



Migration and Mobility in Hamilton

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About this Report and the Data

This report was commissioned by HIPC to acquire data on the number of immigrants living in Hamilton, Ontario, their admission categories, and occupational and employment characteristics. Of particular interest is their mobility, including whether they arrived directly from overseas, lived elsewhere in Canada before relocating to Hamilton, or left Hamilton for other Canadian cities.

The figures in this report are sourced from Statistics Canada's Longitudinal Immigration Database (IMDB). The database combines tax data with administrative immigration data. The data includes all immigrants admitted to Canada since 1980, all non-permanent resident permits since 1980 and tax files since 1982 for linked immigrants.

Given the nature of the data, the figures presented in this report are not representative of the entire population of immigrants in Hamilton. The basic units in the data are individuals who may not files taxes or may file taxes intermittently. It is not possible to present the exact figures, but the trends and general conclusions should be the same.

In this report, "Hamilton" refers to the Hamilton Census Division which is congruent to the geographic area encompassed by the city of Hamilton. Tables on Immigration Class include total figures as well as numbers of principal applicants (those filing the immigration application) and spouses and dependants.

Statistics Canada has rules in place to protect the confidentiality of the individuals represented in the data. When a cell in a table does not have enough matches, it might get rounded down to zero. As such, the subtotals for tables within each section might not perfectly match.

This research was an initiative of HIPC's Research and Evaluation Committee. HIPC contracted Professor Michael Haan of Western University to obtain, analyze, and write up the data. HIPC Senior Project Manager Sarah Wayland edited his work to create this report.

About HIPC

The Hamilton Immigration Partnership Council (HIPC) is a community table whose members work together to create a positive settlement experience for newcomers. HIPC members represent settlement agencies, educational institutions, the private sector, municipal departments, persons with lived experiences of immigration, and more. HIPC is funded by Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada and housed within the City of Hamilton's Economic Development Division.

Executive Summary

To obtain an accurate overview of Hamilton's immigrants and their mobility in and out of the city, the Hamilton Immigration Partnership Council (HIPC) commissioned a custom tabulation of Statistics Canada's Longitudinal Immigration Database (IMDB) for the most recent years available, 2010 to 2016. This database is valuable in capturing secondary migration, defined as when immigrants "land" in one city or area and subsequently relocate elsewhere in Canada. The research findings are presented in this report.

The data indicates that Hamilton has experienced stable growth in its stock of both direct and secondary immigrants. This growth is a net phenomenon as many of immigrants come and go from the city over the years. Hamilton is a net beneficiary of immigrants, with more moving to the city than leaving.

Direct immigration. In terms of direct migration to Hamilton from overseas, skilled workers and provincial nominees are on the decline, and the number of refugees increased for the period 2010 to 2016. Immigrants are young but tend to be less educated than in previous years. A growing share of newcomers hail from Africa and the Middle East.

Secondary migration. Secondary migration is the more important source of immigrants to Hamilton, as it is for other areas in southern Ontario. Hamilton receives far more secondary migrants than direct migrants. Secondary migration has been increasing, as is the human capital content of secondary migrants.

Hamilton has experienced a continuous net increase in stock of secondary immigrants but with an important amount of turnover. Most secondary migrants come from Halton, Peel, and Toronto. These are also the most common destinations of secondary migration out of Hamilton. Income tends to steadily increase after landing for the median immigrant

Income growth. The broad storyline is positive. The average newcomer sees steady income growth, and a tripling in income over 10 years. There are important differences across groups, with refugees seeing slower growth. There is significant entrepreneurial activity, although most of these businesses are small.

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Direct Migration

In this report, direct immigrants are individuals filing taxes in Canada who: (i) became permanent residents and have no previous experience as temporary residents; or (ii) arrived in Canada as temporary residents with no previous experience in Canada and eventually became permanent residents.

Immigration Class

The profile of direct immigrants to Hamilton has varied through our sample, as shown in Table 1. The proportion of the direct immigrants that landed as skilled workers has declined from roughly 36% in 2010 to 16% in 2016. Conversely, the proportion of refugees increased from 28% to 51% in the same time frame. However, 2016 figures for refugees are significantly higher due to federal policy promoting Syrian refugee resettlement into Canada that year.

The low number of business class immigrants reflects the small scope of this program – across all of Canada, fewer than 1000 business immigrants arrived in 2016 – and their tendency to concentrate in Toronto or Vancouver. By contrast, provincial nominees to Hamilton are quite low despite numbering more than 46,000 to Canada as a whole in 2016. Ontario has not traditionally been a top destination for provincial nominees, but Ontario's allotment for this program is now the largest in Canada.

