

Managing Immigration and Diversity in Canada

A Transatlantic
Dialogue in the
New Age of Migration

Edited by
Dan Rodríguez-García



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PREFACE

This volume brings together the contributions of participants at the *Managing Immigration and Diversity in Quebec and Canada Forum*, a two-day international symposium that took place in Barcelona, Spain, in October 2008. The conference was founded and directed by Professor Dan Rodríguez-García (Autonomous University of Barcelona) and was organized by the Directorate General for Immigration (formerly the Secretary of Immigration) of the Government of Catalonia (*Generalitat de Catalunya*) and by CIDOB (Barcelona Centre for International Affairs). Other collaborating institutions included the Ministry of Labour and Immigration of Spain, the Canadian Embassy in Spain, the Canadian Foundation (Canadian Ministry of Foreign Affairs), and the Québec Government Office in Barcelona. The contributors to this book have revised and updated the content of their respective chapters where possible.

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INTRODUCTION

Managing Immigration and Diversity in the New Age of Migration: A Transatlantic Dialogue

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Anthropology, Autonomous University of Barcelona*

Without a doubt, the management of immigration and diversity is one of the most important questions of the present historical moment. Human migration itself is not a new phenomenon. Indeed, there have been tremendous migratory flows in the past, significantly the massive European emigration that took place in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Nevertheless, the current period of migration, which is similarly characterized by extremely high levels of international migration, is distinct in that the movement of people across borders now occurs on an unprecedented global scale and in an increasingly complex manner (Castles and Miller 2009).

Since the mid-1970s, and especially from the 1980s onward, the acceleration and diversification of mobility worldwide, owing in large part to the internationalization of the labour market and other globalization processes, have substantially transformed the global landscape, as different continents, countries, and regions have become more and more interconnected and interdependent (Fröbel, Juergen, and Kreye 1980; Basch, Glick Schiller, and Blanc-Szanton 1994; Sassen 1988, 2007). The

number of international migrants in the world (people living outside their country of origin) has nearly tripled since 1970, reaching an estimated 214 million in 2010 (UN DESA 2009; IOM 2010, 115). And there seems little likelihood of considerable reduction in volume given rising population trends, ongoing emigration pressures in poorer countries, environmental degradation, and the increased globalization of the economy (Castles and Miller 2009; IOM 2010, 2011; OECD 2011a).

Notably, unlike in previous decades, there is no longer a single predominant immigrant profile or type of migration, but increasingly a diversity of them: migrations not only south-north, but also south-south, the latter of which have already reached proportions similar to the former; migrations of people coming from both poor and rich countries; immigrants of urban origin in similar proportions to those of rural origin; both male and female immigrants, including greater numbers of women with independent migratory projects; working-age adults, but also youth—many of whom are international students, and an increasing number of whom are non-accompanied minors—as well as retired people, who more and more often migrate as long-stay/seasonal tourists; people who migrate voluntarily, and others who are forced to migrate, as in the case of refugees and environmental migrants, the latter of whom have increased dramatically in number; legal immigrants, but also undocumented immigrants; low-skilled workers, but also highly qualified professionals; and paid workers, but also self-employed workers or entrepreneurs, whose activities and occupational sectors are becoming increasingly diversified. In general, too, there are greater numbers of migratory projects that give rise to movements of very variable duration, from temporary or circular migrations, for example, to long-term or “permanent” migrations. In addition, many of the present migrants are transnational migrants; that is, they live in or maintain multi-dimensional links (social, cultural, political, economic, familial, etc.) in several countries simultaneously, facilitated greatly by advances in transportation and communication technologies that connect people and places globally. This reality of immigrant transnationalism entails not only physical mobility in itself (the crossing of national borders), but also other aspects, whether legal or political (e.g., multiple citizenship), economic (e.g., remittances, international consumption of goods, international investments), or socio-cultural (e.g., intercultural values, models, and practices) (Glick Schiller, Basch, and Blanc-Szanton 1992; Basch, Glick Schiller, and Blanc-Szanton 1994; Smith and Guarnizo 1998; Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004; Vertovec 2010). Paradoxically, these trends of growing and diversified global mobility have been accompanied, especially in the last decade, by increasing restrictions on international migration—such as stricter immigration and border control policies (for non-EU nationals in the case of the European Union)—as well as mounting anti-immigrant sentiment (see Cornelius et al. 2004; Collett 2011b; Düvell and Vollmer

2011; Fargues et al. 2011, 11-14; see also Papademetriou and Terrazas 2009; OECD 2011a; and Massey and Pren 2012).

