

# **New Immigrants Seeking New Places: The Role of Policy Changes in the Regional Distribution of New Immigrants to Canada**

**by**

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## **Abstract**

Canada and the United States have recently experienced geographic de-concentration of entering immigrants. American research suggests that a mixture of economic push (away from states like California) and pull (toward states with growth of low-wage jobs) factors and changing government policies and regulations contributed to the development of the New Gateways. Virtually no research has been conducted to determine why the de-concentration of entering immigrants occurred in Canada. This paper assesses the extent to which changes in immigration selection programs, notably, the Provincial Nominee Program (PNP), contributed to the regional dispersion of entering immigrants. Using data from immigrant landing records and income tax files, this study shows that different factors accounted for changes in the share of immigrants settling in different destinations. Changes in immigration selection programs played a main role in the increasing numbers going to Saskatchewan and Winnipeg. Shifts in immigrant source regions were an important factor in the decrease in immigration to Toronto and in the increase to Montreal. Other factors, such as possibly economic conditions, likely played a significant role in the changes in the shares of new immigrants going to Toronto, Montreal, Calgary and Edmonton.

# **New Immigrants Seeking New Places: The Role of Policy Changes in the Regional Distribution of New Immigrants to Canada**

## **1. Introduction**

Immigrants to North America have traditionally clustered in specific locations. As recently as 2000, the states of California, Texas, New York, New Jersey, Illinois and Florida accounted for more than two thirds of all immigrants in the U.S. Since World War II, cities such as Miami, Fort Lauderdale, Los Angeles, San Diego, Houston, Chicago, Jersey City and New York have been gateways for immigrants (Singer, 2004). In Canada, concentration has been even more pronounced, with the majority of immigrants residing in the three largest cities— Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver. As late as 2001, 77% of immigrants entering Canada went to one of these metropolitan areas. Directing new immigrants toward other regions has been a policy goal of Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) since the 1990s.

Both countries have recently witnessed considerable geographical dispersion of entering immigrants—in the 1990s in the U.S., and after 2000 in Canada. During the 1990s, U.S. immigration rates were very high, and the foreign-born population rose by 57% over the decade. At the same time, new immigrants were less geographically concentrated. The foreign-born population increased at double the national average in 13 states, mainly in the west and southeast, that traditionally had not been immigrant receivers<sup>1</sup> (Singer, 2004). Although the majority of immigrants continued to settle in traditional immigrant-receiving states, some destinations were losing their appeal. American research suggests that a mixture of economic push (away from states like California) and pull (toward states with growth in low-wage jobs) factors and changing government policies and regulations contributed to the development of the New Gateways.

The de-concentration of immigrants entering Canada occurred after 2000, with a downturn in immigration to Toronto, and gains for non-traditional regions. Between 2000 and 2010, annual immigration to Canada rose from 227,500 to 280,700, but the percentage going to Toronto fell from 48% to 33% (Table 1). At the same time, Alberta's share of entering immigrants rose from 6.3% to 11.6%, with about half going to Calgary. Manitoba's share rose from 2.0% to 5.6%. Saskatchewan's share rose from less than 0.8% to 2.7%. And the Atlantic Provinces' share increased from 1.3% to 3.0%. In the early years of the 2010s, the distribution continued to shift away from Toronto and Vancouver towards Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Quebec.

No Canadian research has provided a broadly based explanation for the geographical redistribution of entering immigrants, although studies of changes in immigration policy (CIC 2010, Carter et al, 2008) suggest that the Provincial Nominee Program (PNP) was at least partly responsible for the increased numbers choosing the western provinces. However, other possibilities such changes in regional economic conditions and in immigrant source regions were not explored in these studies.

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1. Other non-traditional states with fast-growing immigrant populations were Utah, Idaho, South Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky, Minnesota, Nebraska, Arkansas and Arizona.

The goal of this analysis is not to assess all possible factors associated with the shifts in destinations of new immigrants, but rather, to assess the relative importance of immigrant selection programs and immigrant source regions. Data limitations prevent us from directly identifying the influence of change in regional economic conditions. Using two statistical methods, this analysis quantifies the extent to which selection programs, notably the PNP, and immigration source regions contributed to the geographic dispersion of immigrants who came to Canada since 2000.

One methodological contribution of this study is to quantify the factors affecting changes in the share of immigrants to specific destinations. The results suggest that immigration selection programs, immigrant source regions and regional economic conditions likely played different roles for specific destinations.

## **2. Factors associated with changes in regional distribution of immigrants in the U.S. and Canada**

A number of explanations have been proposed for the geographic dispersion of immigrants entering the U.S. in the 1990s (Massey, 2008). The new destinations tend to have well-developed and growing low-skilled service sectors that attract immigrants, particularly those from Mexico (Donato et al. 2008; Leach and Bean 2008). Leach and Bean (2008) argue that industrial restructuring and a shift in the location of economic growth in the U.S., particularly associated with low-skilled jobs, was a main contributor. Donato et al. (2008) offer a similar explanation for increased settlement of immigrants in the Southeast and Midwest. They conclude that new immigrants are responding to the growth of low-wage jobs in industries such as manufacturing, construction and wage services

Other U.S. research focuses specifically the increased geographical dispersion of Mexican immigrants (Massey et al. 2002, Zuniga and Hernandez-Leon 2005). Between 1990 and 1996, the percentage of Mexican immigrants going to California fell from 58% to 46%, and the percentage going to non-traditional gateway states rose from 10% to 21% (Durand et al, 2000). A conjunction of economic, social and political circumstances during the 1990s contributed to the increased geographic dispersion of Mexican immigrants. First, as a result of increased restrictions and militarization of the border, these immigrants found it increasingly difficult to enter the U.S via the traditional crossings in Arizona, New Mexico and California and so selected other entry points. Second, the poor economic conditions in California during the 1990s made it a less hospitable place for new immigrants. Third, the economic boom in other parts of the country in the late 1990s, notably the Midwest, Northwest and Southeast, created a sustained demand for unskilled and semi-skilled labour with rising real wages, while California's economy in California remained suppressed. Finally, the Reform and Control Act (IRCA) of the late 1980s legalized 2.3 million Mexican immigrants, allowing them to move more freely in the U.S. without the fear of exposure in new regions.

In Canada, too, researchers have reported associations between employment opportunities and immigrant destinations. Hou (2007) documented changes in immigrants' initial destinations and subsequent distribution from the 1970s through the 1990s. He suggested that the geographic concentration of immigrants in major metropolitan areas in the 1970s and 1980s reflected the

tendency for immigrants to be drawn to large cities because of high demand for workers, and that immigrant concentration during the 1990s resulted primarily from the shift in source regions. Krahn et al. (2006) and Haan (2008 and 2009) also reported associations between immigrant destinations and economic opportunities during these decades.

Changes in regional economic conditions may have contributed to the dispersion of new immigrants in the 2000s. Between 2000 and 2009, the unemployment rate rose significantly in only two (Toronto and Hamilton) of the 20 destinations examined in this analysis (Table 2). These cities were also the only destinations where the employment rate dropped. On the other hand, in all the western destinations, unemployment declined and the employment rate rose.<sup>2</sup> If regional economic conditions affect immigrants' destination choices, the western provinces' share of immigrants would have risen, and Ontario's share (notably, Toronto's) would still have fallen, even if immigrant selection programs had remained stable over time.

In particular, the decline in Ontario was most evident among economic class immigrants, suggesting that changes in relative economic conditions may have played a role. Between 2000 and 2010, of the total drop in the number of new immigrants going to Ontario, the economic class accounted for close to 90% (30,000). Whatever was driving the redistribution of immigrants out of Ontario towards non-less traditional destinations affected primarily the economic class of immigrants.