Table 1: Direct Migration to Hamilton by Year of Arrival and Immigration Class

	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Business Class	0	40	0	0	0	20	0
Principal	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Spouse and Dependants	0	30	0	0	0	0	0
Family Class	430	420	420	495	515	470	460
Principal	380	365	350	395	415	400	395
Spouse and Dependants	50	55	70	100	100	65	65
Provincial Nominees	95	145	120	85	40	25	25
Principal	75	120	95	60	20	0	0
Spouse and Dependants	0	25	20	25	20	20	0
Refugees	420	365	255	320	365	405	755
Principal	280	250	165	215	245	250	520
Spouse and Dependants	140	115	85	105	120	150	235
Skilled Workers	555	460	475	440	315	325	235
Principal	340	285	285	290	195	155	85
Spouse and Dependants	215	175	190	155	120	175	150
Other	25	40	0	0	0	0	0
Principal	20	20	0	0	0	0	0
Spouse and Dependants	0	20	0	0	0	0	0

Notes: 1. Subtotals may not match the sum of individual items due to Statistics Canada rounding rules. 2. "Other" includes Deferred Removal Order Class, Public Policy, and Humanitarian & Compassionate cases.

Region of Origin

The geographical origin of direct migrants has shifted across time. Almost 80% of the direct immigrants to Hamilton hailed from Africa & Middle East or Asia & Oceania in 2010, with both regions representing 40% each. The number and proportion of direct immigrants from Africa & Middle East has consistently been rising, reaching a peak of almost 60% in 2016. On the other hand, the number and proportion of direct immigrants from Asia & Oceania has consistently decreased, while the numbers for those from other regions have remained relatively stable.

Table 2: Direct Migration to Hamilton by Year of Arrival and Area of Origin

	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Africa & Middle East	585	500	365	420	460	510	845
Asia & Oceania	580	570	600	660	520	465	405
Europe (except UK)	140	180	125	105	75	95	85
Latin America & Caribbean	150	150	130	115	110	110	90
United Kingdom	40	35	30	25	30	25	20
United States	35	30	40	35	40	35	35

Industry of Employment

The industry in which immigrants are employed is captured as a NAICS (North American Industry Classification System) code. As not all immigrants are employed, the numbers in Table 3 are lower. The industries of employment of direct immigrants to Hamilton have had changes in our sample years. Accommodation and food services; waste management and remediation services; and manufacturing have shown sharp increases, with the last industry representing 5% of the individuals in 2010 and 19% in 2016. On the other hand, education services; health care and social assistance; professional, scientific, and technical services; and wholesale trade decreased from more than 30% in 2010 to 7% in 2016 (with no individuals reported as being employed in the last three industries).

Table 3: Direct Migration to Hamilton by Year of Arrival and Industry of Employment

	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Accommodation and Food Services	65	70	80	70	75	55	70
Admin. and Support, Waste Management and Remediation	125	115	95	100	100	155	140
Construction	20	20	20	0	20	0	20
Education Services	70	90	75	90	30	0	25
Health Care and Social Assistance	30	30	30	25	25	20	0
Manufacturing	25	60	50	50	65	80	65
Professional, Scientific, and Technical Services	25	0	20	20	0	20	0
Retail Trade	45	50	50	35	55	45	30
Wholesale Trade	20	0	20	0	0	0	0
Other Services (except Public Administration)	40	40	30	30	20	0	0

Age at Immigration

Direct immigrants to Hamilton have consistently been young. The years in our sample indicate that close to 70% of the direct immigrants fall in the 20 to 44 age range. The percentage of those aged over 64 increased in 2013, but over 75% of the direct immigrants were still under 44. The composition of the age groups of direct immigrants has not undergone significant changes since in the period examined.

Table 4: Direct Migration to Hamilton by Year of Arrival and Age Group

	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Under 20	105	120	80	70	55	70	100
Principal	40	45	25	20	0	20	25
Spouse and Dependants	70	75	50	50	40	55	75
20 to 44	1,100	1,080	960	960	885	915	1,050
Principal	820	815	705	715	655	625	750
Spouse and Dependants	280	265	255	245	235	290	300
45 to 64	260	220	195	225	210	195	255
Principal	190	150	140	155	145	130	180
Spouse and Dependants	70	70	55	70	65	70	75
Over 64	75	50	60	115	95	65	90
Principal	55	40	45	85	70	50	65
Spouse and Dependants	20	0	20	30	25	0	25

Note: Subtotals may not match the sum of individual items due to Statistics Canada rounding rules.

