FRACTURED MOSAIC: THE SPLIT-LABOUR MARKET FOR HISPANIC MIGRANTS IN VANCOUVER, B.C., CANADA.

by

MARCO ANTONIO MALAGUENO

B.A., Simon Fraser University, 1989

THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS in the Department of Sociology/Anthropology

MARCO ANTONIO MALAGUENO 1994

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<th>Name</th>
<th>Marco Antonio Malagueno</th>
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<td>Degree:</td>
<td>Masters of Arts (Sociology/Anthropology)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Examining Committee Chair:</td>
<td>Dr. Michael Howard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dr. Marilyn Gates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Senior Supervisor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dr. Gerardo Otero</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Professor of Latin American Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dr. Gary Teeple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Professor of Sociology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dr. Michael Lebowitz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>External Examiner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Professor of Economics</td>
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<tr>
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Title of Thesis/Project/Extended Essay

Fractured Mosaic: The Split-Labour Market for Hispanic Migrants in Vancouver, B.C., Canada

Author: __________________________ (Signature)

Marco Antonio Malagueno

(Name)

December 8, 1994

(Date)
ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the process whereby a regional labour market stratified by class, gender, and ethnicity is created and reproduced in a capitalist economy. Specifically, the thesis argues that the process of selection in immigration policy--the "points system"--a labour market tool, has created a "split labour" market among Hispanic immigrants in Vancouver. While the study emphasizes the role of immigrants as directed by the Immigration Act, the present restructuring of the economy and its impact on the Vancouver labour market is also probed. The thesis demonstrates that the restructuring of the economy away from manufacturing towards services is taking place domestically, showing, in particular, the manner in which "split-labour" markets can be easily correlated with sex and ethnic divisions.

Methodologically the thesis applies a class analysis which associates collective struggles in the labour market with immigration policy. The data and general information for the research derive from quantitative and qualitative research techniques. The qualitative research techniques consist of extended participant observation, as well as open-ended semi-structured interviews with Hispanic residents and community workers of Vancouver. These provide an understanding and interpretation of the social process of migration itself, which shapes immigrant behaviour and produces distinctive migratory experiences. Quantitative information is also used in the form of a survey carried out in Vancouver in 1991 by a local community organisation.
It is shown that Canadian immigration policy leads to Hispanic ethnic concentration in the secondary labour market. Theoretically the class analysis includes discrimination via institutional impediments to mobility, but relates it to class exploitation and the emergence and reproduction of segmented labour markets according to gender and ethnic divisions.

The thesis concludes that "split labour" market theory helps to highlight one type of class exploitation, the differential price of labour, and furthermore, that remedial training initiatives such as English language training play a relatively minor role in the secondary labour market.
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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION--BEYOND THE VERTICAL MOSAIC

The aim of the study is to link two discussions. Firstly, I examine the increasing reliance of Canadian capitalism on the internationalisation of its labour supplies through immigration, in this case, Latin American migrants. Secondly, the thesis focuses on the mode of incorporation of this migrant labour within a regional labour market and the accompanying institutional constraints which lead to "labour market segmentation" based on ethnic and gender lines.

Specifically, the thesis argues that the process of selection in immigration policy via the points system, a labour market tool, has created a "split-labour" market among Hispanic immigrants, and, therefore, reinforced the socio-economic structure of inequality which operates in the regional labour of Vancouver (1). The critical feature of "split-labour" markets is the price differential between high-priced labour and cheap labour (Bonacich, 1972, 1979; Edwards, 1975; D'Cruz et al., 1988). The contention is that immigration entry controls with regard to educational and occupational qualifications, family reunification, and humanitarian objectives help to direct the flow of Hispanic migrants to both high-wage and low-wage labour markets. The ongoing immigration from Mexico, Central and South America, especially recent immigrants, can be understood in this context.

To appreciate the significance of the relation between state-derived labour policies like immigration and immigrant
labour market incorporation, it is helpful to examine the labour market effects of recent (1976-1988) immigration. First, the immigrant flow has been lately associated with a dramatic drop in earnings, and a relative over-representation in declining industries, such as textiles and clothing (2) (House of Commons, May 15, 1990; Vancouver Sun, Sept., 1, 1990; Seward & Tremblay, 1989; Green & Beach, 1988; Seward & McDade, 1988a). In addition, it has become clear that those immigrants who have arrived under recessionary conditions (1981-83 and 1989-92), especially those belonging to newer ethnic groups have had more difficulty in securing access to wage employment (Margalit, 1991; Dorais et al., 1988; Richmond, 1988).

Given that these migrants' labour market experiences appear to differ from previous migration flows, it is surprising that there is a lack of interest in developing a theoretical framework to aid in the interpretation of these descriptive empirical relationships (for notable exceptions see Breton et al., 1990; Devoretz, 1989; Ng, 1988; Li, 1988). For instance, the available studies on immigration do not address some of the broader theoretical issues identified at the outset of this chapter, such as the relation between immigration policy and labour market segmentation (see Seward & McDade, 1988a, Fernando & Prasad, 1986; Boyd et al., 1985; Samuel & Woloski, 1985; Ornstein & Sharma, 1981; Darroch, 1979).

Moreover, most of what is known about recent immigration to Canada is based on sample surveys (e.g. the 1973 Canadian Mobility Survey by Manpower and Immigration). These surveys are
seldom designed to study international migration, so information must be adapted from variables collected for other purposes (e.g. intergenerational mobility studies), and often variables central to the migration process are omitted entirely, for example, class and gender (see Boyd et al., 1985; cf. Darroch, 1979; Breton et al., 1990). Once again, though, even when surveys are designed to study the occupational attainment of immigrants, they have never been integrated into analyses of labour market segmentation (3) (see Ornstein & Sharma, 1981; Manpower & Immigration, 1974). A major reason for this is that research on the labour market behaviour of immigrants is dominated by the assimilation or integration perspective, which in turn presumes a consensus model of society (Driedger, 1987; Bolaria & Li, 1985; Boyd et al., 1985; Elliot, 1979).

According to the assimilation perspective, occupational success is acquired on an individual basis through the hard work and abilities of each immigrant (Steinberg, 1981; Tienda, 1985). As a result, conceptualisations of immigrant achievement give little attention to the mobility experiences of collectivities (e.g., classes), since there is an implicit assumption that the host society is one in which there is equality of opportunity. Overall, the fundamental characteristic of the assimilation perspective is the notion of a competitive and homogeneous labour market.

More specifically, though, since the economic and social transition inherent in the process of migration depends fundamentally on conceptions of the relevant characteristics of
the immigrants themselves and how these interact with the structure of the receiving economy (the mechanisms and processes through which immigrants enter the labour market, acquire skills, and achieve or fail to achieve occupational mobility), most analyses of immigration devote little attention to the actual interaction (cf.: Wotherspoon, 1989).

Rather, much of what economists, policymakers, and other social scientists have written on immigration has been in the restricted context of investigating the consequences of continued or decreased immigration of high-skilled persons into Canada (Proudfoot, 1990; Kalbach, 1987; Seward, 1987; Foot et al., 1980; Green, 1976; Employment & Immigration Canada, Annual Reports, 1977-88). This focus on high skill derives from the Canadian government's 1960s belief:

"that with greater industrialization there is an increasing demand for technical and skilled labour. Investments in higher education, therefore, constitute a form of human capital investment. This would yield a higher level of productivity, and correspondingly a higher gross national income" (Li, 1988:73; see also Boyd et al., 1985; Porter, 1979; Rubery, 1978).

According to Seward (1987), for example, the economic objective of immigration is explicitly related to the "independent" category of immigrants; and these immigrants are selected in terms of their suitability to the labour market through a points system that stresses education, skills and occupational background. The "points" system—the official immigration policy of 1967 which set out the criteria of selection and admissibility—emphasized from its inception a strong labour market orientation.
Notwithstanding the selective nature of the points system and its applicability to the independent immigrant category, the argument that the labour force component of immigration is only associated with independent immigrants may be over-stated. To be sure, there are many skilled immigrants, but the foreign-born are also over-represented in the family and refugee admission categories. Furthermore, these other admission categories also constitute a significant part of the labour force (4).

For instance, due to financial necessity, many of the sponsored immigrants in the family category and assisted relatives (of the independent category), engage in waged work (Ng, 1988; Boyd & Taylor, 1986). Similarly, refugee immigrants (Convention and Designated) do seek employment once their one-year government or private organisation sponsorship is exhausted (5). Data from the Canada Employment Authorisation Program, which provides an opportunity to work for refugee claimants who are already in Canada, reveal that the bulk of "exempt" employment authorisations consist of within-Canada refugee claimants (Boyd & Taylor, 1986). "Exempt"...refers to employment authorisations which may be approved by an immigration officer without reference to the Canadian Employment Centre" (Boyd & Taylor, 1986:719). By January 1, 1989, over 125,000 new refugee claimants were awaiting disposition of their applications for permanent resident status.

Furthermore, although statistical evidence on the labour market experience of the refugee category is scarce, the few case studies which focus on this topic show that they tend to
experience higher unemployment rates than independent category immigrants, for example (Margalit, 1991; Richmond, 1988; Dorais et al., 1988; Basok, 1983). Thus, the plausibility of the simple argument that only highly skilled immigrants are deemed to be in demand in Canada appears to be inconsistent with recent developments in immigration (Green & Beach, 1988; Ng, 1988; Boyd & Taylor, 1986).

Lastly, the focus on high skill underscores employer reliance upon semi- and un-skilled labour power in the declining sectors of the economy (textiles, clothing), the large array of service jobs that need to be performed in situ (hospitals, restaurants, janitorial), and the advanced sectors of the economy such as the electronics industry (MacEwan & Tabb, 1989; Bolaria & Li, 1985; Sanderson, 1985; Sassen-Koob, 1981; Miles & Phizacklea, 1980). Jackie West argues this when discussing the interrelation between capitalism and migration:

"Within advanced capitalist economies themselves low-wage sectors are also continually reproduced and a vital source of cheap, docile and flexible labour has always been that of immigrants, or migrants including women" (1982:6).

Overall, the tendency of semi- and unskilled immigrants is to cluster in the operative and manual jobs which constitute the so-called "secondary" labour market (Seward & McDade, 1988a; Mullan, 1988; Cohen, 1987; MacMillan, 1987; Gannage, 1986).

From the above, it would seem that while the manpower perspective captures an important dimension of immigration policy (for example, immigration of skilled labour feeds economic growth by relieving labour supply bottlenecks), the manpower explanation
is incomplete in so far as it fails to address such anomalies as the waged employment of immigrants not assessed by the points system, such as the family and refugee admission categories (see Li, 1990; Green & Beach, 1988; Abbott & Beach, 1987; Kalbach, 1987; Samuel & Woloski, 1985). Hence, the insights developed by many of the manpower immigration studies give only a partial account of the full impact and labour market role of immigration (cf. Dumon, 1989; Boyd & Taylor, 1986; Marr, 1985).

This is particularly surprising since the foreign-born population is increasingly heterogenous, as a result not only of less selective immigration procedures but also of greater ethnic diversity. On the one hand, the liberalisation of immigration policies during the 1960s (i.e., the 1962 Immigration Act and the 1967 points system), increased the non-European component of immigration and eliminated all references to ethnic and cultural origins (Horta, 1989; Bolaria & Li, 1985). Table 1.1 shows the distribution of immigrants by world area of last permanent residence and their time of arrival. On the other hand, the increase in the family and refugee admission category immigrants, coupled with the decrease in the independent category immigrants between 1976 and 1986, is due to the passage of the 1976 Immigration Act, which placed priority on family reunification and humanitarian considerations ahead of manpower needs. (In Chapter Two, I discuss the provisions of the 1976 Immigration Act).
### Table 1.1 Immigrants, by world area of last permanent residence, Canada, 1976, and 1986

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>World area of last permanent residence</th>
<th>1976</th>
<th>(%)</th>
<th>1986</th>
<th>(%)</th>
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<td>Traditional sources</td>
<td>67,412</td>
<td>45.1</td>
<td>29,807</td>
<td>30.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North America</td>
<td>17,347</td>
<td></td>
<td>7,280</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Europe</td>
<td>15,328</td>
<td></td>
<td>4,428</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Europe</td>
<td>34,737</td>
<td></td>
<td>18,099</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Traditional Sources</td>
<td>82,017</td>
<td>54.9</td>
<td>69,412</td>
<td>70.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>44,173</td>
<td></td>
<td>41,782</td>
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<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>8,051</td>
<td></td>
<td>5,115</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caribbean &amp; Bermuda</td>
<td>14,842</td>
<td></td>
<td>8,874</td>
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<tr>
<td>Central &amp; S. America</td>
<td>11,953</td>
<td></td>
<td>12,759</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oceania &amp; Other</td>
<td>2,998</td>
<td></td>
<td>882</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>149,429</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>99,219</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Shirley B. Seward and Marc Tremblay (1989:30)

### Why Study the Labour Market Experience of Hispanics?

The tendency of Hispanics (as well as other recent immigrants) to be over-represented in the refugee and family admission categories, and the fact that the labour market experiences of recent immigrants differ substantially from previous migrations, justifies undertaking labour market research on Hispanics. This thesis also has broader implications. The systematic study of the labour market experience of the Hispanic Central American national-origin groups can furnish substantive findings regarding the operation of a regional labour market, like Vancouver. For example, over three-quarters of all Hispanic immigrants from Central America are refugees (Convention and Designated), and it is only recently that available descriptive studies hint at the problems of social adjustment experienced by these immigrants (Margalit, 1991; Proudfoot, 1990; Richmond, 1988; Dorais et al., 1988). As one recent author has commented,
"Little is yet known of the structure of opportunities within each ethnic labour market segment" (Reitz, 1990:194). Thus, the study of the labour market experiences of Hispanics from Central America should yield insights on such diverse and currently important topics as labour market participation, the value of language acquisition in the labour market, access to language training, and the implication(s) of category of entry (cf. Seward & McDade, 1988; McDade, 1988).

