2	4738	14.8	2829	8.8	1246	3.9	612	1.9
1962	7927	26.1	4581	15.1	8895	29.3	4508	14.8	2662	8.8	1196	3.9	605	2.0
1963	9652	25.8	5676	15.8	10684	29.7	5115	14.2	2992	8.3	1332	3.7	552	1.5
1964	9839	25.8	6177	16.2	11676	30.7	5356	14.1	3053	8.0	1376	3.6	597	1.6
1965	9530	24.9	6173	16.1	12422	32.4	5337	13.9	2928	7.6	1394	3.6	543	1.4
1966	7504	26.4	4718	16.6	8222	29.0	3880	13.7	2243	7.9	1267	4.5	524	1.8
1967	7277	31.0	3684	15.7	5894	25.1	3152	13.5	1835	7.8	998	4.3	602	2.6
1968	8040	29.1	4215	15.2	7541	27.3	3878	19.0	2117	7.7	1233	4.5	638	2.3
1969	5314	28.6	3015	16.2	4858	26.1	2435	13.1	1467	7.9	907	4.9	586	3.2
1970	4249	30.8	2409	17.5	3613	26.2	1554	11.3	949	6.9	594	4.3	436	3.2
1971	3822	29.1	2132	16.2	3516	26.8	1514	11.5	938	7.1	702	5.3	504	3.8
1972	2855	26.5	1767	16.4	3191	29.6	1214	11.3	713	6.6	561	5.2	475	4.4
1973	2222	24.8	1501	16.8	2852	31.9	995	11.1	549	6.1	443	4.9	389	4.3
1974	1775	23.2	1458	19.0	2352	30.7	837	10.9	472	6.2	400	5.2	360	4.7
1975	1550	21.2	1348	18.4	2204	30.2	902	12.3	472	6.5	449	6.1	383	5.2
1976	1522	19.9	1342	17.6	2281	29.9	1124	14.7	585	7.7	386	5.1	398	5.2
1977	2340	18.4	2213	17.4	3023	23.8	2163	17.0	1198	9.4	939	7.4	812	6.4
1978	3183	18.9	2930	17.4	3977	23.6	2934	17.4	1686	10.0	1086	6.4	1067	6.3
1979	2801	20.3	2451	17.8	3909	28.4	2417	17.6	1120	8.1	675	4.9	429	3.1
1980	2553	18.8	2276	16.7	3892	28.6	2621	19.3	1160	8.5	700	5.1	407	3.0
1981	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

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 per cent of all immigrants, this elderly group, in conjunction with dependent children, accounted for 38.4 per cent of all immigrants in 1981.

TABLE 3. PROPORTION OF WOMEN IN SPECIFIED AGE GROUPS AMONG CANADIAN-BORN IMMIGRANTS, 1960-1979

Year	Under 9	10-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60 +	TOTAL No.	TOTAL %
1960	48.9	55.5	60.0	47.7	49.2	51.8	62.9	16502	53.2
1961	47.5	52.8	57.5	48.5	49.5	55.1	58.3	16667	52.0
1962	47.2	51.9	58.6	47.0	49.8	51.8	56.5	15745	51.8
1963	48.3	51.8	57.3	45.2	49.5	51.4	58.2	18523	51.4
1964	48.2	50.5	56.3	46.8	49.4	53.3	59.5	19538	51.3
1965	48.8	50.3	56.0	44.9	48.1	51.6	59.1	19567	51.1
1966	48.5	53.2	63.0	47.1	49.8	52.4	55.9	15527	53.7
1967	48.7	54.1	66.7	47.9	50.8	56.2	57.6	12285	53.6
1968	50.0	54.1	66.7	47.9	50.8	56.2	57.6	14834	53.6
1969	47.4	50.8	64.1	49.9	51.4	56.7	56.8	9982	53.7
1970	48.2	52.0	66.0	49.1	55.7	55.7	58.7	7561	54.8
1971	47.6	54.4	67.4	51.1	56.5	57.7	57.7	7347	56.0
1972	46.7	55.0	65.5	53.1	56.8	61.0	60.0	6062	56.3
1973	49.8	50.5	66.4	54.7	60.1	59.8	58.4	5124	57.2
1974	48.6	49.7	65.0	54.8	56.8	60.8	58.1	4294	56.1
1975	50.8	51.6	64.1	57.2	53.6	61.5	59.0	4167	57.0
1976	49.9	52.3	64.4	54.9	57.6	58.8	68.1	4350	57.0
1977	47.6	49.9	61.6	50.8	51.3	54.7	50.1	6714	52.9
1978	47.7	51.5	64.4	55.2	50.7	57.1	51.3	9216	54.7
1979	48.0	51.3	63.4	55.2	51.4	50.8	54.3	7535	54.7

Source: INS Annual Reports.

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 per cent 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 per cent of these Canadians were females, a figure which had declined by only about two per cent 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 per cent of those in this age group, and in at least two years they constituted over two-thirds of this sub-population of immigrants. Another noticeable trend over this period was among the 30-39 year olds where there has also been an increasing proportion of women; according to the latest figures, they accounted for over 55 per cent 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+, contrary to what one might expect. However, even the latter category displays quite a heavy preponderance of females, who made up over 54 per cent 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 1960s and 1970s, 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 per cent of Canadian emigrants intended to reside in California, while 11.6 per cent anticipated taking up residence in Florida. Most other states which receive significant numbers 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 per cent.