Education

The dynamics of education qualifications among direct immigrants appear to have changed over time. In 2010, more than half the individuals immigrating directly to Hamilton had a college or trade degree and at least some university experience at the time of landing. The proportion of direct migrants to Hamilton with a bachelor's degree at the time of landing peaked in 2012 and it has sharply declined since then. On the other hand, the direct migrants with secondary education or less at the time of landing have increased from 41% in 2010 to 56% in 2016. Again, these figures may be skewed by the arrival of so many Syrian refugees in 2016.

Table 5: Direct Migration to Hamilton by Year and Education

	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Bachelor's degree or higher	590	570	505	440	370	365	330
College, trades, or some university	280	245	180	230	190	190	255
Secondary or Less	520	505	400	415	460	410	710
None	100	80	80	105	85	170	60
Not stated	50	75	130	180	145	115	145

Secondary Migration

Secondary immigrants are defined as individuals who immigrated to Canada and filed taxes outside of Hamilton, later moving to and filing taxes in Hamilton. Secondary migration is an important source of immigrants for Hamilton. In 2010, slightly over half the immigrants arriving in Hamilton were secondary immigrants. However, by 2016, this percentage grew to more than 70%.

Table 6 shows the net changes in the number of immigrants moving into or out of Hamilton. The number of immigrants that reside elsewhere in Canada on a given year who file taxes in Hamilton the subsequent year sharply increased over the last decade. The data shows that 2,150 immigrants that were living elsewhere in Canada in 2004 reported their census division of residence as Hamilton in 2005. This number almost doubled to 4,250 by 2016. By contrast, the number of Hamilton residents that move outside of Hamilton on any given year has remained relatively steady for the past ten years.

If immigrants fail to file their taxes in a given year, they are not counted in the data. This includes immigrants who file taxes but then cease doing so as well as non-tax-filers who subsequently do file taxes in Hamilton.

Table 6: Change in Number of Immigrants Filing Taxes by Year and Residence

	Into Hamilton	Out of Hamilton	Net Change
2005	2,150	2,680	-530
2006	2,075	2,710	-635
2007	1,960	2,660	-700
2008	1,995	2,445	-450
2009	2,370	2,445	-75
2010	2,200	2,475	-275
2011	2,560	2,635	-75
2012	2,730	2,440	290
2013	2,770	2,570	200
2014	2,960	2,665	295
2015	3,360	2,555	805
2016	4,250	2,645	1,605

Secondary Migration by Census Division of Origin and Province

As shown below, close to 90% of the secondary immigrants to and out of Hamilton move within Ontario. More specifically, these movements happen mostly within Southern Ontario and the Greater Toronto Area in particular. Halton, Peel, and Toronto are the largest sources and destinations of secondary immigrants into and out of Hamilton. The rest of the list includes census divisions with relatively large populations. Calgary, Edmonton, Montreal, Regina, Saskatoon, Vancouver, and Winnipeg are located in those census divisions.

Table 7: Secondary Migration to Hamilton by Year of Arrival and Census Division of Origin

	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Brant (ON)	30	35	50	50	55	55	60
Division No. 11 (AB)	25	30	30	25	55	85	70
Division No. 11 (MB)	0	0	0	0	30	30	50
Division No. 11 (SK)	0	0	0	0	0	25	0
Division No. 6 (AB)	40	30	40	35	45	80	65
Division No. 6 (SK)	0	0	0	0	0	0	30
Durham (ON)	25	25	35	45	25	45	35
Essex (ON)	45	40	45	45	35	40	50
Greater Vancouver (BC)	65	55	60	60	50	45	55
Haldimand-Norfolk (ON)	30	40	35	30	0	30	0
Halton (ON)	370	505	560	625	585	710	855
Middlesex (ON)	55	55	45	45	40	55	60
Montréal (QC)	45	50	55	45	65	70	60
Niagara (ON)	115	120	165	130	145	130	145
Ottawa (ON)	45	45	40	40	55	55	60
Peel (ON)	420	565	540	535	610	705	930
Simcoe (ON)	0	0	0	0	0	35	0
Toronto (ON)	500	550	585	550	615	630	745
Waterloo (ON)	90	80	75	90	90	85	210
Wellington (ON)	25	30	40	50	35	40	270
York (ON)	80	85	105	125	110	115	150