The study of Hispanics should also generate insights concerning how the immigration process itself (i.e., the implications of category of entry) reinforces the socio-economic structure of inequality in the Vancouver labour market. For instance, the attention given by Seward and McDade (1988b) to the category of sponsored immigrant provides an interesting illustration of the disadvantages associated with sponsorship. First, entitlements to basic training allowance, e.g. language training, are disallowed. Second, sponsorship limits immigrant women's access to income assistance and social welfare programs. Thus, the study should further our knowledge of the consequences of immigration policies toward family and refugee category immigrants.

In addition, because Third World (Asian, African and Latin American) migration to Canada has grown so fast over the past two decades, the study of Hispanics can provide important insights into the role of nationality and ethnicity in determining successful labour market incorporation. For example, in evaluating the determinants of occupational inequality among
employed immigrants, Boyd et al. (1985) found that national background has significantly influenced the economic integration of many non-Hispanic groups in Canada. According to these authors, the patterns of labour market inequalities clearly show that birthplace in the United States, the United Kingdom, or northern European countries confers an occupational advantage compared to birthplace in southern and eastern European countries (Boyd et al., 1985; Porter, 1979). More important, a later study (Reitz, 1990) also found that the patterns observed before for European groups may not apply to Third World immigrants—the so-called "visible minorities"—because these ethnic groups appear to experience more discrimination in the labour market. The analysis of the Hispanic population therefore provides a unique opportunity to investigate the importance of ethnicity as a fundamental determinant of the migrant's labour market role and impact. This is important given the experiences of other countries, particularly Britain, which are suggestive of the great dangers of lumping 'visible minorities' together and assuming they share similar problems with respect to labour market incorporation (cf. Asher & Stephenson, 1990; Cross, 1988; Cohen, 1987; Portes, 1978a).

Finally, since little is yet known of the structure of opportunities of the Vancouver labour market, the thesis provides a greater understanding of how this regional labour market is flawed by market imperfections—a "split labour" market—which are based on the struggles between labour and capital and the state. It also provides the conceptual and theoretical basis for
empirical analysis of the interrelation between capitalism and migration.

Understanding the labour impact of immigration depends fundamentally on a conception of migration which is theoretically located by reference to capital accumulation, a central feature of the capitalist mode of production (Miles, 1987; Bolaria & Li, 1985; Bach, 1978; Pentland, 1959). Consequently, while the conceptual approach asserts that the concept of class is central to the explanatory task, it does not regard the interrelationship between gender, ethnicity, and class as mutually exclusive. Another way of putting it would be that in accounting for the class structure, gender, class and ethnicity "...are so inextricably linked that neither assumes a primary or determining place" (Burton, 1985:104; also see Clement, 1988). Simply, the point is that if class has to do with the relation between wage labour and capital, it follows that differences in the relation of different groups of wage labour (according to gender and ethnicity) to capital represent class differences (Glucksmann, 1990; Sassen-Koob, 1985). Thus individuals working under different relations of production have different class relations from each other since they have a specific relation, as a particular group of labour, to capital. Lastly by drawing upon the role of worker organisation in the Vancouver labour market, and immigration selection in the process of labour market formation, the study will further complement structuralist analyses of migration (Castles, 1989; Bolaria & Li, 1985; Gordon et al., 1982; Edwards, 1979; Kritz et al., 1981).
RESEARCH PROCEDURE AND METHODOLOGY

The labour market segmentation approach is a body of theory that sheds light on the situation of immigrants in a capitalist labour-market. It assumes the existence of fundamental, structural divisions (based on class, gender, and ethnicity) within the domestic labour-market itself (see West, 1982; Nash et al., 1983; Phizacklea, 1983). However, the general applicability of segmented labour market models should also include some major qualifications. The radical segmentation approach (Gordon, 1972; Edwards, 1979) while deploying an historical and ideological framework (see Nash et al., 1983) fails to incorporate the role of the state in creating segmented labour markets. For example, the state's licensing activities influence labour-market behaviour by granting professional occupational associations the right to control the training and certification of practitioners, as in the case of the medical profession (Ashton, 1986; McDade, 1988). Under this condition, the ability of professional and trades organizations to control access to the occupation by limiting competition is sanctioned by the state. Moreover, the radical approach seeks to explain divisions in the labour market too narrowly, confining itself to the domestic economy, while ignoring the trend toward internationalization of production. Hence, there is a need, methodologically, to reformulate the linkage between labour-market theory and the dynamics of capital accumulation on a world scale (Froebel et al., 1980).

This last point is borne out by the increasing concern shown by policy analysts for the migrant's labour market location in a
period of rapid structural change and deteriorating economic conditions (Coates, 1991; Seward & Tremblay 1989; Seward & McDade, 1988a; Riddell, 1986a). On the one hand, the recent attention given to structural change has been prompted by a shift in demand from semi- and unskilled jobs in manufacturing to employment in the service sector, much of it part-time. As Coates has noted, "During the last ten years virtually all of the net job creation occurred in the service sector" (1991:13). On the other hand, some authors hold that the global integration of production through the operation of new regional trading patterns, such as the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement (FTA) and the latter Canada-U.S.-Mexico Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), has made Canadian workers especially vulnerable to redundancy associated with the relocation of manufacturing operations to low-wage countries (Breton et al., 1990; Trade Watch, 1990; Porter & Cameron, 1987; MacMillan, 1987). Broadly, these structural changes affect the performance of domestic labour market structures and the immigrants employed in them. Particularly affected though is the secondary labour market, which is defined broadly as comprising firms in the competitive/labour-intensive sector of the economy, where immigrants and women have historically filled low paid and low status jobs (see Rist, 1978; Bonacich, 1979; Portes, 1981; Breton et al., 1990; Glucksmann, 1990).

Finally, while set within a capitalist social system, immigration policy is a major instrument of labour market policy because it seeks to fit immigration to labour market demand.
Thus, immigration policy has to be seen, fundamentally, as a major instrument of labour-market practice because control over a foreign supply of labour is part and parcel of a labour market policy ensuring equilibrium between the supply and demand for labour (see Hawkins, 1972; Portes, 1978; Wilpert, 1988).

RESEARCH DESIGN

This study of migration as a dynamic social process requires a research strategy capable of securing valid and reliable data as well as providing an understanding and interpretation of the social processes that underlie the aggregate statistics. The approach I chose is the case study.

In the main, the case study provides an opportunity to reflect upon the coherence of conventional categories and explanations which focus on the impact of immigration on labour market structure (Gannage, 1986; Casley & Lury, 1987; Clark, 1989). Typically, North American research on the labour market experience of immigrants relies to a large extent on traditional mobility studies, where research instruments like large sample surveys provide quantitative rigour but lack historical and theoretical depth. Because the sample survey is an instrument for aggregate statistical estimation, aimed at identifying pervasive trends in aggregate variables, some valuable insights are bound to escape this type of research technique (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983). In other words, with its emphasis on empirical generalisation and comprehensive statistical analysis, the sample survey does not provide the basis for extended analysis of
crucial theoretical issues like the institutional constraints which lead to labour market segmentation (according to gender and ethnic lines), and the social process of migration itself, which shapes immigrant behaviour and produces distinctive migratory experiences.

As a consequence, because there is an over-reliance on sample surveys, there is a relatively poor understanding of the issue of the impact of Canada's post-1976 immigration upon the structure of the working class and the implications this has had for the making of an ethnically segmented workforce. This perspective is reinforced in one of the conclusions reached by Boyd (1985) in her status attainment research, which compares the occupational attainment of Canadian-born and foreign-born males. Boyd concludes that "The exact cause of such advantages or disadvantages often cannot be directly tested from status attainment data sets..." (1985:395). Her admission of some of the limitations of large-scale statistically based studies attests to the utility of the case study in filling the gap left by official surveys, like the 1973 Canadian Mobility Survey and the 1976 longitudinal survey of immigrants (Manpower and Immigration, 1974; Ornstein & Sharma, 1981). Hence, it is argued that a detailed case study is the most useful way of getting a grip on those factors (admission category, class, gender, ethnicity, and segmented labour market), which have an impact on the labour market experience(s) of Hispanic immigrants in a regional labour market like Vancouver (cf. Darroch, 1979).
The case study is a suitable instrument because it offers the opportunity to carry out detailed analysis of an ethnic community (Hispanic) within a specific labour market. Given the wide dispersion of immigrants across many regions in Canada (see Table 1.2), and regional variations in local economic conditions, e.g. the level of unemployment (see Table 1.3), the focus of the thesis on a particular labour market makes a detailed analysis of the relation between the points system and the structural incorporation of Hispanic immigrant labour more feasible.

Table 1.2 Distribution of Immigrants to Canada, by Province, by Year.

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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Newfoundland</td>
<td>480</td>
<td>406</td>
<td>275</td>
<td>266</td>
<td>545</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prince Edward</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Island</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nova Scotia</td>
<td>1,403</td>
<td>1,254</td>
<td>833</td>
<td>1,082</td>
<td>1,561</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Brunswick</td>
<td>988</td>
<td>751</td>
<td>554</td>
<td>619</td>
<td>831</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quebec</td>
<td>21,118</td>
<td>21,331</td>
<td>16,374</td>
<td>18,826</td>
<td>40,082</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ontario</td>
<td>54,890</td>
<td>53,031</td>
<td>40,036</td>
<td>48,340</td>
<td>112,638</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manitoba</td>
<td>5,359</td>
<td>4,931</td>
<td>3,978</td>
<td>3,685</td>
<td>6,623</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saskatchewan</td>
<td>2,401</td>
<td>2,125</td>
<td>1,735</td>
<td>1,824</td>
<td>2,359</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alberta</td>
<td>19,294</td>
<td>17,948</td>
<td>10,688</td>
<td>9,478</td>
<td>18,720</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British</td>
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<td>18,996</td>
<td>14,447</td>
<td>12,227</td>
<td>28,471</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Columbia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yukon</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northwest</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Territories


Table 1.3 Unemployment Rate by Region, 1966, 1970, 1975, and 1983

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Atlantic</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>15.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quebec</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>13.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ontario</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>10.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prairie</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>9.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.C.</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>13.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>11.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Curtis et al., (eds.) (1988:358)
This is particularly the case if immigrants are highly differentiated in terms of social origins, education, time of arrival, gender, class, and place of destination. In terms of the latter factor (place of destination) Portes has argued,

"...the fate of immigrants and the economic function they come to play depend as much on the manner of access and absorption in places of destination as on individual skills and training" (1981:290).

Notwithstanding the usefulness of the case study for in depth analysis of the immigration process within a specific community, the limitations of the case study need to be recognised.

Case studies have a problematic status in social science because of the issue of generalizability. By most accounts the case study is not a technique for aggregate statistical estimations (Massey & Meegan, 1985; Bailey, 1987; Casley & Lury, 1987). That is with its emphasis on abstraction (high analytical content) and non-standardised interviews and questionnaires rather than on empirical generalisation common to sample surveys, it cannot be used to make valid inferences about the incidence of a phenomenon or the average value of a variable in a wider population (Casley & Lury, 1987). It simply means that the findings of the study cannot be easily extrapolated to the rest of Canada or to the population of Hispanic immigrants.

However, this aspect of whether the research findings of the study are likely to be generalizable to other contexts is not what most directly concerns me in this thesis. An important factor underlying this decision, on my part, had to do with the problems encountered by Margalit (1991) in Vancouver in her
search for an appropriate research methodology for her Survey of Downtown Eastside Latin American Street Population. Margalit (1991) took two legitimate concerns into account with respect to her research. Specifically, there was a concern expressed by some committee members of the Latin American community Council (LACC) as to whether a traditional survey was worthwhile. As she puts it, the committee members seized upon this issue by expressing on the one hand the need to have hard data with which to lobby for changes. On the other hand,

"They were also concerned that research would be a waste of time, funds, and energy, if all it provided was a verification of information the committee members already possessed through their own experiences" (1991:17).

As can be seen, the relative merits of carrying out a survey are in some cases superflous when members of the Hispanic community, in this case LACC members, already possessed substantial information, and the members themselves were openly skeptical of further research (6). Also important to recognize in this context is the fact that a survey is time-consuming, and the cost is sometimes prohibitive to a graduate student. This is particularly the case when the primary obstacle in identifying the Vancouver Hispanic population is the absence of a complete, reliable, current, and accessible population list, and furthermore, the population under study is geographically mobile (Margalit, 1991; Burman, 1988).