This set of complex migration phenomena of our contemporary world calls for fresh approaches to conceptualizing immigration and to understanding its effects (Massey et al. 2009, chapter 1). Countries being rapidly changed by the demographic and social impacts of international migration, together with long-standing countries of immigration, both are contemplating—perhaps with differing degrees of urgency—new theories, models, and/or practices to address the enormous variety and complexity of issues arising in this new migration era.

SHIFTING MIGRATION PATTERNS IN EUROPE: THE CASE OF SPAIN

Within this global context of growing international migration, Spain is an exemplary case of a country whose population composition has been transformed by recent large-scale immigration. The speed at which Spain has moved from being a country of emigration to one of immigration is unprecedented in Europe's demographic history, and perhaps worldwide. Whereas in Northwestern European countries such as England and France, this change took place over several decades, primarily between the 1950s and the 1970s, in the case of Southern Europe, which principally includes Spain, Italy, Portugal, and Greece, the change in migratory patterns occurred much later and much more quickly (King, Fielding, and Black 1997).

Among its Southern European counterparts, Spain experienced this transformation most rapidly and remarkably. The country's economic boom during the latter part of the 1980s served to create jobs and attract immigrants in an ongoing manner; large numbers of foreigners entered the country as workers, mostly with temporary permits, and filled low-wage jobs mainly in the agricultural, construction, and domestic service sectors (Muñoz and Izquierdo 1989; Izquierdo 1996; Arango 2000; Calavita 2007). In addition, while Spain had primarily been a transit country for immigrants moving to traditional destinations in Northwestern Europe, Spain's incorporation into the European Union (formerly the European Community) in 1986 greatly contributed to the country's transition to an immigrant-receiving area itself. Notably, there were some years documented during the 1980s when Spain was technically defined as a net immigration country (albeit showing only minimal net gains), mostly because of return migration by native Spaniards who had been living outside the country during less prosperous times. However, it was really in a span of *less than ten years* that Spain's migratory balance clearly and unwaveringly—and also, unexpectedly—changed from one of net loss to net gain: For consecutive years in the late 1980s and early 1990s, Spain still recorded more emigration than immigration, but by the mid- to late

1990s, Spain had become a country of immigration, with population gains that were indisputably because of continual foreign immigration to the country (see Arango 2000).

From that time onward, most markedly since 2000, the steady immigration growth has been enormous. Spain went from having about 1 million legal immigrants in 2000 (representing 2 percent of the total population in the country) to having 5.7 million in 2010 (representing 12 percent of the total population) (Eurostat 2011; INE 2011a, 2011b). To put these radical increases in foreign-born population into perspective, it can be noted that since 1998, Spain has received the highest net inflows of immigrants annually among all European Union member states, and in some years during the past decade, it has received *almost half of the entire immigrant population that arrived in the EU* (Eurostat 2008). Furthermore, Spain has been second only to the United States in terms of intensity of annual migration flows on a world scale, receiving well over 600,000 immigrants each year between 2003 and 2008. In 2007 alone, Spain absorbed nearly 1 million immigrants (*ibid.*, 2). Notably, newly legalized immigrants—that is, foreign-born undocumented workers residing in Spain who obtained legal immigrant status through government regularization programs (most significantly in 2005)—have also been included in these annual immigration numbers (see Arango and Finotelli 2009). Only from 2009 to the present have immigration rates in Spain experienced a slight decline, coinciding with a period of global economic downturn and serious financial crisis in Spain (INE 2011c).¹