Table 8: Secondary Migration out of Hamilton by Year of Arrival and Census Division of Destination

	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Brant (ON)	60	55	55	55	90	105	145
Division No. 11 (AB)	50	75	85	135	95	55	35
Division No. 11 (SK)	0	25	0	0	0	0	0
Division No. 16 (AB)	0	0	25	0	0	0	0
Division No. 6 (AB)	45	100	100	105	80	60	25
Division No. 6 (SK)	0	0	25	0	0	0	0
Durham (ON)	0	40	0	45	40	0	40
Essex (ON)	30	35	45	45	35	35	50
Greater Vancouver (BC)	45	45	40	45	60	55	35
Haldimand-Norfolk (ON)	45	40	45	40	45	60	85
Halton (ON)	390	440	380	400	410	410	410
Middlesex (ON)	55	50	40	50	65	55	75
Montréal (QC)	50	45	50	30	25	25	25
Niagara (ON)	125	140	145	145	200	240	280
Ottawa (ON)	70	70	65	75	65	60	85
Oxford (ON)	0	0	0	0	0	0	25
Peel (ON)	425	405	360	400	435	405	400
Simcoe (ON)	0	0	0	25	0	25	0
Toronto (ON)	555	505	445	480	475	455	435
Waterloo (ON)	95	130	95	95	105	110	95
Wellington (ON)	50	50	45	50	55	40	30
York (ON)	110	120	80	85	100	100	120

Table 9: Secondary Migration to Hamilton by Year of Arrival and Province of Origin

	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Alberta	75	70	80	75	120	195	165
British Columbia	75	70	70	70	65	60	80
Manitoba	0	30	25	30	40	50	65
New Brunswick	0	0	0	0	30	25	0
Nova Scotia	0	0	0	0	25	25	25
Ontario	1,910	2,255	2,400	2,465	2,510	2,825	3,710
Québec	70	75	85	70	130	135	115
Saskatchewan	0	25	25	25	0	45	60
Total	2,130	2,525	2,685	2,735	2,920	3,360	4,220

Table 10: Secondary Migration out of Hamilton by Year of Arrival and Province of Destination

	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Alberta	130	200	240	290	220	135	70
British Columbia	65	60	60	70	80	80	70
Manitoba	0	25	30	0	0	0	0
Ontario	2,125	2,200	1,965	2,080	2,250	2,230	2,395
Québec	70	60	65	55	40	35	45
Saskatchewan	35	55	55	35	35	0	0
Total	2,425	2,600	2,415	2,530	2,625	2,480	2,580

Immigration Class

Contrary to the case of direct immigrants, the breakdown of secondary immigrants to Hamilton by immigration class has not changed significantly across time. While the absolute numbers of immigrants moving into Hamilton have risen in all categories, except business class, the proportions have remained relatively stable. On the other hand, neither the composition of the individuals moving out of Hamilton nor their absolute numbers have changed significantly.

Table 11: Secondary Migration to Hamilton by Year of Arrival and Immigration Class

	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Business Class	50	50	105	65	70	70	145
Principal	0	0	25	0	0	0	40
Spouse and Dependants	50	50	80	65	70	70	105
Family Class	620	760	800	785	815	920	1,115
Principal	465	550	605	585	600	685	835
Spouse and Dependants	155	210	195	200	215	235	280
Provincial Nominees	0	30	70	100	105	140	170
Principal	0	30	45	60	65	75	95
Spouse and Dependants	0	0	25	40	40	65	75
Refugees	475	520	505	505	595	745	770
Principal	265	290	265	250	310	370	345
Spouse and Dependants	210	230	240	255	285	375	425
Skilled Workers	970	1,140	1,200	1,250	1,310	1,415	1,990
Principal	475	555	580	570	615	640	895
Spouse and Dependants	495	585	620	680	695	775	1,095
Other	0	0	30	30	25	25	30
Principal	0	0	30	30	25	25	30
Spouse and Dependants	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Notes: 1. Subtotals may not match the sum of individual items due to Statistics Canada rounding rules. 2. "Other" includes Deferred Removal Order Class, Public Policy, and Humanitarian & Compassionate cases.