Recognizing these significant obstacles to the study, I found it desirable to use data provided by a needs assessment survey of Vancouver Hispanic immigrants and refugees conducted by
the Latin American Services Network (LASN). The survey was conducted in 1990 with 200 Latin Americans (Riano, 1991). I was encouraged by a Hispanic community program development worker from LASN to pursue the study further, as the data provided by the survey remained unanalyzed. The survey included information on employment and immigrant status, demographics, and awareness and utilisation of resettlement services (see Appendix A). Overall, the survey yielded a standard set of data from each respondent. Thus, it was assumed that this information would provide a valuable insight into employment barriers related to admission category, sex, class, and time of arrival. Whenever necessary, supplementary information (all based on secondary sources) on the labour market experiences of immigrants was used (e.g. Ornstein & Sharma, 1981; Manpower & Immigration, 1974; Samuel et al., 1985; Michalowski, 1985, 1987; Seward et al., 1988a,b; Margalit, 1991). Particularly relevant also was data from the 1973 Canadian Mobility Survey, the 1969-74 longitudinal Survey on the Economic and Social Adaptation of Immigrants, and a telephone interview survey conducted by Samuel (1988) of a random sample of 1,400 Family category immigrants who had entered Canada from April 1981 to March 1984 inclusive.

In addition to the quantitative information provided by the survey, the case study also included qualitative evidence gathered through extended observation as well as eighty open-ended semi-structured interviews and consultations with Hispanic immigrants (see Appendix B). In this case, I adopted an 'open target methodology'. The persons surveyed were selected on the
basis of a snowball sample. Such a sample is selected by first contacting individuals known to have experienced the problem being investigated, and asking them to provide names of others in a similar situation (Fernando & Prasad, 1986).

Particularly relevant also were twenty interviews with community workers of local immigrant organisations such as: Downtown Eastside Economic Development Society (DEEDS), LASN, and Latin American Community Council (LACC) (see Appendixes C & D). Since personal contact and considerable cooperation on the part of the migrants and community workers was essential to begin understanding the complexity of their social relationships in the labour market, I sought a design of the semi-structured interview schedule that was informal and nonthreatening as possible, in order to probe deeply into the interrelationship between people and labour market institution. The interviews were structured to cover certain basic questions since these questions have not been answered by the scant studies that have been conducted on Hispanics (Mata, 1985; Riano, 1991). How are they living? How are they adapting? For example, on the basis of the only other comprehensive labour market survey of Hispanic immigrants, the 1991 Survey of Downtown Eastside Latin American Street Population, Margalit (1991) has argued that the financial hardship of most male Hispanic immigrants has forced them to live in parts of Vancouver where urban decay is most pronounced and, where services--from education to health care--are in greatest need but shortest supply. The questionnaire was designed in Spanish during January, 1992, pretested, and modified during

To round off this methodological section it is useful to consider briefly the often-exploitative nature of research in minority communities (Zavella, 1987). Given that the collaboration between researcher and informant is not easy to arrange and bring to fruition, and the legitimate concern, as expressed by LACC, that the population of the Downtown Eastside was "surveyed out" (Margalit, 1991), it proved indefensible for a Hispanic researcher to turn fellow Hispanics into an object of study. In fact, in their concise assessment of previous research in the Vancouver area, LACC committee members expressed the following:

"...researchers had frequently gone into the area, done their research, and left without a trace. This had left an atmosphere of mistrust and apathy towards the results of research in that area" (Margalit, 1991:16).

Thus, I employed a code of ethics that not only recognized the often-exploitative nature of research in minority communities but that enjoins the researcher to reciprocate in some way (Zavella, 1987). In other words, the research went beyond the bounds of soliciting the required information (for my thesis) in ways that the situation seemed to demand, using judgement as to timing and precise wording. In fact, I felt an obligation to assist and participate in many political as well as cultural meetings of the community. This practice on my part helped to ensure that I was not furthering my education at the expense of other people's time, trust, and privacy.
In conclusion, in the fieldwork the immigrants interviewed were conceived not just as sources of data but also as "informants" on what went on in the Vancouver labour market. This was essential in order to gain a better understanding of the context in which immigrants operated. In order to assure confidentiality all names of the respondents except for the list of community centres were fictionalised (See Appendix D).

**ORGANISATION OF THE THESIS**

The format of the thesis is as follows. In Chapter 2 I expose the immigration policy mechanisms which help to explain how the patterns of labour market segmentation described in Chapter 1 are sustained. The chapter shows, in effect, that the 1976 Immigration Act is overlaid with restrictions dispensing benefit eligibility to public funds and services according to immigrant status. This does not, however, explain why a long-term trend toward growth of migrant labour is possible in a post-1973 labour-surplus economy. This is the issue addressed in Chapter 3, which provides the theoretical basis for empirical analysis of the internationalisation of the labour market and the dynamics of capital accumulation. Chapter 4 argues that if the operation of the labour market is conceptualized within the idea of labour market segmentation (i.e., "split-labour" market), it is necessary to offer an historical explanation, which includes the role of the state in the (re)organisation of class relations with respect to the basic exchange, for an overall dualism in the economy. The inclusion of institutional factors in the split-
labour market explanation therefore provides a more complete understanding of the migrant's labour market incorporation.

Chapter 6 continues the examination of labour market segmentation in more detail with a case study of Central American Hispanic migrants in the Vancouver labour market; the case study material illustrates the variety of personal characteristics and experiences of different category immigrants in the Vancouver labour market. More important, an evaluation of the case study material tests the tenets of the "split-labour" market model, which assumes the existence of fundamental, structural divisions within the domestic labour market based on class, gender and ethnicity. Finally, Chapter 9 looks at some of the trends in the Canadian economy which may affect the performance of regional labour markets, and the Hispanic immigrants employed in them.

**FOOTNOTES**

(1) The term 'Hispanic" covers, of course a multiplicity of national origins and relative length of residence or citizenship in Canada. Nonetheless, the group taken as a whole constitutes a rapidly growing population in the country (Breton et al., 1990). Broadly speaking, for Latin Americans the term 'Hispanic' means a higher level of collective identification than a particular national identity. In the U.S., for example, Latin American immigrants, who taken as a whole constitute the most rapidly growing and youngest population in the country, are told that despite their national and regional differences, they are 'Hispanic'. (Zavella, 1987; Limage, 1987).

(2) In this context, "over-representation" means those industries where the proportion of immigrants is greater than the proportion of immigrants in the total experienced labour force. In 1986, for example, the proportion of immigrants in the experienced labour force was 18.5 per cent.

(3) In contrast, the theory of segmented labour market has been widely adopted by radical and socialist feminist researchers into women's employment to account for the glaring differences between men's and women's conditions of employment. The labour market,
it is argued, is divided into primary and secondary sectors and the "secondary" labour market is pre-eminently female (Gannage, 1986; Lundy & Warme, 1986; Armstrong & Armstrong, 1978). However, beyond its present utility for illuminating issues of occupational segregation of women, the labour market segmentation approach, which perhaps best captures the labour market experience of immigrants, has been tested empirically in very few studies (see especially Creese in Warburton & Coburn, 1988; Heron, 1988; Bolaria & Li, 1985; Breton et al., 1990).

(4) It is notable that since the early 1980s the government has deliberately increased the proportion of sponsored immigrants and dependents while restricting the number of labour force immigrants. However, it is also important to note that during this same period increased use of non-immigrant employment authorisations to meet short-term manpower requirements has compensated for the shortfall in independent immigrants (Richmond, 1988:70). Also see Marr, 1985; Boyd & Taylor, 1986; Wong, 1984.

(5) The 1976 Immigration Act was the first Canadian legislation to recognize refugees as a special category. It allows individuals fleeing persecution to undergo refugee determination. If the individual demonstrates a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group or political opinion, he/she is granted United Nations Convention Refugee Status (Gilad, 1990). However, because the Convention definition of a refugee is restrictive (particularly upon the stipulated categories of persecution), the Act provides for the creation of "designated classes" and special programmes which do not deport asylum seekers.

(6) The L.A.C.C. is an extensive social service network which overseas Latin American community activities (cultural, political) within the Greater Vancouver area.
CHAPTER II: IMMIGRANTS TO CANADA AND THE 1976 IMMIGRATION ACT

INTRODUCTION

In the first section of this chapter, I present an overview of Hispanic migration to the Vancouver labour market. The second section looks at some of the changes in immigration policy, particularly the Immigration Act of 1976, which greatly affect the composition of immigrant flows. It continues the discussion by examining whether the social (family reunion) and humanitarian (refugee-intake) objectives of immigration policy, at the same time that increasing constraints have been placed on the admission of independent immigrants, have reduced the general labour force participation rates for more recent arrivals. In the balance of the chapter, I also discuss some of the other new provisions of the 1976 Act, namely refugee policy.

SETTING THE STAGE: THE VANCOUVER LABOUR MARKET

As background for the present study, it is important to review a few basic facts about Canadian immigration as it affects Vancouver, British Columbia. As noted in the introduction to the thesis, the liberalisation of immigration policies during the 1960s increased the non-European component of immigration and eliminated all references to ethnic and cultural origins (Horta, 1989). Thus, the more recently the immigrants came to Vancouver, the more likely they are to belong to developing countries in Asia, Africa, the Caribbean, and Latin America. According to the 1991 Census, for example, immigrants from developing countries
constituted 15 per cent of the Greater Vancouver total population.

More important, there is evidence to suggest that continued immigration appears to contribute to Vancouver's increasing ethnic diversity in so far as mother-tongue characteristics of a population can be taken as an approximate indicator of ethnic diversity (Vancouver City Planning Commission, 1990). In fact, only a quick glance at the 1986 and 1991 Census data on non-English mother tongues, in Table 2.1, is necessary to appreciate the increasing ethnic diversity within the city of Vancouver during the 1980s. For example, the population reporting Chinese as their mother tongue increased from 76,120 to 130,505 or by 58 percent. As a result, well over one-half of the Chinese population in Greater Vancouver had settled in the city between 1986 and 1991. Similarly, the largest relative gain for the Spanish speaking population also occurred in this period, only in their case the population increased by 100 percent. Overall, the large number of rapidly growing ethnic minority groups in the Vancouver population makes it one of the most ethnically and linguistically diversified cities in Canada (Reitz, 1990).

Given the fact that the non-European component of immigration has diversified the city's ethnic composition, this raises the question about the ability of the city's economy to absorb this large new immigrant pool. Available Canadian immigration studies do not directly address this issue, because they focus primarily on the migrant's retention of ethnic identity; nevertheless, the migration literature does contain

Table 2.1 Population of the City of Vancouver by Mother Tongues, 1986 and 1991

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>By Mother Tongue</th>
<th>City of Vancouver 1986 Census</th>
<th>Greater Vancouver 1986 Census</th>
<th>1991 Census</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Responses</td>
<td>432,385</td>
<td>1,390,050</td>
<td>1,599,575</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single Responses</td>
<td>407,740</td>
<td>1,323,610</td>
<td>1,549,820</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multiple Responses</td>
<td>24,645</td>
<td>56,440</td>
<td>49,755</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Single response

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>City of Vancouver 1986 Census</th>
<th>Greater Vancouver 1986 Census</th>
<th>1991 Census</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>269,515</td>
<td>1,042,415</td>
<td>1,148,545</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>6,450</td>
<td>17,645</td>
<td>20,495</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>2,135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulgarian</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>56,225</td>
<td>76,120</td>
<td>130,505</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td>1,710</td>
<td>10,750</td>
<td>10,675</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finnish</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>2,970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>10,590</td>
<td>35,770</td>
<td>34,675</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>2,915</td>
<td>4,385</td>
<td>4,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>2,095</td>
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<td>5,795</td>
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<tr>
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<td>8,645</td>
<td>17,120</td>
<td>17,725</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polish</td>
<td>2,755</td>
<td>5,625</td>
<td>9,455</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese</td>
<td>4,005</td>
<td>5,765</td>
<td>6,840</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>7,770</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>38,070</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>2,425</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>3,225</td>
<td>5,845</td>
<td>11,530</td>
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<tr>
<td>Filipino</td>
<td>3,570</td>
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<td>13,885</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>2,905</td>
<td>9,115</td>
<td>6,655</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnamese</td>
<td>2,900</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>7,770</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Languages</td>
<td>22,470</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>73,645</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: 1991 Canada Census

Most salient are explanations that emphasize 1) the increase of low-wage jobs brought about by the general shift to a service economy; 2) an expansion of low-wage jobs in manufacturing sector as result of the social organisation of the work process, notably industrial homework; and 3) the growing importance (in terms of employment) of high-income jobs in numerous service industries, including accounting, advertising, banking, computer services,
construction and engineering services, insurance, shipping and air transport, and the overseas development of hotels and motels (Clement, 1988; Green & Beach, 1988; Lundy & Warme, 1986; Johnson & Johnson, 1982; Boyd, 1975).

Notwithstanding the general applicability of the above explanations to recent immigration trends, these explanations are incomplete is so far as they forget to mention that the emergence of non-traditional source countries as major contributors to Vancouver's immigration inflow has occurred in a context of severe economic recession and structural unemployment (Marchak, 1986; Allen & Rosenblath, 1986; Magnusson et al., 1984). For instance, Vancouver during the early 1980s was disproportionately affected by a prolonged recession (1981-84), which increased the unemployment rate substantially higher than the national average. Thus, while the national unemployment rate stalled at almost 11 percent between 1982 and 1984, the rate in Vancouver was close to 14 percent in 1984 (Vancouver Planning Commission, 1986). In fact, even after seven years of uninterrupted economic growth, unemployment rates in the early 1990s remained well over 9 percent (Johnson et al., 1994; Vancouver City Planning Commission, 1990a).