Within Spain, the autonomous region of Catalonia,² now populated by approximately 7.5 million inhabitants, is the area that has received the largest number of immigrants: Catalonia currently accounts for about 21 percent of Spain's foreign-born population (Idescat 2011; INE 2011a). In contrast to Spain as a whole, though, Catalonia has always been an (im)migrant-receiving region, with very high migration inflows, importantly from southern France between the 16th and 17th centuries and then from other regions of Spain from the early 20th century until the end of the 1970s (Cabré 1999; Pascual, Cardelús, and Solana 2000; Bayona, Domingo, and Gil 2008). In fact, immigration, because it has been so essential to population growth in Catalonia, has been considered a central structural component of “the Catalan modern reproduction system” (Cabré 1999, 28). The argument could be made, then, that the large-scale international immigration experienced by Catalonia in recent years is a continuation of normal patterns (see Bayona, Domingo, and Gil 2008). However, the contemporary migrations to this region have been unique in many ways, particularly because of their sudden and unexpected volume, intensity, and diversity, all of which have had a tremendous impact on the demographic composition of the Catalan population (*ibid.*). In the span of only ten years, more than 1 million people from other countries arrived in Catalonia, thus increasing the number of immigrants from 3 percent

of the total regional population in 2000 to 16 percent of the population in 2010, as well as rejuvenating the region's population and making it much more ethnically diverse (Idescat 2011; INE 2011a). All of these rapid changes have made Catalonia an exceptional immigration case within the already unique Spanish context.

While the internal cultural and linguistic pluralism of Spain is a defining aspect of the country (various regions in Spain, including Catalonia, have distinct cultural traditions and officially recognized languages), the perceptibly greater ethnocultural diversity now found in Catalonia and in Spain overall is one of the more pronounced and novel effects of Spain's recent immigration boom. The variety of immigrants' countries of origin has increased dramatically. It is no longer the case that foreign-born persons living in Spain are mainly from Northwestern European countries (e.g., the United Kingdom) and the Maghreb. Virtually all regions of the world, including Eastern Europe, South America, Asia, and sub-Saharan Africa (with Senegal as an important sending country in the last case), are represented in the modern-day flows. According to the Spanish Population Register, the foreign nationalities that in 2011 were shown to be most numerous in Spain corresponded to countries as diverse as Romania, Morocco, Ecuador, Bolivia, Argentina, Italy, Germany, the Ukraine, China, and Pakistan (INE 2011a, 2011b), among others; and significantly, the immigrant groups from many of these sending countries are often characterized by great internal heterogeneity. In this way, the diversification of immigration source countries, leading to substantially higher levels of ethnocultural diversity in Spain, can be considered a salient feature of Spain's current immigration landscape.

In summary, if there is something that has structurally changed Spanish society in the past decade, it is, undoubtedly, immigration. It is clear now that this phenomenon is not an isolated or transient event, but a reality with long-term and profound demographic, economic, political, and socio-cultural effects. What is more, because continual large-scale international migration to the country has been an unexpected and very new trend, a national legal framework for planning for and managing immigration had heretofore largely been absent in Spain. The first modern immigration law, the *Ley de Extranjería* (*Ley Orgánica 7/1985*), a measure to deter irregular immigration, was passed only in 1985 and was essentially a precondition for Spain's 1986 entry into the European Community (Arango 2000, 265; Maas 2010, 241). Since then, further immigration policies have been introduced, including a quota system, established in 1993 and subsequently modified, for the purpose of issuing temporary and "stable" work permits to recruited foreign workers, as well as legalization—most often called "regularization"—programs, designed to address the realities of illegal immigration (in many cases, the overstaying of work visas). However, these laws have predominantly been short-term strategies and have not taken into account larger questions of long-term

immigration needs or effective measures for integrating immigrants into Spanish society.³ Only more recently have policy-makers in Spain come to understand that immigration is a force of enduring social transformation in the country, requiring comprehensive and carefully thought-out policies, which are now beginning to emerge. The management of immigration and diversity is, therefore, one of the most crucial and urgent issues on the Spanish political agenda today.

TRANSATLANTIC PERSPECTIVES: WHY LOOK AT CANADIAN APPROACHES TO THE MANAGEMENT OF IMMIGRATION AND DIVERSITY?