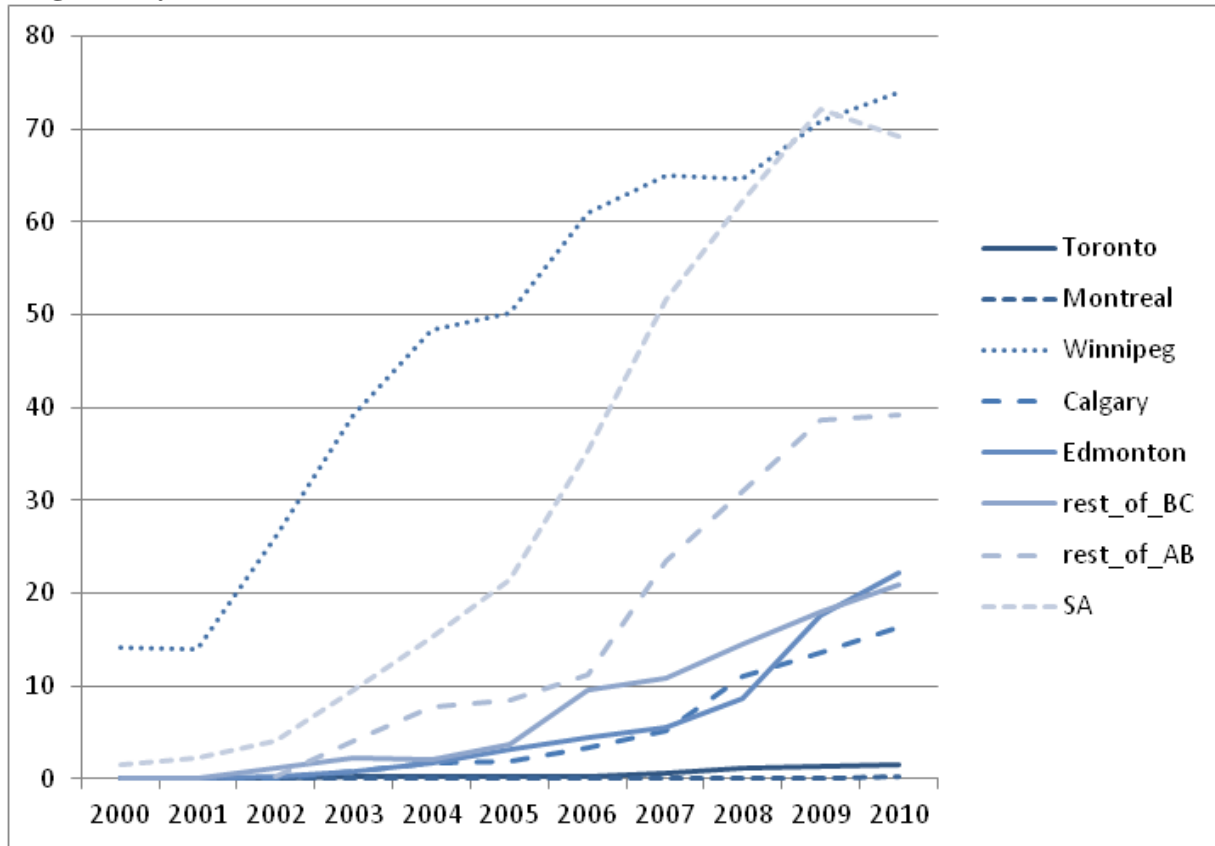
However, likely because of the significant changes in Canada's immigration selection programs, Canadian studies of more recent periods, when the regional dispersion of entering immigrants became evident, emphasized the role of the rise of the PNP (CIC 2010, Carter et al, 2008). Under the provisions of the Program, Provincial Nominees go to the province that arranged for their selection and entry. As use of the Program became more widespread, destinations that previously received few immigrants were selected by increasing numbers.

The percentage of immigrants arriving in Canada as Provincial Nominees rose from less than 1% in 2000 to 10% in 2010 (also see Table 3). This increase was felt most strongly in the western provinces. For example, in 2000, fewer than 15% of immigrants who went to Saskatchewan and Winnipeg entered under the PNP; at the end of the decade, the figure was 70% (Chart 1). By contrast, virtually none of the immigrants who went to Ontario and Quebec during the 2000-to-2010 period entered under the PNP. However, these two provinces were indirectly affected because annual immigration to Canada remained more or less constant over the decade and the rise in the PNP was accompanied by a decline in the share of immigrants entering through the Federal Skilled Worker (FSW) program. For instance, in the years just after 2000, Toronto was receiving about 65% of its immigrants under the FSW, but by decade's end, the percentage was 40% to 45% (Chart 2). The rise in the PNP and the decline in the FSW program will affect the locations to which new immigrants move.

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2. The relationship between economic conditions and immigrant shares did not hold for all destinations. Newfoundland had the greatest improvement in employment/unemployment conditions, but no increase in its share of entering immigrants (Tables 1 and 2).

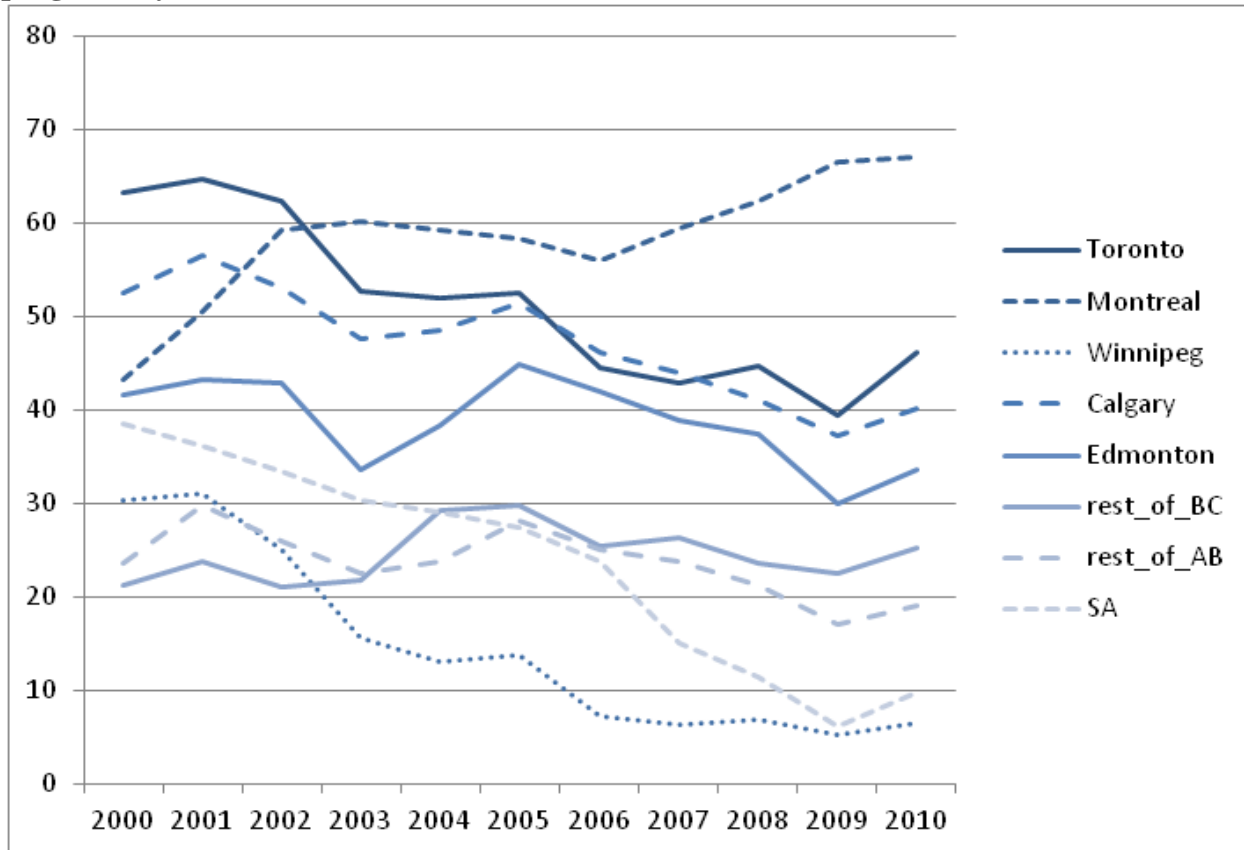
**Chart 1**  
**Percentage of immigrants aged 18 to 54 entering Canada through Provincial Nominee Program, by destination, 2000 to 2010**