Another factor shaping the demand for labour was the fiscal reorganisation of the Social Credit government in 1983, which shifted government spending away from social welfare and education, toward capital-intensive infrastructure developments designed to facilitate long-run economic growth through the private sector (Magnusson et al., 1984). Thus within two months
of the 1983 government "restraint" legislation, approximately 37,000 jobs had disappeared, and some 53,000 persons had dropped out of the B.C. labour force (Marchak, 1986; Dorais et al., 1988; Thompson & Swimmer, 1984).

Overall, the result of government shifts in spending, coupled with economic recession, has meant that some recently arrived immigrant groups (particularly refugees) have borne the brunt of recessionary conditions, with Vietnamese refugees experiencing 30 per cent unemployment rates during 1984 (Dorais et al., 1988). Similarly, the labour market position of independent immigrants has also been affected by the decrease in the number of jobs brought about by large-scale government redundancies and recessionary conditions, as well as by the very fact that their arrival involved an increase in the supply of labour during a period of labour surplus. In short, what was once (before the onset of recessionary conditions in the 1980s) an almost complete incorporation of immigrants into employment became in the 1980s a much more tenuous relationship (i.e., the relationship between immigration and labour demand). It is against this background therefore that I go on to consider the labour market characteristics of migrants of "Hispanic" origin.

A PROFILE OF HISPANICS IN VANCOUVER

Length of local residency of Hispanics in Vancouver varies widely, and this is due, in part to the different historical periods of Latin American migration to Canada, which began to build after 1973 Chilean coup d'état. Since 1973, two important phases in the participation of Latin Americans in the Vancouver
labour market are observable. The first until 1980, witnessed the increase of South American immigrants, particularly Chilean refugees, who were escaping repressive military regimes as well as searching for better occupational opportunities. Although information on demographics and social background of these early migrants is scarce, it is worth mentioning that Hispanic migration in this period is biased towards professionals and skilled workers (Mata, 1985; Basok, 1983). Table 2.2 provides data for South American counties during 1975-1979.

Table 2.2 Landed Immigrants from South America: 1973-79 (Percent Distribution)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bolivia</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chile</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colombia</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecuador</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paraguay</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peru</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uruguay</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venezuela</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total L. America</td>
<td>10,032</td>
<td>8,535</td>
<td>6,633</td>
<td>5,447</td>
<td>4,122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Canada</td>
<td>187,881</td>
<td>149,429</td>
<td>114,914</td>
<td>86,313</td>
<td>112,096</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* According to Mata (1985), the determination of the population size and the spatial distribution of immigrants from Latin America is hampered by unsatisfactory census definitions. Nevertheless, the source provides general approximations.

Source: Compiled by the author from Mata (1985)

The second migration phase began in the late 1970s, when the momentum of Central American political refugees to Canada began to build. To start, thousands of Salvadoreans and Guatemalans have been displaced because of full-scale civil war in their
respective countries (see Mata, 1985; Zolberg et al., 1989; Gilad, 1990). In addition, Salvadoreans, Guatemalans, and to a lesser extent Hondurans, have also chosen to leave their countries because of violent persecution at the hands of the armies, and paramilitary groups ('death squads') operating with the complicity of the governments of the three countries (1) (Adelman, 1991). Although violence in Central America is not new; in 1932, a communist-led peasant rebellion in El Salvador was brutally repressed by an alliance of coffee-growing landlords and the army (Zolberg et al., 1989). The social violence in these countries, since the late 1970s, has been compounded by the worsening economic situation. That is, while on the one hand, large scale unemployment is symptomatic of countries suffering from long-term civil war, on the other hand, according to Zolberg et al. (1989), the period of the 1980s has been an economic disaster for Central America. As they have remarked:

"The average annual growth has been very weak; there is inflation (and hyperinflation in Nicaragua); with the exception of coffee, the prices of primary commodity exports have plummeted; gross domestic investment has declined, partly owing to capital flights; there has been no foreign investment; and the massive infusion of U.S. aid to some countries has been guided mainly by military considerations" (1989:213).

As can be seen from the above Central Americans have been forced out of their countries as a result of increasing political violence and repression and to a lesser extent by deteriorating economic conditions. In comparison to the former Hispanic migration wave, however, Central American immigrants appear to have relatively lower average educational levels and less skill
specialisation, since many of them are of peasant or rural origin (Margalit, 1991; Zolberg et al., 1989). Table 2.3 shows the distribution of Hispanic immigrants by country of last permanent residence.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Mexico</th>
<th>C. America</th>
<th>S. America*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>522</td>
<td>3,966</td>
<td>2,183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>369</td>
<td>5,088</td>
<td>2,037</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>591</td>
<td>6,167</td>
<td>2,765</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>815</td>
<td>6,955</td>
<td>4,666</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>925</td>
<td>5,457</td>
<td>4,352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>1,012</td>
<td>5,649</td>
<td>5,490</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Includes Hispanic countries only
Source: (1990) Canada Yearbook

Given the operation of pre-immigration factors like lower educational levels and less skill specialisation, scarcity of jobs has been reported as one of the major problems affecting recent Central American immigrants in Vancouver. The high unemployment rate of these immigrants has been associated with serious social problems. For example, in the Vancouver Downtown East Side, the lack of employment opportunities for single males has created social tensions in the area, particularly with the police, and has forced the City of Vancouver, through its Social Planning Department, to intervene at the street level. In early 1990, the Social Planning Department put out a general invitation to representatives of several Hispanic local community organisations to discuss the problem of racial tension and
violent in the area. More to the point, a city-funded study has recommended that Employment and Immigration Canada (EIC):

"...ensures all refugees (claimants and government sponsored) have equal access to English language training, and that basic training allowances be available to them" (Margalit, 1991:43).

From the above, it can be seen the Central American group differ in many respects as they primarily comprise "Hispanics" who are presently experiencing scarcity of jobs due to the operation of pre-immigration factors like lower educational levels and lack of fluency in a second language.

Residential concentration in some of the city's most deprived and disadvantaged neighbourhoods is also a distinguishing characteristic of Central Americans (see Fig. 1). They not only occupy the older, more run-down segments of the Vancouver housing stock in such areas as Mount Pleasant and the Vancouver Downtown Eastside, but the majority are renters of low-rental housing (Margalit, 1991). In addition, because they live in the inner-city, where urban decay is most pronounced, they are concentrated where social services (education and health) are in greatest need but shortest supply (Margalit, 1991). In this context, it is important to acknowledge that the initial concentration of Central Americans in these areas was due primarily to the actions of social workers and immigration officials who encouraged mutual help among these newcomers by placing them in the same neighbourhoods, since they had few social ties to draw upon in Vancouver. Equally important, though, was the fact that most of these initial immigrants could only afford low-rental housing.
Spanish-Speaking Population
by Local Areas

Source: Census Canada 1986
Fig. 1

Vancouver Local areas of Mother tongue Spanish

AGENDA

Purpose of meeting...
Although economic factors are important in exposing intra-community segregation within the Hispanic community, intra-community segregation is also an expression of cultural preferences. Given the cultural differences between Canada and Central America as well as the feeling of isolation experienced by Central American immigrants (particularly refugees), resulting from the loss of friends and relatives, there is a tendency for Central American expatriates to cluster in certain areas of the city in order to seek individuals from their own place of origin (cf. Dorais et al., 1988). For example, during the early days of Central American migration, males in Vancouver began to meet informally and sporadically to play soccer in several public parks of the Mount Pleasant and Strathcona neighbourhoods. As interests and attendance grew several soccer teams were established along national lines.

In part, this intra-group segregation is based on feelings of belonging to a community of origin or "paisanaje". Since among expatriates common origin implies a series of common experiences, customs, traditions or political affiliations, paisanaje creates a strong communal identity within the migrant context. Nonetheless, social networks based on paisanaje only become self-sustaining when immigrants from the same region share a variety of experiences in Canada, such as unemployment or lack of fluency in a second language, that draw them together in the pursuit of common goals. As noted above, the pursuit of leisure activities among Central American expatriates has led to the formation of voluntary associations like soccer clubs, which have
further facilitated the formation and maintenance of social ties along national lines.

Finally, since for most Central Americans the reason for migrating is political, it is of some importance to examine the migrant's role in voluntary associations serving the Hispanic community in general. As Muñoz has commented:

"Once a political refugee arrives in the new country, he immediately faces the conflict between his links to the homeland and his political cause, and the need to integrate into the host society" (1980:228).

Notwithstanding the minor frictions and internal fights common in any exile group, Central American volunteers and community workers have made great strides in promoting regular interpersonal contact among Hispanic community workers and professionals in the Vancouver area (Riano, 1991). For example, every month Hispanic community workers and other concerned individuals meet as part of the Latin American Community Council (LACC) to discuss events of general interest to the community, and to exchange information about the kinds of opportunities and services that are available to Hispanics in the Vancouver labour market. As a result, the effectiveness of the Hispanic immigrant network has been greatly improved because community workers of different Latin American nationalities have the opportunity to come into contact with migrants from other social circles and hence, with new sources of information and exchange.

Thus far I have considered the relevant characteristics of the Hispanic community in Vancouver in terms of the various social relationships (e.g., paisanaje) that make up the Central
American social networks, and in terms of their disadvantaged position in both the labour and housing markets. Together they provide a picture of Hispanic migration to Vancouver as an ongoing process that is governed mainly by political factors— the increasing political violence and repression in several Central American countries. More important, an analysis of the relevant characteristics of Central American migrants and how these interact with the structure of the receiving economy reveals that their labour market incorporation is constrained by the fact that most are political refugees. Therefore, in order to consider the labour market implications of the immigration process more fully, it is important to be clear about the nature of the differences between the categories of entry. This inevitably leads to an examination of the Immigration Act of 1976.

THE IMMIGRATION ACT OF 1976

I begin this section by looking at some of the changes in immigration policy, introduced in the mid-1970s, which greatly affect the composition of immigrant flows, and continue the discussion with the implications of admission categories e.g. sponsorship. The subsequent section concludes with a discussion of refugee policy—a new provision of the 1976 Act.

In 1974, the Department of Manpower and Immigration adopted administrative procedures to determine what it called "global priorities":

"Selection officers were instructed to give first priority to all applications for sponsored immigrants, i.e. immediate dependents of persons already in Canada. Second priority was given to independent and nominated
immigrants destined to occupations in high demand" (Richmond, 1975:169).

Indeed, this reversal in immigration policy in 1974, was made more explicit by the government in the Act of 1976. The Act spelled out in legislation the "family reunification" and "humanitarian" objectives of immigration policy (Kalbach, 1987; Richmond, 1988). As Proudfoot puts it:

"...the Act of 1976 sought to facilitate family reunification, and the first priority in the processing of applications was assigned by the Regulations under the Act to members of the family class and to refugees" (1990:236).

By the time the Act became law in 1978, family reunification was the major migrant program, followed by the independent category of immigrants and refugees respectively. These changes are reflected in Table 2.4 which gives the number of immigrants coming in over the period 1973-1988.

To understand the effects of recent immigration more fully though, it is necessary to elaborate on the implications of immigrant admission categories with respect to sponsorship. For example, from Table 2.4 there is every reason to believe that the increase in the immigrant flow in the family category is due to the advantages of the sponsorship arrangement in this category. Indeed, in one of the few studies undertaken exclusively on family class immigrants, Seward and McDade (1988b) show that Canadian citizens and permanent residents aged 18 and over living in Canada have the right to sponsor the applications of specified closed relatives who wish to immigrate to Canada.
Table 2.4: Immigrants to Canada, by category of admission 1971-88

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Family Category</th>
<th>Convention Refugees &amp; Designated Categories*</th>
<th>Independent &amp; Assisted Relatives**</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>41,677</td>
<td>2,359</td>
<td>140,164 (44,278)</td>
<td>184,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>54,232</td>
<td>1,666</td>
<td>162,567 (53,161)</td>
<td>218,465</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>64,124</td>
<td>5,566</td>
<td>118,191 (45,727)</td>
<td>187,881</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>60,830</td>
<td>11,751</td>
<td>76,848 (32,528)</td>
<td>149,429</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>51,355</td>
<td>7,300</td>
<td>56,259 (26,114)</td>
<td>114,914</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>45,540</td>
<td>4,255</td>
<td>36,518 (17,199)</td>
<td>86,313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>46,763</td>
<td>27,879 (264)</td>
<td>37,454 (11,474)</td>
<td>112,096</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>51,027</td>
<td>40,348 (952)</td>
<td>51,742 (13,531)</td>
<td>143,117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>51,017</td>
<td>14,979 (810)</td>
<td>62,622 (17,590)</td>
<td>128,618</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>49,980</td>
<td>16,925 (1,791)</td>
<td>54,242 (11,948)</td>
<td>121,147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>48,698</td>
<td>13,967 (4,100)</td>
<td>26,492 (4,997)</td>
<td>89,157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>43,814</td>
<td>15,342 (5,625)</td>
<td>29,083 (8,167)</td>
<td>88,239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>38,514</td>
<td>16,760 (6,080)</td>
<td>29,028</td>
<td>84,302</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>42,197</td>
<td>19,147 (6,490)</td>
<td>37,875</td>
<td>53,219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>53,598</td>
<td>21,565</td>
<td>76,935</td>
<td>152,098</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>51,120</td>
<td>26,599</td>
<td>83,529</td>
<td>161,248</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Numbers in parenthesis refer to convention refugees.
** Numbers in parenthesis refer to assisted relatives.