TABLE 4. CANADIAN-BORN IMMIGRANTS BY AREA OF INTENDED SETTLEMENT, 1960-1979

Year	Pacific	West	Mid-West	South-West	South-East	East	Other	TOTAL
1960	33.8	2.1	16.2	3.2	8.9	32.4	3.3	30990
1961	33.4	2.4	15.2	3.3	8.0	34.0	3.7	32038
1962	32.5	3.4	14.5	3.3	7.0	34.8	4.5	30377
1963	32.1	3.0	13.9	3.4	6.5	36.8	4.4	36003
1964	34.5	2.8	14.2	3.1	6.5	34.4	4.5	38074
1965	32.5	3.3	15.9	3.1	6.4	33.2	5.6	38327
1966	29.5	3.0	19.6	2.9	8.2	31.9	4.9	28358
1967	20.9	2.8	23.1	3.6	9.0	38.1	2.5	23442
1968	22.8	2.4	20.3	3.3	9.7	38.7	2.9	27662
1969	18.9	2.7	18.5	3.5	11.6	41.8	3.0	18582
1970	19.0	3.0	20.6	3.0	11.7	40.8	1.9	13804
1971	18.1	3.4	18.7	3.6	14.3	41.3	0.7	13128
1972	17.6	4.0	18.8	4.5	14.8	39.8	0.7	10776
1973	18.9	4.2	19.0	4.5	15.5	37.6	0.3	8951
1974	20.0	4.6	19.4	5.1	15.7	34.6	0.6	7654
1975	22.4	5.2	18.9	3.8	17.6	31.5	0.5	7167
1976	20.9	5.0	20.6	6.1	17.0	30.0	0.3	7638
1977	25.2	4.7	17.0	8.1	21.0	23.8	0.2	12588
1978	24.8	4.8	15.6	10.0	22.4	22.3	0.2	16859
1979	26.7	5.0	15.7	9.1	19.4	23.9	0.2	13772

Note:

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
East - Connecticut, Delaware, Maine, Maryland, Massachussets New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont, District of Columbia.
Other - Guam, Puerto Rico, Virgin Islands, Other

Source: INS Annual Reports.

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 of post-war American industrial development, the heavy industrial areas of the East and Mid-West attracted 60.3 per cent of all Canadian immigrants. By 1979, this figure had fallen to only 39.6 per cent. On the other hand, the areas of greatest economic growth during the 1970s in the United States (that is, the Pacific, South-East and South-West)

have seen an increase in the proportion of Canadian immigrants from 34.0 per cent in 1969 to 55.2 per cent 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 reporting the intended state of residence of Canadian immigrants from 1979 onwards, information is still available on the present address of resident aliens. By regrouping this information once more, 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 (Brox, 1983; Lines, 1978; Samuel, 1982). 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 (1983) 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.

This 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" (Brox, 1983:9). 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.).

A survey of Canadian immigrants to the U.S. West Coast showed that 51 per cent cited better job opportunities as a reason for moving, 59 per cent came to improve future prospects, 39 per cent due to family ties or friends, 35 per cent for improved living conditions and 23 per cent due to dissatisfaction with home conditions (Lines, 1978:92).

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 6.4 per cent in 1984, the comparable figure for Canada in growth of the real Gross National Product (GNP) was only 4.7 per cent, as reported by the Conference Board of Canada. In the first quarter of 1986 the U.S. GNP increased at an annual rate of 3.7 per cent compared to 2.3 per cent for Canada's GNP.

Although over the past few years the unemployment rate has been on the decline in Canada, falling from 11 per cent in July 1984 to 9.7 per cent in August 1986, it stood significantly above the seasonally adjusted rate for the United States (Canada, Statistics Canada, 1986). The American rates dropped slightly over the same period, from an average of 7.5 per cent in 1984 to 6.8 per cent in August 1986 (U.S., Department of Labor, 1986).

A similar, more marked trend is the greater increase in employment in the United States than in Canada between 1983 and 1985. While employment rose 228,000 or 2.1 per cent in Canada, American employment rose 5,005,000 or 5 per cent. Furthermore, the increase in the seasonally adjusted labour force

was, in the same period, greater in the United States, with a 3.5 per cent change, than in Canada where only a 1.8 per cent change was reported.

As for the near future, the American economy is expected to slow down somewhat, with a growth rate of 2.6 per cent in 1986 being forecast (U.S., Conference Board, 1986). This would, however, not be as good a performance as that expected, by some forecasters, for the Canadian economy which has outstripped that of the U.S. over the past two years or so. The Conference Board of Canada, for example, anticipated a three per cent increase this year for Canada. It would appear that, on the short term at least, the Canadian economy will prove more attractive than that of U.S.A. Nonetheless, free 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, 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

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.

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 was finally not accepted as United States policy (for more detailed analyses, see Martin and Houston, 1984). 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.

One can only speculate on the potential impact of recent and anticipated changes in Canadian and American social and economic policies which may ultimately affect decisions to emigrate by residents of both nations. These may include, for example, U.S. taxation incentives and the Canadian government's ban on "extra billing" by medical doctors. Further research is required to assess the impact of these and other policies, as well as to monitor and interpret existing emigration trends. Such research is even more timely given Canada's present concern over appropriate levels of immigration – knowledge of emigration levels being an important element in such determinations. However, without significant improvements in the collection of basic emigration statistics, such research will continue to be plagued by the absence of current and reliable information on Canada's emigrant streams.

Disclaimer

The views expressed in this paper are those of the authors and not of the International Development Research Centre or Employment and Immigration Canada.

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