**Source:** Citizenship and Immigration Canada landing file.

**Chart 2**

**Percentage of immigrants aged 18 to 54 entering Canada through Federal Skilled Worker program, by destination, 2000 to 2010**



**Source:** Citizenship and Immigration Canada landing file.

The regional distribution of new immigrants could also be affected by changes in source countries. Immigrants from particular source countries (ethnic groups) tend to locate initially in particular destinations, typically destinations with large numbers of previous entering immigrants from this same country. In the 2000s, a shift in leading source countries occurred<sup>3</sup> (CIC 2011). In 2000-2001, China and India were the leading source countries, and these immigrants tended to settle in Toronto and Vancouver. By 2010-2011, the Philippines had become the largest single source country, their number tripled in this period. These immigrants had more diverse destinations partly because their pre-existing communities were more scattered. Such changes in source countries tend to increase the geographic dispersion of entering immigrants, even if the program mix remains constant.

3. The annual number of Asian immigrants going to Ontario fell from 74,300 to 48,700 between 2002 and 2011, accounting for 25,600 of the total 34,100 decline in the number settling in that province; the numbers from Africa, the Middle East, South and Central America, and the U.S. changed little (CIC, 2011).

It is difficult to clearly separate the effects of changes in regional economic conditions, immigration selection programs, and immigration source regions. Their effects are likely overlapping since these factors would all tend to direct new immigrants from Ontario towards western provinces. Moreover, changes in immigration selection programs might at least partly be a response to changes in regional economic conditions. Indeed, a main justification used by provinces to ask the increase of their share in the PNP was to meet perceived local labour market demand. Shifts in immigrant source regions might also be a result of changes in immigration selection programs because immigrants admitted through PNP tend to have different source-region composition from FSW immigrants.

The strategy of this study is to estimate the overall effects associated with changes in selection programs and immigrant source regions on a specific destination, keeping in mind these estimated effects may be partly driven by regional economic conditions. The effect of changes in regional economic conditions cannot be estimated statistically since our focus is on specific destinations. Economic conditions are measured at the aggregate level and for a given destination there are only two unique data values. In comparison, information on the selection programs through individual immigrants were admitted and on source regions allows statistical analysis to quantify the contribution of these two factors to the change in the share of immigrants to a specific destination. It is reasonable to assume that regional economic conditions and other factors may contribute to the portion of the change in the share of immigrants to a specific destination that is not accounted for by selection programs and source regions.

### **3. Data and methods**

#### **3.1 Data**

Background data on trends in the geographic distribution of new immigrants come from the *Facts and Figures* web source developed by Citizenship and Immigration Canada. These data refer to all immigrants arriving each year.

Two other data sources are used for subsequent analysis. The first source is a micro data file based immigrant landing records maintained by the federal department of Citizenship and Immigration Canada. The landing records contain immigrants' demographic characteristics, the selection programs through which they were admitted, and their intended destinations. With this file, the intended destination can be used as a proxy of immigrants' initial destination. The advantage of this approach is that the information on intended destination is available for virtually all immigrants. The disadvantage is that many immigrants do not move to their intended destination. Immigrants are free to settle anywhere in Canada, regardless of what they indicated as their planned destination.

The second data source is from the Longitudinal Immigration Database (IMDB). The IMDB combines immigrant landing records and annual tax records. From the tax records, the database derives information on earnings and other income components, taxes paid, current marital status, and geographic location of residence. This file allows the identification of immigrants' actual initial destination as reported on immigrants' tax returns for the first full year in Canada. The

advantage is that the location information reflects where immigrants actually settled. The disadvantage is that not all immigrants file a tax return their first year in Canada.

To assess the difference between “intended” and “actual” destinations, geographic distribution based on each definition is generated for immigrants who landed between 2000 and 2009, were aged 18 to 54 at landing, and who filed a tax return for their first full year in Canada (approximately 85%) in the IMDB data. Twenty destinations are examined (Table 1).

From 66% to 90%<sup>4</sup> (depending on destination) of immigrants who “intended” to settle in a particular destination actually did so their first full year in Canada (Appendix Table A). For example, of the immigrants who “intended” to go to the “rest of Quebec” (excluding Montreal and Quebec City), 67% went there; 20% went to Montreal, and 4%, to Quebec City. Similarly, 85% of immigrants “intending” to go to Edmonton actually did so; most of the remainder went elsewhere in the west.

Any particular destination also gains some immigrants who intended to settle elsewhere. From 10% to 40% of immigrants who went to a given destination “intended” to go to elsewhere. For example, 9% of those who went to Calgary indicated Toronto as their intended destination, and 4% indicated Vancouver (Appendix Table B).

When gains and losses are taken into account, some destinations received fewer immigrants who “intended” to go while other received more (Table 4). For Alberta and British Columbia destinations and “the rest of Quebec,” “the rest of Ontario,” and Hamilton, “actual” immigrants exceeded “intended” immigrants. For the Atlantic Provinces, Manitoba and Saskatchewan, the number of actual immigrants fell short of the intended number.

To summarize, when focusing on the individual immigrant, there is substantial discrepancy between intended and actual destinations. However, in the aggregate, after all the shuffling, the difference between the intended number and the actual for most destinations is typically not large. The exceptions were Newfoundland, PEI and New Brunswick, which received only 40% to 82% of their “intended” immigrants. In comparison, Edmonton, the “rest of Alberta” and the “rest of Ontario” received 20% more than the “intended”.

Since neither the “intended” destination nor the actual initial destination provide a full picture about immigrants’ initial distribution patterns, subsequent analyses are conducted on both data sources to check whether the results are consistent.

### 3.2 Methods

The change in the regional distribution of immigrants at landing is compared between 2000/2001 and 2008/2009 (the latest data available at the time of analysis). To increase the sample size and thereby examine a larger number of destinations, two years of data at the beginning and at the end of the period were pooled (2000/2001 and 2008/2009).

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4. The exceptions are Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island, where 56% and 36%, respectively, of “intended” immigrants actually went to those destinations.



Two statistical techniques—decomposition and regression—using different definitions of “initial destination” are employed to assess the effect of entry program changes on the destination of new immigrants.

## 4. Decomposing the change in percentage of immigrants going to various destinations

### 4.1 Decomposition

Based on a standard decomposition technique, 20 destinations (Table 1) and six immigrant entry programs (federal family class, FSW, federal business class, PNP, refugee, and other) were defined. The outcome variable is the *change* between 2000/2001 and 2008/2009 in the percentage of immigrants going to each destination. The change was decomposed into three components: Component 1 (due to changes *within* each program type in the percentage of immigrants going to each destination<sup>5</sup>); Component 2 (changes *among* programs in the percentage of immigrants entering Canada<sup>6</sup>); and Component 3 (changes within and among program types, that is, the share by entry program and the share in each program going to a specific destination were both allowed to change).<sup>7</sup>

Component 1 indicates the share of the regional redistribution that would have occurred even if there had been no change in the programs of entry. This change is associated with factors not explored in this analysis, such as changes in relative economic conditions and job opportunities.

Component 2 indicates the share of the regional redistribution directly associated with changes in the percentage of immigrants entering Canada under each entry program. This component is the focus of the current analysis

Component 3 is the share of the regional redistribution that cannot be isolated by Components 1 and 2. In Component 3, both the percentage of immigrants admitted under each program at the Canada level and the percentage admitted under that program who go to each region were allowed to change. This is the component of the total change in the percentage going to a destination that may be due to either the change in entry programs or to other unknown factors. The two cannot be separated in this case. Because the two effects cannot be separated in Component 3, the effect of program changes on the regional redistribution of new immigrants

5. In this Component, the share entering Canada under each program type was held constant over time (no changes in programs of entry were allowed).