In a globalized world, it is clear that to face the challenges posed by immigration and growing ethnocultural diversity at the local or national level, it is necessary to have a global and outward-looking perspective. It is important to look outside the domestic context, to analyze a variety of governance approaches to immigration and integration, to see the limitations and potential of different experiences, and to adapt the aspects that can be useful from one context to another. And this comparative perspective, if it is to prove most fruitful, must be not only international but also transatlantic.⁴

Obviously, models for the management of immigration and diversity are not transferable en bloc, as they respond to the particular characteristics—historical, demographic, economic, political, geographical, and cultural—of each country or region. But, again, it is evident that the concrete experiences of one place and the knowledge of what has worked better or worse can be of assistance to the policy development of other places.

In this respect, Canada, often referred to as a “traditional country of immigration” (along with countries such as the United States, Australia, and, to a lesser extent, New Zealand), deserves special attention: Not only is it one of the countries that receives the most immigrants and has some of the greatest cultural diversity in the world, but also, it is often taken as a point of reference because it seems to have been more successful than most other countries in resolving the management of immigration and diversity. For this reason, Canada’s tested immigration practices—the country’s successes in this area, as well as its shortcomings—can be particularly instructive to decision-makers in fast-growing “new countries of immigration,” like Spain, or in rapidly changing immigrant-receiving regions, like Catalonia, where leaders must tackle new and improved immigration policy initiatives and try to forecast outcomes. This search to find solutions to immigration challenges is all the more pressing given the tremendous importance that the Spanish public and Europeans in general are now placing on this matter: Public opinion survey results show that immigration policy is currently ranked as the second highest priority subject (level with health policy, and slightly after economic and

monetary policy) in the European Union (European Commission 2011). While this book gives particular emphasis to the Spanish case, as Spain's specific immigration circumstances and internal regional dynamics (discussed further in the following sections of this Introduction) uniquely lend themselves to productive transatlantic dialogue and pointed comparisons with Canada, it should be noted that interest in the Canadian system is not confined to Spain and Southern Europe; countries like Sweden are also closely looking at Canada's achievements in immigration and are considering what policy elements could be adopted (see Adahl and Hojem 2011).

Canada, a country whose founders include its diverse Aboriginal populations and the French and British peoples who established permanent settlements as far back as the early 1600s, is largely considered a nation formed by immigrants. Its original colonizers migrated from Europe; it has historically relied on large-scale immigration in order to populate and farm its land (see chapters 2 and 4 of this book); and based on its current demographic profile, Canada clearly continues to be a country of immigration. Each year, this country of about 34 million inhabitants receives approximately 250,000 new immigrants; notably, in 2010, Canada welcomed 280,636 permanent residents, the highest number admitted in more than 50 years (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2011a). The effect of this continual immigration has been that the foreign-born in Canada constitute a relatively large proportion of the country's population: In the 2006 census year, almost 20 percent of Canada's population consisted of immigrants (people born outside Canada)—a percentage of foreign-born population exceeded only by Australia (22.2 percent)—while in Toronto, one of the three largest metropolitan areas in Canada, close to one-half of the city's people were foreign-born (Chui, Tran, and Maheux 2007; see also Anisef and Lanphier 2003). Significantly, a large proportion of Canada's immigrants are from places other than Europe and the United States, a growing pattern since the 1970s (*ibid.*; see also chapters 4 and 5 of this book). Between 2001 and 2006, almost 60 percent of newcomers to Canada were born in Asian countries, including the Middle East (Chui, Tran, and Maheux 2007, 9), and this trend has continued into present years, with China, India, and the Philippines being the top three source countries, respectively, in both 2008 and 2009 (Milan 2011, 5). Furthermore, Canada's increasing ethno-racial diversity has not been kept a "quiet" aspect of the country's evolving immigration history: Since 1971, an official policy of multiculturalism has been in place (see chapters 1, 8, 9, and 10), which acknowledges and supports the great cultural diversity of the country's people.

In spite of Canada's high immigration levels and ethnically diverse metropolises, neither Canada, in general, nor Toronto, in particular, seems to have had more problems with immigration than European countries or large European cities. Very much to the contrary, in fact: Canada is one