Source: Shirley B. Seward and Marc Tremblay (1989:28)

More important, though, the sponsor(s) has to prove his/her financial capacity to support a family member without recourse to public funds. In other words, under a sponsorship arrangement, the sponsor must complete a form in which he/she agrees to provide financial assistance to the named immigrants(s) so that such person(s) shall not require financial maintenance support from any federal or provincial assistance programs, including publicly subsidized housing and welfare. In short, the process of family reunion rests on independence from state subsidy.

Nevertheless, sponsorship allows immigrants to enter Canada who would not otherwise qualify under the stringent points system criteria. The current regulations of the points system stipulate...
that successful applicants must achieve seventy points out of a possible one hundred (see Table 2.5). Hence many prospective immigrants choose the family category in order to expedite the immigration process, and more important to avoid assessment by the points system.

Table 2.5 Selection Criteria for Assisted Relatives and Other Independent Immigrants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor</th>
<th>Units of Assessment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>12 maximum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specific Vocational preparation</td>
<td>15 maximum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Experience</td>
<td>8 maximum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td>10 maximum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arranged Employment</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>10 maximum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge of Official Language(s)</td>
<td>15 maximum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal Suitability</td>
<td>10 maximum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Levels Control</td>
<td>10 maximum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pass Mark</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bonus for Assisted Relatives</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Shirley B. Seward and Kathryn McDade (1988a:5)

Sponsorship is also possible in both the independent category in the form of "assisted relative" as well as in the refugee category--Convention and Assisted. In the former category, applicants are assessed on the basis of the points system, but are awarded ten bonus points if they obtain sponsorship for five years. Table 2.6 shows the distribution of immigrants by sex and category of entry.
Table 2.6 Immigrants Age 15 and Over, By Category of Admission and Sex, Canada 1980-1986 (per cent distribution)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Family Category</th>
<th>Convention Refugees &amp; Designated*</th>
<th>Independent &amp; Assisted Relatives**</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>53.0</td>
<td>2.2 (10.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>40.6</td>
<td>4.3 (16.4)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Numbers in parenthesis refer to designated refugees.
** Numbers in parenthesis refer to assisted relatives
Other includes Female business (4.5) and retirees (2.4); Male business (5.6) and retirees (2.1).

Source: Shirley B. Seward and Kathryn McDade (1988a:7)

As for the latter category the immigration of Convention and Designated refugees is due to the "humanitarian" objective of immigration policy (Proudfoot, 1990). Canada is a signatory of the United Nations Convention for Refugees (1969). Under the terms of that Convention and its codification in the 1976 Immigration Act:

"Canada's commitment to fulfill its international legal obligations in relation to refugees and "to uphold its humanitarian tradition with respect to the displaced and the persecuted" is established as a fundamental principle of immigration policy for the first time in Canadian immigration law." (Hawkins, 1977:87).

In 1976, for example, the refugee immigrant flow represented just under eight per cent of the total flow of immigrants, this proportion had increased to over nineteen per cent in 1986.

Also to be noted in this context is the artificial categorisation of individuals (particularly women workers) as dependents under the sponsorship arrangement, regardless of their occupational skills (Dumon, 1981; Boyd, 1976). Notwithstanding the fact that the majority of women enter Canada as sponsored immigrants either in the family category or as an assisted relative in the independent category, the image of immigrant
women as dependents is falsified by the fact that the economic activity rate of female immigrants (when adjusted for age in the 1981 Census) is higher than that of Canadian-born women (see Seward & Tremblay, 1989). These higher labour force participation rates are reflected in Table 2.7. In fact, Boyd (1976) has demonstrated, as have others, that this false characterisation of women workers detracts attention from their real economic impact in the labour market, in terms of labour force participation; and it also leads to the false conclusion that women by definition are the extension of men--migrants' wives (Dumon, 1981; Boyd, 1981; 1975; Boyd & Taylor, 1986).

Table 2.7 Labour force participation rates for the immigrant and Canadian-born populations, by sex, Canada 1981

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Immigrants</th>
<th>Canadian-born</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Actual</td>
<td>Adjusted*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>77.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>50.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*To yield the immigrant participation rate, the immigrant participation rate for each age group was multiplied by the percentage of the Canadian population in that age group; the results were then added up and the total divided by 100.

Source: Shirley B. Seward and Kathryn McDade (1988a:10)

Clearly, then, it is in these types of situation where the implications of category of entry begin to surface--where the artificial categorisation of immigrant workers as dependents underestimates, for example, their labour market participation. This is surprising however given that the overall effect of immigration has been to increase the number of women immigrants. Table 2.8 gives the distribution of immigrants by their time of arrival and sex.
Table 2.8 Sex of immigrants and time of arrival

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>54,834</td>
<td>60,080</td>
<td>114,914</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>40,057</td>
<td>46,256</td>
<td>86,313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>54,823</td>
<td>57,273</td>
<td>112,096</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>71,939</td>
<td>71,178</td>
<td>143,117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>63,122</td>
<td>65,496</td>
<td>128,618</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>59,498</td>
<td>61,649</td>
<td>121,147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>41,505</td>
<td>47,652</td>
<td>89,157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>40,944</td>
<td>47,295</td>
<td>88,239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>40,266</td>
<td>44,036</td>
<td>84,302</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>49,120</td>
<td>50,099</td>
<td>99,219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>76,975</td>
<td>75,123</td>
<td>152,098</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Further analysis of the discrepancy between immigration records and the 1981 Census data of the labour force participation of immigrant women reveals that the depressed labour force participation figures upon arrival subsequently change, i.e. after migration, as women enter the labour force. As Samuel has noted in a study of family category immigrants:

"A large proportion of women who reported after the first six months that they were not looking for a job, joined the labour force after the second six months" (1988:173).

In this context, two major reasons may be given for immigrant women's increased labour force participation: first, many prospective female immigrants are not aware that two incomes may be necessary to support a family in Canada; second, a break with a sponsor forces the woman to seek employment (Seward & McDade, 1988b; Ng, 1988; Ng & Das Gupta, 1981). In the former case, the increasing number of sponsored working class women in the labour force means a second disposable income for the family unit increases the standard of living of family members. In the latter, the influx of working class immigrant women into the job
market is predominantly poverty-induced, since sponsored women do not qualify for income assistance and social welfare programs such as subsidised housing (2). In addition, "Sponsored immigrants are not entitled to the basic training allowance associated with Employment and Immigration Canada's language training programs" (Seward & Tremblay, 1989b:16).

This section has demonstrated the need to take account of admission categories (family and assisted relative as well as refugee) other than the independent immigrant category when analysing the economic impact of immigration and has identified sponsorship as one of the main areas which should be considered when describing the implications of these same admission categories.

**OTHER PROVISIONS OF THE (1976) IMMIGRATION ACT**

The previous section raised the issue of sponsorship and, as part of its critique of the manpower orientation view which centres on the economic impact of independent immigrants, argued that the artificial categorisation of immigrants (particularly women) as dependents under the sponsorship arrangement greatly underestimated their economic impact in the labour market vis-a-vis Canadian-born workers.

In this section I examine the labour market implications of refugee policy--a new provision of the 1976 Immigration Act. An understanding of the implications of refugee policy is crucial to this thesis because since 1976 refugees have been given a higher priority in immigrant processing than the so-called "economic" stream--those immigrants selected for entry into Canada on the
basis of educational or other labour market criteria. Obviously, the emphasis on refugee immigration reverses to some extent the highly selective immigration policy, created by the points system in 1967. That is, as immigration policy (since 1976) becomes more relaxed in terms of the inapplicability of the points system's immigration selection criteria to the refugee immigrant category, it might be expected that the labour market prospects of refugee immigrants would be less favourable in comparison to more qualified individuals who enter the country under the independent category. In fact, looking back on the high unemployment experience of Central Americans refugees the above assumption might well apply. But before examining the implications of the refugee category of entry, it may be useful to describe Canada's current refugee policy.

REFUGEE POLICY

The basis for Canada's current refugee policy is the Immigration Act of 1976 which was not passed into law until 1978. The Act was the first Canadian legislation to recognise refugees as a special category, and split identification of refugees into two categories. The 1976 Act also mandates yearly refugee admission ceilings (see Table 2.9).

The first category of refugee is the 'Convention refugee' who, based on the United Nations (UN) Convention and Protocol adopted by Canada in 1969, is any person who:

"Owing to well-founded fears of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his, or her, nationality and is unable, or owing to such fears, is unwilling to avail
himself, or herself, of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it" (Segal, 1990:94).

Once a person is admitted as a Convention refugee, Canada cannot deport the person back to the country he/she was fleeing (an act called 'refoulement' which the UN Protocol forbids).

Table 2.9 Levels of Immigration and Numbers of Immigrants (Includes Refugee Intake Levels and Actual Number Admitted).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Final Level</th>
<th>Actual Refugees</th>
<th>Level Total</th>
<th>Actual Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>100,000</td>
<td>112,096</td>
<td>11,000*</td>
<td>27,879</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>120,000</td>
<td>143,117</td>
<td>15,000</td>
<td>40,348</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>130-140,000</td>
<td>128,618</td>
<td>21,000</td>
<td>14,980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>130-135,000</td>
<td>121,147</td>
<td>14,000</td>
<td>16,927</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>105-110,000</td>
<td>89,157</td>
<td>12,000</td>
<td>13,970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>90-95,000</td>
<td>88,239</td>
<td>12,000</td>
<td>15,343</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>85-90,000</td>
<td>84,302</td>
<td>15,000</td>
<td>16,760</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>105-115,000</td>
<td>99,219</td>
<td>16,000</td>
<td>19,147</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* On June 21, 1979 the Government increased the number to 11,000, and later increased the number of Indochinese refugees who could be admitted by the end of 1980 to 50,000.

Source: Bruce Proudfoot (1990:235-37)

The second category is the "designated category" refugee who is identified as belonging to a certain group who do not meet the specific requirements of Convention refugees but are granted refugee status by the Canadian cabinet through orders-in-council. Before 1976 all refugees were handled in this manner. Lately, groups such as the Indochinese (Kampuchea, Laos, Vietnam), self-exiled persons from certain communist countries, and political prisoners and oppressed persons from Central and South American countries have been identified as designated category refugees (Richmond, 1988; Dorais et al., 1988; Seward & Mcdade, 1988a,
A large proportion of Canada's yearly refugee-intake falls into this second category (see Table 2.4 above).

Admission into Canada as a refugee occurs in two ways. The first is when individuals outside Canada seek entry status from immigration offices around the world. The Department of External Affairs, not Employment and Immigration Canada, is responsible for implementing policy on and processing immigrants and refugees abroad. This process provides the largest number of refugee admissions, and is also the least questioned in terms of 'categorical eligibility'. That is, once the individual is presumed to meet the definition of a refugee, he/she is conferred eligibility.

Canada's foreign policy and international pressures influence immigration policy. As Segal has observed:

"Canada will accept refugees from most communist countries, though not all, and has in the past accepted refugees from Uganda and Chile (though in the latter case, somewhat reluctantly and only after political pressure in Canada by various social, political, and religious organizations)" (1990:94).

As can be seen, refugees from Latin American Countries have not been dealt with as promptly or liberally as those from eastern Europe--their (marxist/socialist) political beliefs are seen as one of the major discriminatory considerations (3) (cf. Basok, 1983).

Though applied in a less precise or exacting way than for independent immigrants, persons requesting status from abroad (especially designated categories) are assessed according to the
same factors as the independent category, but no points are awarded. As Seward and McDade have noted:

"Instead, the factors are used as guidelines in a subjective assessment of how easily and successfully the applicant may be expected to adapt to Canadian life, and whether sponsorship of at least one year is available from governmental or private organizations" (1988a:4).

In this context, the applicability of the points system's criteria of admissability could severely restrict or eliminate refugees from many countries.

In respect to sponsorship, refugees from abroad are either sponsored by the Canadian government or by private groups (mainly church organisations). Privately sponsored refugees are considered to be an addition to the government quota (which partially explains why refugee quotas are usually exceeded each year); the other factor is that the government reserves the ability to respond to unforeseen events by increasing refugee admissions. There are concerns expressed by some refugees, however, that immigration officers process refugees with private sponsorship ahead of those dependent on government sponsorship, thus meeting or exceeding the quota each year but saving money by having a significant percentage of refugees be the responsibility of private relief organisations, for example, the Canadian Council of Churches, and the United Church of Canada.

The second aspect of refugee admission concerns those persons already within Canada who wish to remain and who base their requests on claims to be refugees. These people, not
chosen by Canada, cause far more controversy and administrative problems.

**QUEUE JUMPING**

One such controversy, queue-jumping, arose in the 1980s, when many prospective refugee claimants circumvented the refugee determination process instituted by the 1976 Act, producing not only strong resentment among those individuals awaiting their hearing but also adding to Canada's backlog at the time. As Richmond shows:

"...economically-motivated migrants, who would not qualify for admission to Canada by the usual selection criteria, have entered Canada as visitors and then endeavoured to remain in the country by claiming refugee status" (1988:85).