6. Changes in the program of entry were allowed, but the share of immigrants in each program going to the destination was held constant

7. Let  $P_{i,t}$  be the share of immigrants entering destination  $i$  in year  $t$ .  $\Delta P_i$  is the change share of immigrant entering destination  $i$  between  $t$  and  $t+1$  i.e.,  $P_{i,t+1} - P_{i,t}$ , where  $t+1 = 2008/2009$  and  $t = 2000/2001$ . It can be

$$\text{shown that } \Delta P_i = \underbrace{\sum_{j=1}^6 \Delta r_{ij} \square q_{j,t}}_{\text{component 1}} + \underbrace{\sum_{j=1}^6 r_{ijt} \square \Delta q_j}_{\text{component 2}} + \underbrace{\sum_{j=1}^6 \Delta r_{ij} \square \Delta q_j}_{\text{component 3}}$$

where  $r_{ij}$  is the share of immigrants in program  $j$  entering destination  $i$ ;  $q_j$  is the share of all immigrants in program  $j$ ;  $\Delta$  is the change in any share between  $t$  and  $t+1$  (here, 2000/2001 and 2008/2009).

must be presented as a range. Component 2 is the lower bound of the range of the direct effect of entry program changes on the redistribution, and Component 2 plus Component 3 is the upper bound, assuming that all of Component 3 is due to entry program changes. (Component 3 is typically very small, but it can, at times, be large.)

#### 4.2 Decomposition results

Toronto, the destination with the largest change in its annual percentage of new immigrants, illustrates the results of the decomposition. Between 2000/2001 and 2008/2009, the percentage of new immigrants going to Toronto fell by 15.6 percentage points (Table 5). Component 1 of the decomposition (the change in the percentage associated with factors other than entry program changes) accounted for 13.2 percentage points of the decline. Component 2 (the change directly associated with changes in the entry program mix) accounted for 6.7 percentage points of the decline. Component 3 indicates that when Components 1 and 2 are allowed to change simultaneously (and their effects cannot be separated), the result was actually a *rise* of 4.3 percentage points in the percentage of new immigrants going to Toronto.

This analysis, however, is mainly concerned with the effect of changes in the percentage of immigrants entering under different program types on the regional distribution of new immigrants. Component 2 estimates the direct effect of changes in the entry program mix, and Component 3, the additional effect if it is assumed that all of this effect is associated with changes in the entry program mix (upper bound of the effect of changes in the program mix). Thus, the effect of the changing entry program mix ranges from the value of Component 2 (-6.7 percentage points of the drop in Toronto's share) to Component 2 plus Component 3 (-6.7 plus +4.3, or -2.4 percentage points). Hence, of the 15.6 percentage-point drop in the share of immigrants going to in Toronto, 2.4 to 6.7 percentage points were associated with changes in the entry program mix. The remainder was associated with other unknown factors that caused the share of immigrants *within each program type* to shift destinations.

The results for destinations with at least a one-percentage-point change in their share of entering immigrants (Table 5) are:

- From 15% to 43% of the 15.5-percentage-point decline in *Toronto's* share of entering immigrants was associated with changing shares of immigrants in each program at the Canada level. Most of the decline was associated with the city receiving a smaller share of immigrants in some programs, notably, the FSW.
- Between 20% and 90% of the 1.5-percentage-point increase in *Saskatchewan's* share of entering immigrants was associated with changing program types, specifically, the rise in the PNP.
- The 4-percentage-point increase in *Montreal's* share of immigrants occurred despite the changing mix of entry programs, which actually reduced its share of entering immigrants by 1.7 to 3.4 percentage points. The overall rise occurred because Montreal received a larger share of immigrants *within* various programs, notably, the FSW.
- Most of the 2-percentage-point increase in *Winnipeg's* share of immigrants was associated with entry program changes, particularly the rise in the PNP.

- Between 25% and 60% of the 1-percentage-point increase in the share of immigrants going to *Alberta outside Edmonton and Calgary* was associated with changes in entry programs.
- From 12% to 15% of the 1.5-percentage-point increase in *Calgary's* share of immigrants was associated with changes in entry programs. The remainder was driven by the city attracting a larger share of immigrants within some programs, perhaps associated with the strong economy.
- From one-fifth to one-third of the 1.4-percentage-point increase in *Edmonton's* share of entering immigrants was associated with changes in entry programs; the rest was related to the city attracting a larger share of immigrants within some programs, perhaps associated with strong economic growth.
- Between 18% and 45% of the one-percentage-point increase in the share of immigrants going to *British Columbia outside Vancouver* was associated with changing entry programs

Thus, in Saskatchewan and Winnipeg, virtually all the gain in immigrant share was associated with changes in entry programs, notably, the rising percentage of immigrants entering under the PNP. As well, changes in entry programs accounted for most of the increase in the “rest of Alberta,” and were important in Montreal and the “rest of British Columbia” (Table 5). For the other three destinations, unknown factors such as changing relative economic conditions and changing source regions played a dominant role. These factors tended to shift the geographic distribution of immigrants *within* entry programs, notably, the FSW.

This analysis may overestimate the effects of entry programs on the geographic distribution of new immigrants. For example, a province’s initiation or increased use of a PNP may have been driven by a strong economy and a need for workers. In such cases, it would not be the changing program mix, but a favourable economic climate that was the main factor in the increase in a destination’s share of new immigrants; even without a PNP, the province might have received a larger share of immigrants. On the other hand, if a province initiated a PNP in the hope that the availability of more workers would result in a stronger economy, the change in the program mix would be the principal cause of that destination’s increase in immigrant share. This rationale for the PNP was in place in many regions, including the Maritimes and Manitoba.

## 5. Regression analysis

### 5.1. Regression technique

The second statistical approach, a simple regression analysis, uses a different definition of immigrants’ destination—the address on their income tax return for their first full year in Canada. The analysis excludes immigrants who did not file a tax return—16% for Canada overall,<sup>8</sup> a percentage that varied by destination from 10% to 20% (Table 6).

A set of regressions employing individual-level data for new immigrants was run for the eight destinations that experienced more than a one-percentage-point change in their share of new immigrants. The dependent variable takes the value 1 when an immigrant is observed at a particular destination their first year in Canada, and 0 otherwise. That is, it is the probability of

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8. The sample for the regression analysis consisted of 18- to 54-year-old immigrants landing in Canada in 2000 and 2008.

an immigrant going to a particular destination. The regressions were run separately for the eight destinations and for three time periods.

The 2008/2009 recession could have affected the *change* since 2000/2001 in the percentage of new immigrants going to various locations if the effects of the recession on economic conditions in the various destinations were different. To determine if this was the case, regressions were run for the 1999-to-2007 (pre-recession), 2000-to-2008, and 2001-to-2009 periods. The results were similar for all periods. Only results for 2001-to-2009 are shown here.

