

**SECOND EDITION**

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# **Canada and Immigration**

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**Public Policy and  
Public Concern**

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**Freda Hawkins**

Second Edition

**CANADA AND IMMIGRATION**  
**Public Policy and Public Concern**

FREDA HAWKINS

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## Preface

THIS BOOK ATTEMPTS TO PROVIDE an analysis and record of twenty-five years of Canadian immigration. It tries to show how Canada has managed immigration since the Second World War and what the realities of political and bureaucratic control have been in this important sector of public policy. Beyond a small group of politicians and officials and a small number of voluntary organizations, very little is known about immigration in Canada. Few Canadians are aware of the exact nature of our immigration policy or how immigration is managed. Nor do they often know where our immigrants are coming from nor, in any detail, where they settle. That Canada is a major receiving country in international migration with a liberal immigration policy and a long record of assistance to refugees are facts better known abroad than at home. And since Canadian politicians of all parties maintain a decorous silence on this subject and the press examines it only intermittently, public discussion of immigration in Canada is minimal.

This study, the first full-length work on Canadian immigration policy for fifteen years, is an attempt by one political scientist to fill this current and serious information gap in Canadian politics. It is written in the belief that immigration will continue to play a vital part in Canadian life, but that serious thought should now be given to the development of a population policy for Canada related to our future political, social, and environmental needs and to the role which immigration should play within it. Immigration must be considered now in relation to our own population growth and the rapid expansion of our labour force, but we also need an immigration policy for Canada which takes into account our ownership of more unoccupied living space than an overcrowded world can afford to ignore. The narrow concept of immigration as a manpower policy which

has prevailed for the last six years, valuable though it has been in some respects, is not adequate for these purposes.

There are two principal foundations on which this study is based. The first is a very liberal agreement which was worked out in March 1966 between senior officials of the new Department of Manpower and Immigration, my academic advisers at the University of Toronto, and myself. It gave me access to departmental files, except those which were highly classified or related to personnel, and permission to interview all members of the Department of Manpower and Immigration and of the former Department of Citizenship and Immigration, in Canada and overseas. The cooperation and help which I have had from this Department and its officers has been most impressive. I have interviewed some three hundred and fifty present and former staff members and have talked to some immigration officers many times. They have not only provided essential information, but have always been ready to discuss their own views, experience, and philosophy of immigration which has been invaluable. There has been a remarkable absence of administrative secrecy. The agreement itself contained no departmental veto of any kind. On the contrary, it stipulated that any differences of opinion which might arise in relation to interpretation of official material or interviews would be "negotiated" between department officials and the author. As it turned out, and despite the fact that this is a critical study, these differences have been minor.

The other foundation on which this study rests is my own experience as an immigrant arriving from Britain with my husband and daughter in 1955, and the knowledge I then acquired of the Canadian community and voluntary sector during many years' association in Toronto with voluntary agencies concerned with immigration. This has helped to provide an awareness of the basic needs of immigrants and the extent to which these needs are being met in Canada, without which any study of Canadian immigration policy and programs would be meaningless.

Two other receiving countries, the United States and Australia, have been used throughout this study as sources of reference about similar or alternative approaches to immigration management and the many problems it presents. Space permitting, I would have liked to include more information about their immigration policies and experience. But the reader will find that I have used these countries for comparative purposes in discussing some of the principal issues in Canadian immigration. Since writing the major part of this book, I have had an opportunity of spending a year in Britain to study British immigration and race relations, followed by a short visit to Israel to learn more about the work of the Israeli Ministry of Immigrant Absorption. The more I have seen of the immigration process in different political environments, the more convinced I am that



immigration, in nearly all its aspects, is a common experience for individuals and for governments. Immigrants in Toronto, Sydney, Tel Aviv, Birmingham, and Chicago go through a very similar experience, I believe, in settling into a new society and they need very much the same kinds of help.

For this and other obvious reasons, it is urged in this study that Canada should contribute now, in a much more positive way than in the past, towards the development of increasing international communication and consultation in relation to migration, whether that migration be inter-country or intracontinental, permanent or temporary. It would help to improve the lot of immigrants and migrants and to lessen some of the political tensions involved in migration today, if information on this subject were shared to a much greater extent between the countries involved; and if common efforts were made towards the development of standards of good practice in employment and adjustment policies, immigration control, and in the protection of the individual and group rights of immigrants and migrants.