Table 12: Secondary Migration out of Hamilton by Year of Arrival and Immigration Class

	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Business Class	120	105	95	60	60	65	65
Principal	25	25	25	0	0	0	0
Spouse and Dependants	95	80	70	60	60	65	65
Family Class	660	640	630	680	730	71 0	72 5
Principal	470	465	475	490	535	535	540
Spouse and Dependants	190	175	155	190	195	17 5	185
Provincial Nominees	30	75	110	150	135	11 5	90
Principal	30	75	110	120	100	80	55
Spouse and Dependants	0	0	0	30	35	35	35
Refugees	590	585	515	580	575	525	585
Principal	320	310	270	290	285	245	27 5
Spouse and Dependants	270	275	245	290	290	280	310
Skilled Workers	1,020	1,170	1,025	1,060	1,11 5	1,08 5	1,11 0
Principal	520	560	475	495	495	525	475
Spouse and Dependants	500	610	550	565	620	560	635
Other	30	25	0	0	0	0	35
Principal	30	25	0	0	0	0	35
Spouse and Dependants	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Notes: 1. Subtotals may not match the sum of individual items due to Statistics Canada rounding rules. 2. "Other" includes Deferred Removal Order Class, Public Policy, and Humanitarian & Compassionate cases.

Secondary Migration by Industry of Employment

The composition of the industry of employment of secondary immigrants has not shown significant change in our sample. Comparing the first and last year of our time frame, proportionally more secondary immigrants employed in these industries are moving into Hamilton in recent years: education services; manufacturing; and transportation and warehousing. However, the differences in proportions are not drastic. The proportional changes are even less noticeable for the secondary immigrants moving out of Hamilton.

Table 13: Secondary Migration to Hamilton by Year and Industry of Employment

	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Accommodation and Food Services	100	115	175	160	140	180	210
Admin. and Support, Waste Management	140	170	150	160	175	210	260
and Remediation							
Arts, Entertainment and Recreation	0	0	0	0	0	0	25
Construction	55	65	75	70	100	100	125
Education Services	125	110	120	105	125	130	165
Finance and Insurance	55	60	75	70	85	120	160
Health Care and Social Assistance	120	165	225	210	270	270	305
Information and Cultural Industries	0	25	35	45	40	35	60
Management of Companies and	0	0	0	0	0	30	0
Enterprises							
Manufacturing	185	240	200	245	245	270	325
Other Services (except Public	75	95	85	70	85	100	100
Administration)							
Professional, Scientific, and Technical	90	115	115	135	125	160	240
Services							
Public Administration	35	50	75	55	65	65	110
Real Estate and Rental and Leasing	0	25	30	40	40	45	45
Retail Trade	135	145	180	200	195	205	270
Transportation and Warehousing	40	45	55	70	70	115	170
Wholesale Trade	60	75	95	100	105	110	120

Table 14: Secondary Migration out of Hamilton by Year and Industry of Employment

	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Accommodation and Food Services	90	140	150	135	135	110	130
Admin. and Support, Waste Management	150	185	150	175	175	175	155
and Remediation							
Construction	55	60	55	65	85	75	80
Education Services	155	195	155	145	130	150	115
Finance and Insurance	70	55	75	70	70	90	80
Health Care and Social Assistance	180	165	155	200	225	200	210
Information and Cultural Industries	25	25	30	40	30	40	45
Manufacturing	185	210	200	210	215	195	245
Other Services (except Public	65	75	75	60	75	75	70
Administration)							
Professional, Scientific, and Technical	110	120	115	125	120	115	120
Services							
Public Administration	45	55	60	65	60	75	80
Real Estate and Rental and Leasing	30	0	0	30	35	35	25
Retail Trade	125	135	145	150	175	155	150
Transportation and Warehousing	40	40	45	55	60	60	70
Wholesale Trade	55	70	65	75	85	80	70

Educational Attainment

The results for the secondary immigrants in Hamilton broken down by educational attainment also show a small difference across time. However, there was a slight increase in the secondary immigrants moving into Hamilton in 2016 that reported having secondary education or less, compared to the numbers in 2010. On the other hand, fewer secondary immigrants with higher education are moving out of Hamilton in 2016. The proportion and absolute numbers of secondary immigrants with higher education moving out of Hamilton has steadily decreased since 2010, from roughly 50% to 40%. Those with secondary education or less moving out of Hamilton have increased both in proportion and absolute numbers.