Three models were run using pooled data for 2001 and 2009. The sample size for all destinations was 287,000. Model 1 has a dummy for the landing year 2009 and no other controls (constant only). The coefficient on the landing year dummy variable indicates the *change* between 2001 and 2009 in the probability of entering a particular destination, based on the raw data. Model 2 adds controls for immigrant entry program, using the six classes noted earlier. Thus, the *difference* in the coefficient on the 2009 landing year dummy between Models 1 and 2 indicates the effect of program changes (the probability of entering under a particular program) on destination choice. Model 3 includes 12 source region dummy variables. Hence, the change in the coefficient on the 2009 landing year variable between Models 2 and 3 indicates the effect of the changing distribution of source regions on landing destinations. The coefficients for Models 1 to 3 are shown in Appendix Table C.<sup>9</sup>

## 5.2 Results of regression

### 5.2.1 Effect of changes in entry programs

According to the regression analysis, the effect of changes in entry programs on the probability of an immigrant choosing one of the eight selected destinations was similar to that reported in the decomposition analysis. For example, the regression shows that Toronto's share of new immigrants declined 14 percentage points between 2001 and 2009, the largest change of any destination (Table 7, first column).<sup>10</sup> When controls for the percentage entering under each program type were introduced, the decline was 11.3 percentage points (Table 7, second column). That is, when the percentage of immigrants entering under each program was held constant (Model 2), the *change* in the probability of an immigrant going to Toronto was 2.7 percentage points less than when the percentage entering each program was allowed to change over time. Thus, 2.7 percentage points, or 20%, of the 14.0-percentage-point decline can be attributed to the change in the percentage of immigrants entering under various programs (Table 7, column 4),

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9. The order in which variables are entered in a series of regressions can affect estimates of their effect on the dependent variable (the probability of an immigrant choosing a particular destination). To determine if the order mattered in this analysis, program type was entered first in Model 2, and then source region in Model 3. When the order was reversed and source region was entered first in Model 2 and then program type in Model 3, the results were similar. For example, the percentage-point changes in the share of immigrants going to each destination as a result of changes in the program mix when the first or second ordering is used are: -2.7 and -2.9, respectively for Toronto; -4.4 and -2.8 for Montreal; +2.7 and +2.1 for Winnipeg; +0.3 and +0.1 for Calgary; +0.5 and +0.3 for Edmonton; +1.7 and +1.3 for Saskatchewan; +0.8 and +1.0 Alberta outside Calgary and Edmonton; and +0.6 and +0.6 for British Columbia outside Vancouver. Only for Montreal did a significant difference emerge in the estimates, and even in that case, the results were qualitatively similar. Results are similar when estimating the effect of changes in source region on the destination of immigrants.

10. The change in the percentage of new immigrants going to various destinations differs between the two methods because different time periods are used, and because destination is not determined in the same way.

which falls within the range defined by the decomposition analysis (15% to 43%). Program changes, specifically, the rise in the PNP, accounted for most of the change in the percentage of new immigrants going to Saskatchewan, Winnipeg, Alberta outside Calgary and Edmonton, and British Columbia outside Vancouver; program changes were also important for Montreal. Other factors were more important for the other destinations.

### 5.2.2 Effect of changes in source region

A shift in source regions of immigrants may affect their geographical distribution (Hou 2007). Destinations that receive above-average shares of immigrants from regions that are in decline as a source would see a downturn in their share of new immigrants, while destinations whose immigrants tend to come from regions that are growing in importance as sources would receive an increasing share.

After 2000, the leading source regions for immigrants to Canada changed markedly—the percentages coming from China, South Asia and Southern/Eastern Europe declined, while the percentages from the Philippines, South/Central America, Africa and Northern/Western Europe rose (Appendix Table D).

To assess this effect, a “source region” variable was added in Model 3. With the share of new immigrants coming from the 12 source regions held constant over the 2001-to-2009 period (Model 3), the share going to Toronto falls by 8.2 percentage points (Table 7, column 3); without controls for source region (the shares by source region were allowed to change), the share going to Toronto fell by 11.3 percentage points (Table 7, column 2). Hence, the shift in source regions was associated with a 3.1-percentage-point (11.3 - 8.2), or 22%, drop in the probability of an immigrant going to Toronto, because the city received an above-average share of its immigrants from source regions that were in decline (South Asia) and a below-average share from regions in ascendancy (Africa and North/Western Europe) (Appendix Table D).

Together, changes in source regions and entry program mix accounted for 42% of the decline in the percentage of new immigrants going to Toronto (Table 7, column 6). The remainder (in fact, the majority) was attributable to other reasons that possibly include changing economic conditions.

By contrast, changing source regions increased the share of immigrants going to Montreal by 3.6 percentage points (Table 7, column 5). Montreal had an above-average share of immigrants from regions that were in ascendancy and a below-average share from regions in decline (Appendix Table D). As in Toronto, changes in program types put downward pressure on the percentage of new immigrants going to Montreal (-4.4 percentage points), but this was more than offset by the upward pressure of changing source regions (+3.6 percentage points) and other unknown factors (+3.9 percentage points).

Changing source regions had little effect on the percentages of new immigrants going to other destinations.

## 6. Conclusion

Both Canada and the U.S. recently experienced a regional dispersion of entering immigrants, the U.S during the 1990s, and Canada during the 2000s. The result in both countries was a marked

de-concentration of immigration. Considerable U.S. research concludes that the increased regional dispersion involved primarily Latino immigrants, notably Mexicans. The rise of low-wage jobs in non-traditional immigrant destinations, combined with poor economic conditions in California in particular, is seen as a primary cause of the redistribution. Other determinants included the militarization of traditional immigrant gateways in the south (e.g. Arizona), an immigrant backlash in some traditional immigrant locations and selected immigration policy changes.

There has been virtually no research in Canada to determine why the decentralization of new immigrants occurred. Because this regional redistribution coincided with the rise of the Provincial Nominee Program, it has been speculated that this program change was the primary cause. The de-concentration in Canada was characterized primarily by a movement of immigrants away from Toronto, and towards Montreal and a number of western non-traditional destinations in particular.

In this paper, two different statistical techniques are used to estimate the effect of changes in the share of immigrants entering under various programs on their destination choices. Furthermore, the manner in which immigrants' destinations are determined differed between the approaches. Nonetheless, the results of the analyses are similar.

Of the 20 destinations examined, eight had more than a one-percentage-point change in their share of entering immigrants. Changes in the type of program under which immigrants entered (specifically, the rise in the PNP) accounted for virtually all of the rising share of new immigrants going to Saskatchewan and Winnipeg, and played an important role in Montreal, British Columbia outside Vancouver, and Alberta outside Edmonton and Calgary. Changing program selection played a more minor role in the remaining three destinations: Toronto, Calgary and Edmonton.

Changing source regions can also influence immigrants' entry destinations, since immigrants from a particular country or ethnic group tend to enter destinations with an already existing "like" community. The analysis suggests that the change in source regions was an important factor in the fall in immigration to Toronto and the increase in Montreal, but played very little role for any other destination.

Of course, other factors affect the geographic distribution of new immigrants, including economic conditions and job growth, which, because of the small number of destinations that can be reliably examined in Canadian immigration research, could not be taken into account in this study. However, these unknown factors were dominant in the changes in the percentages of new immigrants going to Toronto, Montreal, Calgary and Edmonton. Thus, although the changing entry program mix was significant, it was not the sole contributor to the geographic dispersion of immigrants who came to Canada since 2000.

**Table 1****Percentage distribution of new immigrants aged 18 to 54 at landing, by intended destination, 2002 and 2011**

	2000	2010	2012
	percent		
Newfoundland and Labrador	0.2	0.3	0.3
Prince Edward Island	0.1	0.9	0.4
Nova Scotia	0.7	0.9	0.9
New Brunswick	0.3	0.8	0.9
Quebec City	0.6	0.5	1.1
Montreal	12.5	16.6	18.1
The Rest of Quebec	1.2	2.1	2.2
Ottawa	3.4	2.6	2.4
Toronto	48.4	32.8	30.0
Hamilton	1.4	1.4	1.6
The Rest of Ontario	5.5	5.3	4.4
Winnipeg	1.6	4.4	4.3
The Rest of Manitoba	0.4	1.2	0.9
Saskatchewan	0.8	2.7	4.3
Calgary	3.7	5.7	6.5
Edmonton	1.9	3.9	4.6
The Rest of Alberta	0.7	2.0	2.9
Vancouver	14.6	13.3	11.4
The Rest of British Columbia	1.9	2.4	2.7
Territories	0.0	0.1	0.2