Complicating the situation was the length of the determination process, which took up to seven years without the claimant ever once appearing before the person actually deciding the case (see Table 2.10). In the meantime the claimant was free to live and work in Canada:

"Although working while waiting for a hearing was illegal, immigration officials looked the other way...and refugees who admitted at their hearing to have worked illegally were given extra credit for it, on the grounds that they could find a job and would not likely be a charge on the state" (Globe & Mail, Dec. 28, 1988).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Waiting Period</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>6,500</td>
<td>up to two years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>21,500</td>
<td>up to five years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>77,000</td>
<td>up to seven years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>over</td>
<td>up to seven years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>125,000</td>
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</table>

Source: Compiled by the author from Globe and Mail (Dec. 28, 1988) and Segal (1990)
Unfortunately, the processing of refugee claimants was also occurring in an economic climate beset by recessionary conditions and structural unemployment. According to some labour market analysts:

"The years 1981-82 marked the most serious recession in Canada since the Great Depression. Between 1981 and 1984, approximately one million workers lost full-time jobs, and were not recalled" (Burman, 1988:12; see Proudfoot, 1990; Therborn, 1986; Grayson, 1985).

In other words, the impact of economic recession in Canada (1981-83) has resulted in what is coming to be termed by many labour market analysts, long-term structural unemployment (defined here as a continuous spell of unemployment with a duration of more than 52 weeks). Table 2.11 sets out the published unemployment rates for Canada and other countries of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD).

<table>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>13.9</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>10.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>7.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>2.2*</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.K.</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>13.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S.</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>7.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Japan (1977-78)
+Belgium (1986-10.8%)
Grayson (1985) has argued that certain sectors of the economy have been harder hit than others by the recession and their capacity to generate the same type of jobs in the foreseeable future is virtually negligible. For example,

"...in many cases, the departing manufacturing activities were replaced by warehousing...or other activities of a completely different nature (e.g. poor paying service jobs)" (Grayson 1985:6; cf. Burman, 1988; Clement, 1988).

A major reason for this contradiction of trends is the change in the structure of Canadian employment away from manufacturing towards service industries (4). In concrete terms this means that those workers who entered the workforce in the 1980s, increasingly took jobs in banks, offices, retail trade, restaurants, cleaning, hospitals and other service enterprises instead of working in manufacturing (Seward & Tremblay, 1989; Drache & Glasbeek, 1988; Clement, 1988; Jain, 1987; Forcese, 1986). For example, most of the tourism-related businesses in British Columbia (B.C.), the province's biggest employer, are non-union, much of the work is part-time, and youth make up the greatest share of the workforce (5) (The Employment Paper, Issue, 93, 1991; Coates, 1991; Clement, 1988).

Nonetheless, the fact that refugee claimants have managed to work (illegally or legally) while awaiting a hearing, raises doubts about Canada's so-called "non-expansionist" immigration policy in the 1980s because of the structural requirements of the economy to reproduce low-wage service and manufacturing sectors. According to the aforementioned policy, the Canadian government has carefully regulated the numbers of labour force participants
in light of economic conditions (for such a view see Richmond, 1988; Seward, 1987; Samuel & Woloski, 1985). However, as stated earlier, refugee claimants belonging to newer ethnic groups (e.g. Salvadoreans, Guatemalans, Sri Lankan Tamils, and Turks) have been increasingly provided with the possibility of waged employment. This is despite the 1982 provision that required all principal applicants in the independent category to have a validated job offer in Canada as a condition of entry. On January 1, 1986 the restriction on selected workers without arranged employment was lifted.

In fact, from the few data available which explicitly measure labour market participation of refugee claimants, it is evident that the government has not reduced the labour force component of immigration. On the contrary, one of the most important trends of the 1980s has been the increased labour force participation of refugee claimants (Boyd & Taylor, 1986). For instance, the upswing in the percentages of 'exempt' employment authorisations reflects the increase in employment authorisations granted to within-Canada applicants for landing and refugee claimants (6). 'Exempt' refers to employment authorisations which may be approved by an immigration official without reference to the Canadian Employment Centre (Boyd & Taylor, 1986; cf. Ng, 1988, Margalit, 1991). According to Boyd and Taylor:

"The recent growth in refugee claimants accounts for much of the exempt employment authorizations issued to both men and women from Asia, excluding the Philippines, and from Central America and South America" (1986:721).
The percentage and number distributions of employment authorisations, by documents issued, are contained in Table 2.12 and 2.13 respectively.

Table 2.12 Percent Distribution Person Years of Employment Authorisations by Documents Issued

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Validated</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exempt</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>71</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Monica Boyd and C. Taylor (1986:733)

Table 2.13 Employment Authorisations by Documents Issued, Total Number

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Validated</td>
<td>19238</td>
<td>24002</td>
<td>23166</td>
<td>20438</td>
<td>19601</td>
<td>21024</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exempt</td>
<td>89633</td>
<td>102581</td>
<td>102735</td>
<td>110279</td>
<td>124379</td>
<td>135109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>108871</td>
<td>126583</td>
<td>125901</td>
<td>130717</td>
<td>143980</td>
<td>156133</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Percent

|         | 16.3 | .5   | 3.8  | 10.1 | 8.1  |

Change

Source: Monica Boyd and C. Taylor (1986: 729)

The above preliminary analysis of employment authorisations (validated/exempt) suggests that those who have arrived as refugee claimants under the old refugee determination process, especially those belonging to newer ethnic groups have been increasingly provided with the possibility of waged employment during a period of significant job losses. Furthermore, the coexistence of restrictionist immigration policies with respect to independent applicants and a large increase in the number of exempt employment authorisations issued to refugees claimants is historically unusual, because the full thrust behind the restrictionist policies was to curb growing unemployment in the first place. Thus, the widespread concern expressed in the
migration literature that restrictions imposed on independent immigrants have reduced the general participation rates of recent arrivals are totally misplaced, since the restrictions imposed on selected workers are contradicted by the increasing labour force participation of sponsored refugees and refugee claimants. Overall, then, the available evidence suggests that despite the appearance of structural unemployment, there is a long-term trend toward growth of migrant labour, as reflected in the increasing labour force participation of sponsored immigrants and refugee claimants (7).

As a consequence, a new source of labour power has been created which adds to those permanent immigrants intending to enter the labour force. But given the lack of legal residence documents, the relationship of refugee claimants to employers is somewhat different from that of permanent immigrants or other temporary workers. First, there is the lack of official recognition by Canadian Employment Centres, which means that refugee claimants do not need special certification by EIC to obtain an employment authorisation, as other workers in the temporary worker program do, for example, workers issued validated authorisations. As result, refugee claimants are vulnerable to greater exploitation in the labour market (in the form of bad working conditions and low wages), because they are not monitored by EIC. (The significance of refugee status with respect to labour market incorporation is explored in more detail in Chapter 5).
Finally refugee claimants and other temporary workers are excluded from state benefits because of their residency status. Simply put, while the refugee claimant is granted an employment authorisation, he/she is denied equal access to English language training and other training programs that are available to landed immigrants and government sponsored refugees. These programs are indispensable to refugee claimants, especially those belonging to newer ethnic groups (e.g. Central Americans) lacking skills and qualifications, considering the growing trend of increasing domestic unemployment in the 1980s (see Table 2.11) (cf. Richmond, 1988; Dorais et al., 1988).

Thus, whenever the situation of refugee claimants has been considered, many private relief organisations (e.g. the Canadian Council of Churches, Inter-Church Committee for Refugees) have suggested that Canada declare a general amnesty and accept all the individuals currently awaiting their status decision (8). As stated earlier, by January 1, 1989, over 125,000 new refugee claimants were awaiting disposition of their applications for permanent resident status (see Table 2.10). In contrast, Canadian governments since the mid-1980s have increasingly advanced the argument that a large proportion of refugee claimants are not bona-fide refugees, on the grounds that many of the claimants are motivated by economic considerations rather than political factors such as persecution or repression.

Finally, in order to move beyond the queue-jumping and general amnesty controversy, on January 1, 1989, the government put a simplified two-stage refugee determination system into
effect to deal with the administrative problems associated with both new arrivals and the backlog of refugee claimants. Under the new refugee determination system, a claimant gets an immediate (within five days of arriving in the country) hearing to determine if he/she has a credible basis on "humanitarian" or compassionate grounds for refugee status. If the two-person panel finds in favour of the claimant, a full range hearing is held as soon as possible; if the claimant is rejected, deportation occurs within seventy two hours. The two-member hearing panel is composed of an immigration adjudicator from the immigration department and a member of the Immigration Refugee Board (IRB)--an independent board not part of the immigration department. [The main stages of the new refugee determination system are highlighted in Appendix E].

This new approach is supposed to deter sixty per cent of potential refugee claimants from coming to Canada, and screen out fifty per cent of those who do come with claims that are not credible, so that the backlog does not grow any larger (9) (Globe & Mail, May 12, 1989). From other available evidence, it appears that the number of new refugee claims is down dramatically—Jan.-Aug., 1988: 26,396; Jan.-Aug, 1989: 10,796 claims (Vancouver Sun, Sept., 20, 1989). So far, approximately eighty per cent of new claims have been accepted on the decision concerning "credible basis" (i.e., evidence deemed to be believable or trustworthy). This decision can be made on evidence presented at the first inquiry regarding the human rights record of the country of persecution, whether or not Canada has accepted refugees from
that country, and the claimant's own oral testimony. More important, as Segal (1990) has shown, the government can concede "credible basis" to the claimant prior to the two-panel hearing. In other words, in the initial refugee claim at a border point of entry or within Canada to an immigration officer at an immigration office, the claimant's reasons may be sufficient to have the case presenting officer (CPO) concede the "credible basis" to the respective claim by the refugee. As Segal further notes, "This means you would go directly to your full hearing before the IRB" (1990:96).

SUMMARY

Although the way in which migrants enter the Canadian labour market is strongly influenced by their immigrant status upon entry, the argument in the previous sections suggests that even those migrants who avoid assessment by the points system, which includes refugees, refugee claimants, and family category immigrants, constitute an important labour force component of immigration. For example, the information on sponsorship shows that while women's labour participation rates are low upon arrival, they subsequently change after migration, as women for various socioeconomic reasons (e.g., a break with her sponsor) are forced to seek waged employment. The available data on immigrant women's labour force participation rates support this trend. Lastly, the false characterisation of women as dependents or migrant's wives in immigration statistics has resulted in under-reporting their employment and participation status.
Furthermore, the evidence developed and presented in the refugee policy section suggests that restrictions such as arranged employment, designed to restrict selected worker intake (i.e. skilled immigrants), were intentionally compromised by the 1976 refugee policy. In the case of the old refugee determination process, it allowed visitors to Canada to apply for refugee status after arrival. By 1988, the numbers arriving without pre-clearance exceeded the capacity of the refugee determination process to handle. As a consequence, large numbers of workers or "economically motivated migrants" were admitted to Canada who might not otherwise qualify under the stringent criteria of the points system. Nevertheless, once refugee claimants found themselves in Canada, they were eligible to apply for a work permit within a few months after arrival (Margalit, 1991). This does not mean that refugees did not face serious difficulties in establishing themselves in steady employment at a time of rising structural unemployment. But the evidence (based on employment authorisations issued yearly) suggest that there has been a trend of increasing refugee immigration (including refugee claimants) and increasing domestic unemployment.

Finally, while the characteristics that have been considered so far (low skill levels; language difficulties) are more than adequate to explain why refugee claimants appear to be concentrated in low-skilled employment, the analysis in the previous section also indicates that the immigration process itself reinforces this tendency, and thus shapes and
differentiates the labour market roles of refugee claimants from those of legal migrants.

In the case of refugee claimants, for example, their willingness to accept low-skilled jobs at lower wages and their desire to remain inconspicuous while working illegally until the oral hearing, was a direct result of lack of legal status. In other words, since immigration officials did not confer refugee claimants the right to employment until the hearing was carried out, and working prior to the hearing was illegal and subject to deportation, this type of legal vulnerability undoubtedly influenced the claimants' search for employment as well as their willingness to bargain for higher wages with employers, for example. In fact, even with the granting of 'exempt' employment authorisations by immigration officials, the situation of refugee claimants changed only slightly because they still remained outside the regulatory sphere of EIC.

Second, the fact that refugee claimants had to prove their capacity to support themselves without recourse to public funds or welfare benefits shows that they were denied access to a wide range of economic rights which, in principle, accrue to legal migrants and sponsored refugees (10). In sum, the labour market experiences of refugee claimants clearly show how immigration laws shape and differentiate the labour market role of newcomers by granting or denying access to a wide range of economic rights (e.g., to employment and to welfare) according to immigrant status.
In the next chapter, I formulate a conception of migration which is theoretically located by reference to capital accumulation, a central feature of the capitalist mode of production. Specifically, I argue that the internationalisation of the labour market, since the 1973 economic crisis, is determined by more than a shortage of labour because there is a long-term trend of a growth of migrant labour despite the appearance of structural unemployment. More important, because not all migration are determined by the demand for wage labour, political factors are also discussed.
FOOTNOTES

1) Even in those cases where the decision to migrate was 'voluntary,' it was taken as the result of extreme political pressure. See Gilad, 1990.