Table 15: Secondary Migration to Hamilton by Year and Education

	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Bachelor's degree or higher	700	795	795	845	845	920	1,290
College, trades, or some university	370	460	480	455	490	550	660
Secondary or Less	925	1,065	1,205	1,180	1,235	1,460	1,710
None	195	225	220	250	320	365	475
Not stated	0	0	30	35	65	65	115

Table 16: Secondary Migration out of Hamilton by Year and Education

	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Bachelor's degree or higher	795	865	775	760	740	700	690
College, trades, or some university	400	430	355	380	400	380	390
Secondary or Less	1,080	1,090	1,060	1,090	1,135	1,035	1,185
None	185	240	225	270	275	280	295
Not stated	0	0	25	70	115	160	85

Income

This section focuses on income figures for immigrants that filed taxes in Hamilton, regardless of whether they have previous experience as temporary residents or not. They are compatible with Statistics Canada Table 43-10-0044-01 (formerly CANSIM 054-0012).¹

Income tends to steadily increase after landing for the median immigrant. Total income and employment income more than double only four years after obtaining permanent residence. Roughly 45 to 55% of the individuals in our sample had a positive employment income at the time of landing; nine years later, 68% of people had positive employment income.

Self-employment and social assistance

Whereas self-employment income and social assistance payments income remain relatively stable after landing, proportionally fewer immigrants seem to rely on these sources of income. The absolute and relative number of individuals with self-employment income tends to increase sharply after landing while the percentage of those with social assistance payments tends to decrease.

Age Differences

However, there seem to be differences in the income trajectories of immigrants when separated by age group. Total income tends to increase for those under 64, albeit at different rates. While those aged 20 to 64 represent the bulk of the immigrants with positive employment income, it is those aged 45 to 64 that earn the most after landing. This latter group also has the fastest rates of income increase in most years of our sample.

Moreover, while the proportion of employed 20- to 45-year old is the highest, the 45 to 64 group also increases their participation in the labour market at a faster rate than their younger counterparts. On the other hand, while self-employment income tends to be lower than employment income, the 20 to 44 age group has experienced comparatively higher levels and faster increments on this source of income since 2009.

Finally, while the median social assistance payments income tends to increase for all groups after landing, the absolute and proportional number of recipients decrease for

¹ Due to space constraints, the tables that accompany this section of the report are not included. To access the 50+ pages of tables, please contact HIPC directly.

those under 45. Only the 64 and older group seems to show sharp increases in the relative number of recipients.

Immigration Class

Data analysis found differences across immigration class. While skilled workers have traditionally experienced the highest median income, as well as some of the fastest rates of increase in median income, provincial nominees have been catching up in recent years. This could be due to Canada's immigration policies, where provincial nominees are likely to be highly-skilled.

Among those who are self-employed, family class immigrants and refugees have the highest earnings from self-employment. In contrast, both groups tend to have lower levels of employment income. On average, refugees receive the largest social assistance payments, followed by skilled workers. Payment amounts tend to be positively correlated with family size.

Knowledge of Official Languages

We also found differences on income with regards to the knowledge of official languages. Bilingual immigrants have shown to have higher income and have also experiences faster increments on income after landing compared to others. On the other hand, those with no knowledge of either English or French tend to have the lowest median income. While the relative number of individuals with positive employment income increases across the board, the French speakers and bilingual immigrants are those with the steepest rates of participation after landing. As could be expected, those with no knowledge of either official language tend to have the lowest participation rates. On the other hand, those with no knowledge of either official language tend to have similar levels of self-employment income to English speakers, even surpassing them in the more recent cohorts. However, they tend to be the recipients of the largest amounts of social assistance payments as well as having a higher proportion of recipients.

Education

There are also important differences in the income of immigrants across education levels: median income correlates to the level of education, with university degree holders at the top and those with no schooling at the lowest level. Likewise, the level of education also has a positive relation with the rates at which the median income increases. The median income of those with bachelor's degrees or higher doubles within the span of a few years while those with secondary school or less take much longer to achieve the same result. The increase in the median income for those with no

schooling is faster than those with college education or lower, which can be explained because those with no schooling tend to have a lower median income.

All groups tend to increase their participation in the labour market after landing. However, the level of education also correlates to the proportion of employed immigrants. Those with the highest education levels are also those with the highest participation rates, whereas those with no schooling have much lower rates in comparison. We have no information on entrepreneurship, but we can use self-employment income as a rough measure. Those with college or trade education tend to have the highest self-employment income, although those with Secondary education or less are not too far off. Not surprisingly, education levels also seem to predict the proportion of social assistance payments income. Those with the highest levels of education have the lowest relative levels of this source of income, while the opposite is true for those with no education.





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