**Source:** Facts and Figures, Citizenship and Immigration Canada.

**Table 2**

**Percentage-point change in employment rate and unemployment rate between 2000 and 2008, by province/Census Metropolitan Area, population aged 18 to 54**

	<b>Change in employment rate</b>	<b>Change in unemployment rate</b>
	percent	
Newfoundland	7.6	-3.9
Prince Edward Island	2.7	-1.7
Nova Scotia	4.0	-1.4
New Brunswick	5.0	-1.6
The Rest of Quebec	6.4	-2.0
The Rest of Ontario	0.2	0.5
The Rest of Manitoba	0.5	-0.5
Saskatchewan	3.4	-1.2
The Rest of Alberta	2.0	-1.1
The Rest of British Columbia	5.6	-3.6
Quebec City	7.0	-3.1
Montreal	2.8	-0.6
Ottawa	3.8	-0.7
Toronto	-1.3	1.4
Hamilton	-1.4	1.3
Winnipeg	1.8	-1.0
Calgary	0.5	-0.9
Edmonton	3.1	-1.5
Vancouver	2.5	-1.5

**Source:** Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey.



**Table 3****Number of immigrants aged 18 to 54 at landing, by entry program and landing year, 2000 to 2010**

Landing year	Family	Federal skilled	Business	PNP	Refugee	Other
2000	39,503	83,704	8,386	661	18,735	2,595
2001	42,913	95,321	8,967	740	17,246	2,410
2002	38,398	85,522	6,792	1,264	15,605	4,926
2003	41,716	74,422	4,983	2,623	16,686	9,981
2004	43,213	79,827	6,210	3,782	20,823	8,340
2005	46,062	90,112	8,700	4,872	23,364	8,524
2006	47,614	74,184	7,924	8,432	20,834	12,941
2007	45,729	68,482	6,596	11,111	17,540	13,426
2008	45,351	72,333	8,068	14,740	13,266	16,453
2009	44,670	67,138	7,986	20,326	13,827	19,916
2010	41,055	81,930	8,563	24,265	15,180	20,908

**Source:** Citizenship and Immigration Canada, landing file.

**Table 4****Ratio of “actual” to “intended” destination, new immigrants aged 18 to 54 at landing, 2000 to 2009**

<b>Destination</b>	
	<b>percent</b>
Newfoundland and Labrador	77.0
Prince Edward Island	42.3
Nova Scotia	90.3
New Brunswick	82.4
Quebec City	95.2
Montreal	94.4
The Rest of Quebec	114.3
Ottawa	100.1
Toronto	95.5
Hamilton	107.9
The Rest of Ontario	121.6
Winnipeg	88.5
The Rest of Manitoba	95.9
Saskatchewan	92.3
Calgary	116.5
Edmonton	121.3
The Rest of Alberta	129.3
Vancouver	101.2
The Rest of British Columbia	112.8
Territories	111.4

**Note:** Pertains to the 84% of immigrants who filed a tax return for first full year in Canada.**Source:** Statistics Canada, IMDB.

**Table 5**

**Decomposition of change between 2000/2001 and 2008/2009 in percentage of new immigrants aged 18 to 54 at landing who went to selected destinations<sup>†</sup>**

	Change in share of immigrants	Change in share due to within program redistribution	Change in share due to cross program redistribution	Residual component	Change in share due to cross-program redistribution as % of total change in share of immigrants	
		component 1	component 2	component 3	using component 2	using components 2 & 3
percent						
Saskatchewan	1.5	0.1	0.3	1.1	20.1	91.2
The rest of Alberta	1.0	0.4	0.3	0.3	27.4	59.3
The Rest of British Columbia	1.0	0.5	0.2	0.3	17.6	45.4
Montreal	4.0	7.4	-1.7	-1.7	-42.7	-83.6
Toronto	-15.5	-13.2	-6.7	4.3	43.1	15.2
Winnipeg	2.0	-0.2	4.6	-2.5	233.5	107.9
Calgary	1.5	1.3	0.2	-0.1	15.3	11.9
Edmonton	1.4	1.1	0.5	-0.2	33.6	17.7
Other	3.2	2.4	2.4	-1.6	74.4	24.5

<sup>†</sup>destinations with at least a one-percentage-point change in share of new immigrants

**Table 6**

Percentage of immigrants aged 18 to 54 at landing who did not file income tax return for first full year in Canada, by intended destination, pooled sample for landing cohorts 2000 and 2008

Intended destination	
	percent
Newfoundland and Labrador	15.8
Prince Edward Island	15.5
Nova Scotia	20.7
New Brunswick	17.7
The Rest of Quebec	10.7
The Rest of Ontario	20.2
The Rest of Manitoba	12.9
Saskatchewan	11.5
The Rest of Alberta	14.3
The Rest of British Columbia	17.6
Territories	12.7
Quebec City	12.4
Montreal	13.7
Ottawa	17.3
Toronto	16.3
Hamilton	16.1
Winnipeg	9.6
Calgary	13.9
Edmonton	13.1
Vancouver	18.0
Total	15.9

**Sources:** Citizenship and Immigration Canada landing file; Statistics Canada, IMDB.

**Table 7****Effect of entry program and source region on change between 2001 and 2009 in probability of new immigrants aged 18 to 54 at landing going to a destination**

Destination	Change in Probability of Entering Destination, 2001 to 2009 <sup>1</sup>			Change in Probability of Entering Destination Associated With Change In:		
	Total	After Controls For:		Program Type	Source Region	Both
	(No Controls) Model 1	(1) Program Type Model 2	(2) Program Type and Source Region Model 3			
	percentage points			percentage points		
					(%)	
Toronto	-14.0	-11.3	-8.2	-2.7	-3.1	5.8
				(20)	(22)	(42)
Montreal	3.1	7.5	3.9	-4.4	3.6	-0.8
				(-)	(-)	(-)
Winnipeg	2.5	-0.2	-0.1	2.7	-0.1	2.6
				(108)	(-)	(104)
Calgary	1.4	1.1	1.2	0.3	-0.1	0.2
				(21)	(-)	(15)
Edmonton	1.7	1.2	1.3	0.5	-0.1	0.4
				(29)	(-)	(24)
Saskatchewan	2.2	0.5	0.6	1.7	-0.1	1.6
				(78)	(-)	(73)
Rest of Alberta	1.2	0.4	0.2	0.8	0.2	1.0
				(67)	(17)	(84)
Rest of B.C.	1.0	0.4	0.3	0.6	0.1	0.7
				(60)	(10)	(70)

**Notes:** Based on regressions using pooled data for 2001 and 2009. Separate regressions were run for each destination. The dependent variable takes the value 1 if the immigrant went to the destination, 0 otherwise. The destination is the location of tax-filing during the first full year in Canada; immigrants not filing taxes were excluded. The sample size for all locations in both years was 287,000. Model 1 includes only a dummy variable for 2009 and a constant. Model 2 adds the “program type” dummy variables, and Model 3 adds “source region” dummy variables. There are 5 dummy variables for program type: Federal Skilled Workers, Business Class, Provincial Nominee Program, Refugee and Other, with Family Class as the reference group. There are 11 dummy variables for source region: Southern/Eastern Europe, Africa, East Asia, South Asia, Southeast Asia, Middle East, South/Central America (including Mexico and Caribbean), Australia/New Zealand (and Oceania), United States, China/Hong Kong/Taiwan, and the Philippines, with Northern/Western Europe as the reference group.