# Preface to the Second Edition

REMARKABLE CHANGES HAVE TAKEN PLACE in Canadian immigration policy, law, and management since this book was first published in the final months of 1972. A long-awaited new Immigration Act was passed in 1976 and became law in 1978. This marked the beginning of a new, more liberal, and more co-operative era in Canadian immigration with better laws, closer federal-provincial collaboration, more confident and effective management, and a better and more open relationship with the public and the media. The new Act established clear and liberal national objectives in immigration and refugee policy. It introduced a completely new immigration planning process involving extensive consultation with the provinces and with the public, leading to an annual statement by the Minister in Parliament on the numbers of immigrants and refugees likely to be admitted to Canada within a specified period of time—at present the next three years. The whole system of immigration control and enforcement was also modernized and improved in the Act and, among other innovations, new and imaginative ways of involving the public in refugee sponsorship were introduced.

Since 1972 we have also seen the gradual development of better funding and support for voluntary agencies involved in the settlement and adjustment of immigrants and refugees. Multiculturalism within a bilingual framework was established as a national policy in 1971, has had a varied and sometimes turbulent history since then, but has gradually become an important part of Canadian life. There has also been a slowly growing concern with Canada's present demographic dilemmas and the final emergence, at last, of real efforts to lay the foundations for population policies to which immigration can be related. Some of the problems discussed in this book have, therefore, been solved or dealt with in various ways.

Others have not, notably our continuing failure to overcome—despite greater efficiency—the fragmentation and loss of overall authority of immigration management since it became part of the new Department of Manpower and Immigration in 1966.

As predicted in part in this book, there have been major developments also in international migration. Refugees and refugee movements multiplied in the 1970s, culminating in the very large and dramatic Indochinese refugee movement which attracted world-wide attention and is not over yet. Refugees on the continent of Africa, fleeing drought, hunger, and war, have become more numerous than in any other region. During the past two decades at least, there has been a striking shift from north to south in the national origins of immigrants. Control of illegality in immigration, in all its forms, is becoming more difficult. We have also seen a large, world-wide increase in the number of undocumented migrants, mainly from Third World countries, who are attempting, by all available means including claims to refugee status, to move to countries with more stable political systems and higher standards of living. In the absence of any serious efforts by the international community to deal with the vast north-south socio-economic divide, these are without doubt the beginnings of a major out-migration from the Third World.

This book is a portrait of Canadian immigration from the end of the Second World War to the early seventies. It is a record and analysis of immigration policies, laws, and methods of management during this period, as well as an account of the attitudes and beliefs of the politicians and officials who developed and managed this area of public policy. It was a pioneering study in that it looked, for the first time, at *all* aspects of Canadian immigration and paid as much attention to management and to the problems facing immigration managers as it did to immigration policy and policy makers. It also recorded some important moments in the post-war history of Canadian immigration which might otherwise have been forgotten.

The text of the first edition has not been altered except to correct typographical errors; the facts and statistics have been left as they were in 1972. A final chapter, "Sequel, 1972–1986," has been added in which I discuss what has happened in the ensuing years in most of the different aspects of Canadian immigration discussed in this book. The Appendixes have been revised and updated. For a more detailed study of the period from 1972 to 1986 and the remarkable changes that have taken place in Canadian immigration, readers should turn to my new comparative study of Canadian and Australian immigration entitled *Critical Years in Immigration, Canada and Australia Compared*, also published by McGill-Queen's University Press (1988).

Although Canada's immigration policies and management during the period from the Second World War to the early seventies had some serious weaknesses and left many things undone, it is important to remember that the whole operation was remarkably successful. Some millions of immigrants and refugees settled successfully in Canada during a period in which this country was doubling her population, through a combination of natural increase and immigration, without undue stress or strain. There is no doubt that this very large post-war movement of immigrants and refugees to Canada has been of immeasurable benefit to a small nation in a vast, under-populated territory—strengthening, invigorating, and diversifying her economic, social, and cultural life in innumerable ways.

University of Warwick, April 1987.

F. H.

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My very special thanks, however, go to two groups of people: first, the members of the Immigration Division of the Department of Manpower and Immigration (in Canada and overseas, in the regions as well as in Ottawa) and to the former members of the Immigration Branch of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration. I have already mentioned the major contribution which they have made to this study. Secondly, special thanks to my friends in the voluntary agencies in Toronto—the board and staff in recent years of the International Institute and other agencies, the former members of the Immigration Section of the Social Planning Council, and others—the small group of people who have worked indefatigably for the welfare of immigrants in that city.

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Research for this study which has involved a good deal of travelling overseas and in Canada has been very generously financed by the Canada Council and the Institute of Public Administration of Canada and I would like to express my grateful thanks to them. I have had the great benefit of the research facilities of a government department, but until very recently, I have had no research assistants or faithful secretaries. But I have had superb domestic assistance for fifteen years which has enabled me to lead a full-time professional life, from a fellow immigrant and a very good friend, Mrs. Paula Hitze from West Germany, and I would like to say how grateful I am to her for this essential support. Finally, I would like to thank Miss Phyllis Cowtan and Miss Gail Love for their very valuable help in preparing this manuscript for publication.

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*Part One*

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