(2) The financial hardship of single parents with children is well documented (Curtis et al., 1988; Forcense and Richer, 1988; National Council of Welfare, 1981). According to Curtis et al., "Six in every 10 women under the age of 65 who are single parents raise their children on an income below the poverty line" (1988:100). In 1977, the poverty line for a family of three in a medium sized community was $7,473 while the average income for all family units in 1977 was $16,764 (National Council of Welfare, 1981).

(3) Cubans are the major exception in this case, they are automatically provided with Minister's Permits without undergoing refugee determination. More important, because they are listed as "ND2" (non-designated), that is, as potential "immigrants", they are also entitled to the rights extended to government sponsored immigrants.

(4) In the United States a study released (1986) by the Office of Technology Assessment (OTA) of the U.S. Congress, entitled "Technology and Structural Unemployment: Reemploying Displaced Adults":

"found that between 1970 and 1984 nearly all new jobs created in the United States (94%) were in the service sector; only (1%) were in manufacturing. Since 1979, manufacturing employment dropped by almost 1.5 million workers. For the most part, service sector jobs paid less than manufacturing jobs" (p.11).

Moreover, according to another study over one-half of the eight million net new jobs created from 1979 to 1984 in the United States paid less then $7,000 a year (Perrucci et al., 1988, Plant Closings: International Context and Social Costs. New York: Aldine de Gruyter).

(5) In Canada, in 1984 only eleven percent of the part-time workers in service occupations were unionised, compared to 31 percent of the full-time workers in service occupations (Wetzel et al., 1987).

(6) In 1981, the federal government announced that domestic workers who had been in Canada for two years or more on temporary employment visas could apply for landed immigrant status. According to Seward and McDade:

"Assessment for landing would be based on the following factors: satisfactory work history, adequate financial management, initiative toward upgrading in certain cases only, and contacts in the community and traits
required for successful establishment in Canada" (1988a:46).

(7) According to Therborn a crucial separation took place in 1981-82, between high and low unemployment countries, "...when Belgium, Canada, Denmark, the Netherlands and the U.K. formed a club of their own by plunging into mass unemployment" (1986:21).

(8) In April 1985, the Supreme Court of Canada ruled that all refugee claimants were entitled to a full hearing before the Immigration Appeal Board (now the Immigration and Refugee Board). While this decision (the Singh decision) was unfolding, the government realizing it could not give oral hearings to all 23,500 refugee claimants adopted (May 21, 1986) a "fast-track" administrative review procedure to remove the backlog of refugee claimants then in the system so that they could go ahead and seek landed-immigrant status. As long as they had no criminal or security problems either before coming to Canada or while here, they had not been on welfare after being given permission to work, and provided they passed their medicals, they were allowed to stay and become permanent residents of Canada.

(9) The new legislation also includes a "third country" rule where claimants arriving from a third, safe, country would be returned to that country.

(10) The only source of income available to refugee claimants was Hardship Assistance, which was provided by the Ministry of Social Services and Housing (M.S.S.H).
CHAPTER III: THE INTERNATIONALISATION OF THE CANADIAN LABOUR MARKET

INTRODUCTION

This chapter has a dual focus. First, it will examine the internationalisation of the labour market within the context of Marxist political economy such that migration is theoretically located by reference to capital accumulation, a central feature of the capitalist mode of production. Second, it will argue that while the selling of labour power is an essential feature of the capitalist mode of production as well as a basic criterion for the constitution of the working class, not all migrations, the cross-national movement of people, stem from the requirements of capitalist production and thus the demand for wage labour. Obviously, international migration increasingly encompasses either legally admitted Convention refugees or refugee claimants, whose spatial mobility is induced by various sorts of political pressures (Miles, 1987). The conception of migration employed in this chapter is therefore one which refers to migration which relocates people in the relations of production and the political factors which produce the migration of political refugees from the country of origin. Otherwise, a political economy of migration which restricts its scope to economic considerations, namely a shortage of labour in developed capitalist countries, will ignore a large part of the migration process. Before turning to the task of providing a historical materialist explanation of the internationalisation of the labour market, however, I discuss the limitations of the business cycle explanation.
CYCLICAL EXPLANATION

In the existing economic literature the labour market impact of immigration has been tested by observing the variation of the number of immigrants admitted to Canada with the level of unemployment. A first distinguishing characteristic of this literature is that, possibly because of the relative ease with which cyclical fluctuations can be translated into testable hypothesis, it has been the subject of much empirical investigation (Seward & Tremblay, 1989; Green & Beach, 1988; Rao & Kapsalis, 1982; Green, 1976). Specifically it has been argued that during periods of high unemployment in the post-war Canadian economy the level of labour force immigrants has tended to fall, whereas in periods of low unemployment it has tended to rise (Richmond, 1988). A second major characteristic of this literature has been its emphasis on the business cycle rather than the longer accumulation process. Thus, the idea of a distinctive immigration response to short-run labour market conditions dominates discussion (Hawkins, 1972; Richmond, 1988).

However, one major point must be emphasized here--the assumption on the part of orthodox economic theory that market forces govern the flow of immigrants ignores the role of the state. A major reason for this is that migration is viewed from a rational decision-making conception where individuals attempt to cope with an apparently unchangeable structure of opportunities distributed unequally in space (Portes, 1981; see especially Kindleberger, 1967; Foot et al., 1980; Rao &
Kapasalis, 1982; Todaro, 1985; Chiswick, 1988). According to Cohen:

"...the migrants are depicted as free-floating nebulae, attracted or repelled at their point of origin and evaluating the pluses and minuses of life at the proposed destination point" (1987:35).

However, this particular emphasis on individual processes has led to the omission of the historical role of the state in creating and maintaining immigration. Ng (1988) has argued that the state has increasingly taken on the role of mediating and intervening in the economy by facilitating and regulating labour supply through legislation, including immigration policy. In this way, immigration policy is a major lever for state intervention in the labour market because it exerts control over a supply of foreign workers by regulating the terms and conditions under which they can live, work and reproduce (Warburton & Coburn, 1988; Wilpert, 1988; Pentland, 1959).

In fact, a series of studies have asserted that a sociological study of migration must necessarily include the broader structural arrangements (e.g. capital accumulation and the state) within and across national borders, which give rise to population movements over time (Cohen, 1987; Massey et al., 1987; Bach, 1978; Castells, 1975; Castles & Kossack, 1973). Clearly, then, since the state is one of these structural arrangements which actively adopts policies to turn on or switch off the flow of migrants, it does not make sense to study immigration outside of this larger context.
A major exception to individually centred explanations of migration is to be found in Keynesianism (a broad strategy for accumulation expounded by J.M. Keynes in 1936) and its techniques of demand-management and state intervention in economies to regulate cycles (Green, 1989; MacEwan & Tabb, 1989; Keman et al., 1987; McLennan et al., 1984; Wells, 1981). One important aspect of Keynes's broad strategy for accumulation is that he challenged the notion that market equilibrium was always full-employment by rejecting Say's Law, which assumes that the economy generates demand for products simply by renumerating the factors which enter into production (Ashton, 1986; Elson, 1979). Essentially, Keynes's main objection to Say's Law was that purchasing power is only potential, and not actual demand. Furthermore, since the level of investment in capitalism is volatile, depending as it does upon both the prevailing, and the expected future rate of profit, a reduction in the former and gloom about the latter will depress investment, hence employment and the overall consumption of wage earners.

Thus, the essential role of the state in this situation is to provide the necessary conditions for capital accumulation through a two-pronged strategy of fiscal and monetary policies (Therborn, 1986). On the one hand, demand-management with deficit budgeting in trade-cycle lows, would increase workers' purchasing power by increasing the level of employment, while on the other hand interest rate manipulations would encourage investment (Wilpert, 1988; Lundy & Warme, 1986; Ashton, 1986). In short, general economic problems (e.g., unemployment) could be
avoided so long as governments adopted expansionary policies whenever accumulation stagnated, and more restrictive policies (e.g. 'prices and incomes policies') when it accelerated again, and thus the cycle of boom and recession might give way to a more moderate expansion as well as full employment (1).

Given that Keynesian demand-management policies directly affected the conditions in the labour market by assuming a positive role for government in the promotion of economic growth and full employment, particularly in the 1950s, they also created the conditions--somewhat indirectly--for the internationalisation of the labour market. In other words, constant demand during the post-war economic boom (1945-73), in the context of full employment until the late 1960s, affected the demand for foreign manpower. As a result, economists typically view migration as a conjunctural phenomenon linked to the manpower needs of an expanding economy; that is migration feeds economic growth by relieving labour supply bottlenecks (see House of Commons, May 24, 1990; Rao & Kapsalis, 1982; Foot et al., 1980; Parai, 1974; Kindleberger, 1967). For example, Nikolinakos (1975) has argued that foreign labour was the absolutely essential component that made possible the continued economic growth of European countries, otherwise, recession, stagnation, and consequently, unemployment would have been the result.

Unfortunately, because of the narrow way in which migration is conceived, the analysis of labour migration is confined to the level of the business cycle rather than the longer accumulation process. As a consequence, the historically specific features of
post-1973 Canadian capitalism, for example, the trend of a growth of migrant labour despite the appearance of structural unemployment is ignored (Clement & Williams, 1989; Wong, 1984; Miles, 1982; Bach, 1978; Castells, 1975). For instance, it is evident from the data provided by Table 2.11 that since 1974, there has been a tendency for the level of unemployment to increase progressively in countries belonging to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). This underlying increase has been particularly noticeable in Canada where between 1970 and 1983 unemployment doubled. Moreover, as a result of numerous transformations in the structure of the economy such as plant closings, the emergence of a pool of low-paid, part-time and temporary workers, and prolonged unemployment, unemployment due to a downturn in the business cycle has long ceased to be a normal feature of the Canadian economy (Clement, 1988; Burman, 1988; Jain, 1987; Riddell, 1986b,c,b; Kumar, 1986; Therborn, 1986). One implication of these general economic conditions is that the notion of labour "shortage" is difficult to sustain.

Similarly, while changes in the immigration flow often coincide with fluctuations in the business cycle (for example, with the onset of the 1982 recession restrictions were imposed on selected worker intake) this association ignores the fact that in the long run the pattern of immigration contradicts the above coincidence. Research indicates that: "Contemporary migration increasingly includes the flow of temporary workers along with the flow of permanent immigrants" (Wong, 1984:85; Boyd & Taylor,
The former flow has become more significant, since the employment visa regulations were introduced in January 1973, in terms of both the numbers of workers allowed in to Canada as well as in the characteristics of the temporary worker flow. As for the latter, a major source of the growth over time are increases in the employment authorisations associated with refugee claimants, that is, exempt employment authorisations, rather than increases in validated employment authorisations issued on "labour market criteria" (2). In addition, Boyd and Taylor have noted that the Canadian Employment and Immigration Commission began, in January 1985, issuing generic employment authorisations to refugee claimants as well as other groups (e.g., persons under removal orders) who had completed medical examinations necessary for employment in certain industries.

Following the introduction of this new permit, refugee claimants are not required to obtain job-specific employment authorisations when employment is altered or terminated. As Boyd and Taylor (1986) have concluded:

"The intent is to alleviate job search problems and to lighten the burden of CEIC officials faced with processing a rapidly growing group of workers exempt from labour market validation requirements" (1986:724).

In summary, the economic premise that immigration is cyclically volatile is contradicted by the number of employment authorisations (validated/exempt) issued yearly to within-Canada refugee claimants and temporary workers, for example, domestics. In fact, one major labour market trend associated with employment authorisations is their increasing accessability irrespective of
cyclical fluctuations in the economy. In the next sections, it will be argued that an adequate explanation of the internationalisation of the labour market is to be found in a general conception of capital accumulation and the political factors which produce refugee migrations. The discussion therefore begins with a brief overview of the interrelation between capitalism and migration.

THE CAPITAL-RELATION AND CAPITAL ACCUMULATION

In this section, I begin the examination of the internationalisation of the labour market with an analysis of class relations as determined by the relationship to the means of production, a structural feature of the capitalist mode of production.

Overall, the structure of a mode of production is an interconnected whole which comprises: 1) the level of the productive forces, and 2) the social relations of production. The relationship between the forces and the relations of production is complex and inherently dialectical (see Harriss, 1982; Kay, 1975). More important, both of these components are opposed, exhibiting a tendency towards contradiction. Lastly, in order to avoid a deterministic conception of the mode of production, I follow the suggestion made by Kay (1975) that while, on the one hand, material production determines the social relations within which it takes place, on the other hand, these social relations determine material production no less forcibly.

For example, a common misconception concerns the productive forces whenever these are seen to be restricted to nothing other
than technology or the instruments of labour. However, this conceptual misunderstanding can be avoided if it is realized that to establish the productive forces in fact amounts to studying the labour process, which includes not only the instruments of labour but its organisation, that is, forms of cooperation and coordination (see Harriss, 1982; Miles, 1982; Braverman, 1974; Robbins, 1974). In the main though, the focus of the analysis of the interrelation between capitalism and migration will be primarily upon the relations of production.