**Source:** Statistics Canada, IMDB.

**Appendix Table A**

**Distribution of intended destination by actual destination, immigrants aged 18 to 54 at landing, landing cohorts 2000 to 2009 (income years 2001 to 2010)**

intended destination	total count	actual residence																						Total
		Nfld	PEI	NS	NB	Quebec_Ci	Montreal	QC_rest_o	Ottawa	Toronto	Hamilton	ON_rest_o	Winnipeg	MA_rest_o	SA	Calgary	Edmonton	AB_rest_o	Vancouver	BC_rest_o	Terr	unknown		
Nfld	2,708	55.7	0.2	2.3	1.2	0.2	2.0	0.3	1.3	10.0	1.6	5.1	1.1	0.2	0.6	4.6	2.6	3.2	6.8	0.7	0.2	0.1	100.0	
PEI	3,290	0.1	35.5	1.5	0.3	0.0	2.5	0.1	2.3	23.8	0.9	3.8	0.1	0.2	0.1	1.9	1.6	0.4	23.8	0.9	0.0	0.1	100.0	
NS	10,247	0.3	0.2	73.0	0.7	0.1	2.2	0.2	1.4	9.7	0.7	2.4	0.2	0.1	0.2	2.5	1.2	0.8	3.5	0.6	0.0	0.1	100.0	
NB	6,506	0.4	0.1	1.4	67.5	0.3	4.7	0.4	2.0	8.6	0.5	2.9	0.3	0.2	0.2	2.5	2.2	0.7	4.7	0.5	0.1	0.1	100.0	
Quebec_City	11,441	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.2	71.2	14.3	6.6	1.7	2.2	0.3	0.8	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.9	0.3	0.2	0.9	0.1	0.0	0.1	100.0	
Montreal	228,288	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.8	84.9	2.6	1.2	4.8	0.2	0.7	0.1	0.0	0.1	1.2	0.6	0.2	2.4	0.2	0.0	0.0	100.0	
QC_rest_of	16,385	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1	3.6	20.2	67.2	1.8	2.2	0.2	1.0	0.1	0.0	0.1	1.1	1.1	0.4	0.5	0.2	0.1	0.1	100.0	
Ottawa	41,488	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.3	6.1	0.7	74.3	8.5	0.4	4.1	0.2	0.0	0.1	1.2	0.7	0.3	2.4	0.3	0.0	0.1	100.0	
Toronto	564,910	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.0	1.7	0.1	0.8	87.0	0.9	4.4	0.2	0.1	0.1	1.2	0.8	0.2	2.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	100.0	
Hamilton	20,037	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.9	0.1	0.8	16.2	70.8	6.1	0.1	0.0	0.2	1.2	1.3	0.4	1.3	0.2	0.0	0.0	100.0	
ON_rest_of	74,771	0.1	0.0	0.2	0.1	0.0	1.1	0.1	1.3	14.2	1.3	76.5	0.3	0.1	0.2	1.6	0.9	0.5	1.2	0.4	0.0	0.1	100.0	
Winnipeg	37,345	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.7	0.0	0.5	5.0	0.3	0.9	79.1	2.7	0.3	3.5	1.9	1.1	3.3	0.6	0.0	0.0	100.0	
MA_rest_of	9,022	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.1	1.7	0.1	1.3	9.1	77.6	1.1	1.5	1.1	2.1	1.4	2.3	0.1	0.0	100.0	
SA	16,410	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.6	0.1	0.6	4.6	0.3	2.2	0.6	0.3	78.6	3.3	2.2	1.9	3.0	1.3	0.0	0.1	100.0	
Calgary	62,571	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.7	0.0	0.3	3.4	0.2	0.7	0.2	0.1	0.4	84.7	2.2	3.8	2.5	0.6	0.1	0.1	100.0	
Edmonton	35,190	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.1	0.4	3.0	0.1	0.7	0.2	0.0	0.3	3.1	84.9	3.4	2.3	0.6	0.1	0.1	100.0	
AB_rest_of	14,374	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.4	0.1	0.2	1.8	0.2	0.8	0.2	0.2	1.0	9.1	6.7	75.8	1.8	1.5	0.1	0.1	100.0	
Vancouver	191,954	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.4	5.1	0.1	0.7	0.2	0.0	0.2	1.5	0.8	0.3	86.3	3.2	0.0	0.1	100.0	
BC_rest_of	29,695	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.3	0.1	0.2	2.3	0.1	0.6	0.2	0.1	0.1	2.1	1.0	0.7	11.8	80.1	0.1	0.1	100.0	
Terr	1,177	0.1	0.0	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.3	0.2	0.8	2.4	0.0	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.3	1.4	3.7	1.8	2.8	2.0	82.9	0.0	100.0	
unknown	23	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.4	0.0	8.7	60.9	0.0	17.4	4.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	
Total	1,377,832	0.15	0.1	0.67	0.39	0.79	15.64	1.36	3.02	39.17	1.57	6.6	2.4	0.63	1.1	5.29	3.1	1.35	14.1	2.43	0.1	0.1	100.0	

**Note:** Pertains to the 84% of immigrants who filed tax return for first full year in Canada.

**Source:**

**Appendix Table B**

**Distribution of actual destination by intended destination, immigrants aged 18 to 54 at landing, landing cohorts 2000 to 2009 (income years 2001 to 2010)**

		intended destination																				Total	
		Nfld	PEI	NS	NB	Quebec_Ci	Montreal	QC_rest_o	Ottawa	Toronto	Hamilton	ON_rest_o	Winnipeg	MA_rest_o	SA	Calgary	Edmonton	AB_rest_o	Vancouver	BC_rest_o	Terr		unknow n
actual residence	total count																						
Nfld	2,085	72.4	0.1	1.6	1.1	0.4	2.7	0.2	1.2	10.7	0.6	1.7	0.5	0.2	0.1	1.7	0.4	0.3	3.7	0.4	0.1	0.0	100.0
PEI	1,391	0.4	84.0	1.8	0.4	0.1	1.0	0.3	0.5	6.5	0.1	1.8	0.1	0.0	0.3	0.1	0.5	0.1	1.4	0.4	0.0	0.0	100.0
NS	9,250	0.7	0.5	80.8	1.0	0.1	2.0	0.2	0.6	8.6	0.2	1.3	0.3	0.1	0.3	0.6	0.2	0.2	1.9	0.4	0.0	0.0	100.0
NB	5,359	0.6	0.2	1.3	81.9	0.3	2.2	0.2	0.8	6.5	0.3	1.5	0.2	0.1	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.2	2.0	0.6	0.0	0.0	100.0
Quebec_City	10,889	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.2	74.8	16.7	5.4	0.9	1.1	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.0	100.0
Montreal	215,431	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.8	90.0	1.5	1.2	4.4	0.1	0.4	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
QC_rest_of	18,736	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.2	4.1	31.8	58.8	1.6	1.9	0.1	0.4	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.4	0.1	0.0	0.0	100.0
Ottawa	41,550	0.1	0.2	0.4	0.3	0.5	6.5	0.7	74.2	11.0	0.4	2.3	0.5	0.0	0.2	0.5	0.3	0.1	1.8	0.1	0.0	0.0	100.0
Toronto	539,758	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	2.0	0.1	0.7	91.1	0.6	2.0	0.3	0.0	0.1	0.4	0.2	0.1	1.8	0.1	0.0	0.0	100.0
Hamilton	21,612	0.2	0.1	0.3	0.2	0.1	2.0	0.2	0.8	23.1	65.7	4.4	0.6	0.0	0.2	0.4	0.2	0.1	1.3	0.1	0.0	0.0	100.0
ON_rest_of	90,917	0.2	0.1	0.3	0.2	0.1	1.8	0.2	1.9	27.5	1.3	62.9	0.4	0.1	0.4	0.5	0.3	0.1	1.5	0.2	0.0	0.0	100.0
Winnipeg	33,042	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.5	0.1	0.2	4.1	0.1	0.6	89.4	2.5	0.3	0.4	0.2	0.1	1.2	0.2	0.0	0.0	100.0
MA_rest_of	8,652	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.2	3.0	0.1	1.2	11.7	81.0	0.7	0.4	0.1	0.3	0.5	0.2	0.0	0.0	100.0
SA	15,142	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.1	1.1	0.1	0.3	5.3	0.3	0.8	0.6	0.7	85.2	1.7	0.7	0.9	1.9	0.2	0.0	0.0	100.0
Calgary	72,890	0.2	0.1	0.3	0.2	0.1	3.6	0.2	0.7	9.2	0.3	1.6	1.8	0.2	0.8	72.7	1.5	1.8	3.9	0.8	0.0	0.0	100.0
Edmonton	42,696	0.2	0.1	0.3	0.3	0.1	3.0	0.4	0.7	10.3	0.6	1.6	1.7	0.2	0.8	3.2	70.0	2.2	3.4	0.7	0.1	0.0	100.0
AB_rest_of	18,585	0.5	0.1	0.5	0.2	0.1	1.8	0.3	0.6	6.9	0.5	2.1	2.2	1.0	1.7	12.7	6.4	58.6	2.8	1.2	0.1	0.0	100.0
Vancouver	194,334	0.1	0.4	0.2	0.2	0.1	2.8	0.0	0.5	5.8	0.1	0.5	0.6	0.1	0.3	0.8	0.4	0.1	85.2	1.8	0.0	0.0	100.0
BC_rest_of	33,503	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.0	1.1	0.1	0.4	3.3	0.1	0.8	0.6	0.6	0.6	1.2	0.7	0.6	18.4	71.0	0.1	0.0	100.0
Terr	1,311	0.4	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.1	1.7	0.7	1.1	7.3	0.4	1.5	0.5	0.8	0.4	2.3	1.5	1.4	3.7	1.5	74.5	0.0	100.0
unknow n	699	0.4	0.3	1.0	0.9	1.1	13.9	1.9	4.3	28.6	1.3	10.3	0.9	0.6	1.3	6.9	2.6	1.1	17.6	5.2	0.0	0.0	100.0
Total	1,377,832	0.2	0.24	0.74	0.47	0.83	16.57	1.19	3.01	41	1.45	5.43	2.71	0.65	1.19	4.54	2.55	1.04	13.93	2.16	0.1	0.0	100.0

**Note:** Pertains to the 84% of immigrants who filed tax return for first full year in Canada.

**Source:**

**Appendix Table C**

**Estimated coefficients from Linear Probability Models, new immigrants aged 18 to 54 at landing, 2001 and 2009 landing cohorts**

Panel A								
Prob. of moving to:	Toronto	Montreal	Winnipeg	Calgary	Edmonton	Saskatchewan	rest of Alberta	rest of BC
Landing year 2009	-0.140***	0.031***	0.025***	0.014***	0.017***	0.022***	0.012***	0.009***
Constant	0.457***	0.140***	0.013***	0.043***	0.022***	0.005***	0.009***	0.020***
Panel B								
Prob. of moving to:	Toronto	Montreal	Winnipeg	Calgary	Edmonton	Saskatchewan	rest of Alberta	rest of BC
Landing year 2009	-0.113***	0.075***	-0.002**	0.011***	0.012***	0.005***	0.004***	0.004***
Federal skilled	0.008***	0.097***	-0.009***	-0.006***	-0.009***	-0.003***	-0.007***	-0.031***
Business	-0.083***	-0.045***	-0.013***	-0.038***	-0.025***	-0.006***	-0.007***	-0.018***
PNP	-0.277***	-0.151***	0.209***	0.013***	0.016***	0.131***	0.043***	0.001
Refugee	-0.022***	0.027***	0.020***	-0.005***	0	0.008***	0.001	-0.039***
Other	0.060***	-0.033***	-0.005***	0.004*	0.008***	-0.002*	0.007***	-0.021***
Constant	0.459***	0.085***	0.016***	0.049***	0.029***	0.006***	0.013***	0.043***
Panel C								
Prob. of moving to:	Toronto	Montreal	Winnipeg	Calgary	Edmonton	Saskatchewan	rest of Alberta	rest of BC
Landing year 2009	-0.082***	0.039***	-0.001**	0.012***	0.013***	0.006***	0.002***	0.003***
SE Europe	0.277***	-0.067***	0.020***	-0.012***	0	0.010***	-0.033***	-0.064***
Africa	0.038***	0.194***	0.032***	-0.012***	0.005**	0.007***	-0.021***	-0.069***
E Asia	0.194***	-0.201***	0.014***	0.021***	0.001	-0.005***	-0.026***	-0.036***
S Asia	0.443***	-0.183***	0.023***	-0.002	0.003+	0.003**	-0.033***	-0.054***
SE Asia	0.169***	-0.125***	0.031***	0.019***	0.017***	0.024***	-0.030***	-0.058***
Middle East	0.249***	-0.061***	0.015***	-0.016***	-0.005**	0.004**	-0.033***	-0.074***
SC America	0.229***	0.035***	0.015***	-0.017***	-0.011***	0	-0.027***	-0.071***
Australia	-0.024**	-0.184***	0.009**	0.016*	0.045***	0.004	-0.005	0.030***
US	0.052***	-0.145***	0.021***	-0.003	0.002	0.015***	-0.001	0.005
China	0.267***	-0.156***	0.013***	-0.011***	-0.003*	0.003*	-0.035***	-0.066***
Philippines	0.214***	-0.161***	0.097***	0.016***	0.019***	0.039***	-0.011***	-0.068***
Federal skilled	0.027***	0.076***	-0.008***	-0.004***	-0.008***	-0.002***	-0.006***	-0.028***
Business	-0.075***	-0.004	-0.004***	-0.036***	-0.022***	-0.001*	-0.002+	-0.013***
PNP	-0.254***	-0.116**	0.196***	0.007**	0.013***	0.124***	0.039***	0.001
Refugee	0.004	-0.049***	0.022***	0.001	0.002+	0.010***	0.004***	-0.027***
Other	0.084***	-0.001	-0.039***	-0.005*	0.001	-0.018***	0	-0.013***
Constant	0.188***	0.190***	-0.008***	0.053***	0.027***	-0.001	0.040***	0.098***

Source: Statistics Canada, IMDB.



**Appendix Table D**

**Percentage distribution by source region of new immigrants aged 18 to 54 landing in 2000 and 2009, Canada, Toronto and Montreal**

Canada				Toronto				Montreal			
	IMDB				IMDB				IMDB		
	filed taxes for 1st year				filed taxes for 1st year				filed taxes for 1st year		
landing cohort	2000	2008	Change		2000	2008	Change		2000	2008	Change
pop	Percent	Percent	Percent		Percent	Percent	Percent		Percent	Percent	Percent
NW EU	4.6	6.6	51.8		1.3	2.1	23.3		10.4	8.7	11.9
SE EU	14.1	8.7	-35.0		14.8	9.1	-52.4		13.1	10.2	4.8
Africa	9.3	12.7	44.4		5.3	6.8	-0.6		26.8	32.4	62.5
E Asia other	3.8	3.4	-5.0		3.2	2.7	-35.0		0.8	0.7	28.5
S Asia	23.5	17.8	-20.4		33.7	28.3	-35.1		10.7	4.8	-40
SE Asia	2.0	2.4	24.4		1.6	1.9	-10.2		1.4	1.4	33.3
Mid East	7.5	7.9	11.2		6.9	9.1	2.5		8.8	8.4	28.1
SC America	7.3	11.7	68.5		7.6	11.4	15.7		12.6	20.3	117
Australia et al	0.6	0.7	34.7		0.2	0.3	24.5		0.1	0.2	106.3
US	1.4	2.6	101.0		0.6	1.4	92.3		0.8	1.4	132.1
China et al	21.2	14.1	-29.8		20.6	15.3	-42.6		12.4	6.9	-25.1
Philippines	5.0	11.5	141.5		4.4	11.6	105.5		2.2	4.8	197
Total	100.0	100.0	5.2		100	100	-22.8		100	100	34.5

**Note:** Pertains to the 84% of immigrants who filed tax return for first full year in Canada.

**Source:** Statistics Canada, IMDB.

The sample includes the 85% of landing immigrants who file a tax return during their first full year in Canada.

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