The social relations of production are defined primarily by the mode of appropriation of surplus labour, that is, the relation of exploitation. First, the relation of exchange between capital and labour is based on the fact that labour stripped of its own means of production is unable to produce its own means of subsistence and therefore is forced to sell its labour power (a commodity) for a wage. Second, this structural relationship of overall asymmetry between capital and labour, favours the capacity of the former to appropriate surplus value. Marx (1977) argues that in the actual process of production, the value that will be created by applying labour to the objective conditions of labour--its materials and instruments--is more than the price paid for labour-power. Subsequently, the proportion of the value created which is returned to the worker in wages is less than the value taken by the owner of the means of production. Furthermore, corresponding to the form of appropriation, e.g. surplus value, there is a particular form of ownership of the means of production, private ownership. Simply
put, under a capitalist mode of production, the means of production are owned, not by those who perform the surplus labour, but by those who appropriate it, who control the process of production (Massey & Catalano, 1978).

In sum, different relations of production give rise to class relations in the capitalist mode of production. By focusing upon the capital relation, it is possible to identify the mechanism, the exploitation of labour by capital, by which the accumulation of capital takes place. Moreover, the presence of a particular set of production relations—the capital relation in this case—asserts that the concept of class is an essential feature of capitalism. Overall, what is most important about the Marxian notion of structural determination is that classes are structurally determined in relation to the productive forces and that the capitalist mode of production gives rise to two major classes, the bourgeoisie and the working class (3) (cf. Cohen, 1987; Corbridge, 1986; Mouzelis, 1978; Veltmeyer, 1978a, 1983).

**CAPITALISM AND MIGRATION**

The value of the concept of mode of production and class can also be seen in a conception of migration which relocates people in the relations of production. Since, in part, migration is determined by economic considerations, namely a shortage of labour, a key problem for Marxist migration literature is how migration is understood in relation to the development of the capitalist mode of production (Li, 1990; Bolaria & Li, 1985; Miles, 1987, 1982; Bach, 1978; Castles & Kossack, 1973).
For instance, building upon an explanation of the vital socioeconomic role of the reserve army of labour (RAL) in capitalism, some Marxists have argued that in societies characterized by scarcity of labour—either in the absolute sense of exhaustion of the domestic labour supply or the relative one of exhaustion of labour willing to work for low wages—the overall effect of immigration has been to slow the growth of wages especially in industries where immigrants are concentrated (4) (Castles & Kossack, 1973; Back, 1978; Jordan, 1982; Wooterspoon, 1989). According to Marxian analysis, the general movement of wages is exclusively regulated by the expansion and contraction of the RAL—a population that is in excess with respect to the average needs of capital for self-expansion (Marx, 1977). Subsequently, the significance of labour migration in a period of labour scarcity lies in the fact that it helps to maintain the rate of profit by creating a new reserve army of labour from outside national borders (Fevre, 1984; Miles & Phizacklea, 1980; Carney et al., 1980). In short, the reproduction of capitalist relations become dependent on obtaining labour power from outside national boundaries.

However, as will be shown below, the evidence in support of the RAL approach has generally been fragmentary at best. For example, most analyses of the political economy of migration restrict their scope to one instance, the postwar economic boom (Cohen, 1987; Fevre, 1984; Lever-Tracy, 1983; Carney et al., 1980). As a consequence, they have difficulty in grasping the historically specific features of large-scale movements of
workers into developed capitalist countries after 1973. Although this is not the case with the second approach to be discussed, that of immigrants as a "secondary" labour force, the distinctive feature of this line of argument is that it fails to take into account the migrant's position in the relations of production before and after migration (see Cockcroft, 1986; Nash & Fernandez-Kelly, 1983; Fogel, 1980; Piore, 1979).

"PROFITS SQUEEZE" THESIS

Expressed most simply, the "profits squeeze" thesis maintains that sustained full employment during the 1945 postwar boom strengthened the hand of organised labour to such an extent that profit rates in the advanced capitalist countries began to dip in the late 1960s (de Janvry, 1981; Corbridge, 1986). To escape this crisis, developed capitalist countries implemented a number of options to restructure their economies and thus continue the scale of accumulation. First, a concern for production costs (mainly wages) drove U.S. and European transnational corporations to relocate the labour-intensive and relatively low skilled manufacturing of their branch plants to cheap labour free-trade zones in developing countries (Pyle, 1990; Corbridge, 1986; Henderson, 1986; Nash & Fernandez-Kelly, 1983).

In North America, for example, the high wage differentials between the U.S. and Mexico (in 1980, 7 to 1 for unskilled workers and reaching 13 to 1 for agricultural work) as well as the establishment, in 1965, of the Border Industrial Program (BIP) by Mexico, which created the "maquiladoras" or in-bond
industries, allowed U.S.-based corporations (mainly transnationals) to relocate industrial production to a 20-km corridor inside the Mexican border (Boyd et al., 1987; Nash & Fernandez-Kelly, 1983). Thus, a new international structure of production was put in place, which increasingly integrated a part of the Mexican workforce into the global production networks of U.S. transnational corporations. For instance, by 1990 maquiladoras provided 500,000 direct production jobs and constituted Mexico's third largest source of foreign revenue after oil and tourism (CLC Trade Watch, 1990; see also MacEwan & Tabb, 1989; Goulet, 1983). Finally, a distinguishable characteristic of the occupational structure of maquiladoras is that up to 90 percent of all workers are women (Pyle, 1990; Boyd et al., 1987).

Besides the relocation of industry to developing countries, a second major response to declining profits rates was increasing technological change; thus, the tendency of capitalism to expand through increasing relative surplus value by raising the productivity of labour. In this case, many firms introduced new forms of technology (e.g. automatic production control in integrated and self-monitoring plant and machinery) to specifically increase the productivity of labour (Schmitz, 1985; Jenkins, 1984; Massey, 1984). In other words, since every increase in the productivity of labour reduces the amount of labour needed to produce a commodity and simultaneously reduces the value of that commodity, it thereby tends to reduce the value
of wages for capital in general. As a result, the value of wages and profits move in opposite directions (5) (Wells, 1981).

Finally, the scale of accumulation was allowed to expand through continued growth in the volume of international migration. During this period of rapid expansion (from 1945 to about 1973) migration (i.e. of workers) was encouraged as a solution to labour shortages and increasing wage demands brought on by full employment (de Janvry, 1981; Carney et al., 1980). It is this latter response to the "profits squeeze" thesis that concerns me since it centers upon the interrelation between capitalism and migration and immigrants' role in the industrial reserve army.

Reduced to its bare essentials, the profits squeeze argument starts from a market phenomenon, namely labour-power's scarcity at the height of an economic boom. Sustained full employment during the postwar boom strengthened the hand of organised labour and thus profit rates began to dip in the late 1960s (Adams, 1985). Hence, it is argued that labour migration was encouraged as a solution to labour shortages and increasing wage demands (Fevre, 1984). This is often qualified by pointing out that an acceleration of accumulation and hence labour demand soon began to outrun the possibilities offered by the system of internal labour migrations (Veltmeyer, 1978a; Jenkins, 1978; Carney et al, 1980; Cohen, 1987).

Without disputing the factual accuracy of such claims, however, it would appear that there are certain limitations to the profits squeeze thesis. First, the notion of a profits
squeeze is too general, and therefore disregards historical specificities. In other words, such theorizing would appear to explain the thrust of migration policy during the 1960s, but its relevance for the period since the post-1973 world recession is limited. For instance, the particular context of the Canadian economy in the early 1980s was that of structural unemployment and recession (1981-83). Consequently, the problem for Canada since this time has been too many aspirants looking for work rather than too few (Burman, 1988).

Moreover, if according to the thesis, the bargaining power of labour due to full employment produced a distributional shift from profits to wages, it is not clear why capital's problems in the 1980s have not yet been resolved by the creation of an "industrial reserve army" of unemployed workers instead of the systematic import of foreign labour and the facilitation of international labour migration (cf. Bolaria & Li, 1985; Li, 1990).

As noted earlier, according to Marxian analysis the RAL (unemployed, underemployed and sporadically employed) performs essential functions for capital. First, it is held literally in reserve ready to be deployed when the market suddenly expands, and to be discarded during periods of stagnation. Second, the very existence of a RAL reduces the bargaining power of those in regular employment, since, the very movement of wages are exclusively regulated by the RAL's expansion and contraction. Thus, in periods of high unemployment the RAL presses on the population of active workers and holds the claims (i.e., higher
wages) of the latter in check. In sum, the relationship between changes in the business cycle and the level of unemployment is the result of the need (by capital) for a reserve to keep wages low relatively to profits.

Clearly, in a situation where there is a substantial rise in unemployment, such as is the case from the mid-1970s onwards, the wage-bargaining power of those in regular employment is greatly reduced relative to conditions of full employment. In fact, in Canada, some studies of the movement of wages over the course of time have reported that employers have sought to force unions to accept small increases, freezes, or even reductions in wages (Jain, 1990; Adams, 1985; also see Drache & Glasbeek, 1988). As Jain (1990) shows, with unemployment bolstering their power, employers achieved some success, especially during 1982-84 when the recession was at its worst. Hence,

"Around one-quarter of agreements reached in 1984 froze or cut wages in the first contract year, while in 1985 and 1986 the proportion of cuts or freezes was 15 and 13 percent respectively". (Jain, 1990:280) (6).

Another work along these lines has estimated that during 1983 and by early 1984 wages and prices were advancing at the slowest rate in two decades (Adams, 1985:126; also see Drache & Glasbeek, 1988). As a result, since the early 1980s, real wages (adjusted for inflation) have actually declined (cf. Riddell, 1986a,1986c; Thompson & Swimmer, 1984).

Of course, in considering the findings of the above studies, there are a number of other factors to bear in mind, for example, wage controls and regressive labour law. For instance, under the
stimulus of 'incomes policies,' the Anti-Inflation Program of 1975-78 of the Liberal government empowered the Anti Inflation Board to roll back collective agreements to conform to wage guidelines in both the public and private sectors (Clement, 1988; Meltz, 1985). Similarly, in 1982 the Public Sector Compensation Restraint Act imposed mandatory "6" and "5" percent increases, suspending the right of federal workers to bargain or strike. The largest provinces followed suit for their employees, with Quebec imposing the most severe cutbacks" (Clement, 1988; Bilson, 1987; Panitch & Swartz, 1985).

In light of the above empirical findings, it can be concluded that Canada was not a labour-scarce economy throughout the post-1973 period. In fact, structural unemployment is a marked feature of this period (see Table 2.11). There is also no support for the other aspect of the profits squeeze thesis, increasing wage demands. There is compelling evidence, based on detailed examination of the movement of wages over the course of the 1980s, that real wages were not increasing but were actually declining (Riddell, 1986c, Adams, 1985). Both of these labour market trends taken together help to undermine the validity of the profits squeeze argument that post-1973 labour migration is a result of labour shortages and rising wages. As stated earlier, with respect to wages, the profits squeeze thesis would argue that in a full employment economy any increases in workers' wages would impact favourably on the demand for migrant labour. The validity of this line of argument, however, runs counter to the empirical evidence provided above. Hence, it would appear that
factors other than full employment and increasing wage demands must be involved in the migration of labour to a developed capitalist country like Canada.

THE PARTICULAR LABOUR SCARCITY ARGUMENT

In the wake of the large flow of migrants who have entered the United States legally and illegally since the early 1970s, there has been an upsurge in research on the labour market impact of immigration (Portes, 1978a; Fogel, 1980; Sassen-Koob, 1985; Cockcroft, 1986; Cohen, 1987). According to these studies the role of immigration is not to augment the supply of labour, but to augment the supply of low-wage labour. Furthermore, some authors suggest that these same migrants are not only predisposed to settle for the most unattractive jobs but are objectively a distinct stratum of the working class because of their disadvantaged socio-economic and political position—the divided working class thesis (Rist, 1978; Cockcroft, 1986; Massey, 1987; Cohen, 1987). Nevertheless, there is evidence to suggest that the arguments advanced by these studies divert attention from the migrants' place at the heart of the capitalist system and their role as subjects of exploitation and as producers of profit (Lever-Tracy & Quinlan, 1988; Miles & Phizacklea, 1980; Miles, 1982). Hence, in this section I examine the implications of the theoretical argument for dealing with immigrants as a discrete group.

As stated above, the basic assertion in the particular labour scarcity argument is that the U.S. has become, especially
since the 1970s, the recipient of unskilled labour immigration because of the expansion in the supply of low-wage jobs (7). That is, under the organisation of production prevalent today, immigrants are viewed as providing cheap labour for declining sectors of the economy, highly dynamic technologically advanced sectors, and the large array of service jobs that need to be performed in situ (Jenkins, 1978; Sassen-Koob, 1985; Johnson & Johnson, 1982; Ng, 1988). Indeed, the picture Sassen-Koob presents on this point is worth quoting at some length:

"A detailed empirical examination of the major service industries shows a significant subcategory of low-wage jobs: jobs with few if any skill and language requirements and no history of unionization, in brief, jobs that can conceivably be held by immigrant workers...Second, there has been an expansion of low-wage jobs in the manufacturing sector as a result of the social reorganization of the work process, notably the expansion of sweatshops and industrial homework, the technological transformation of the work process that has induced a downgrading of a variety of jobs, and the rapid growth of high technology industries, which are characterized by a large share of low-wage jobs in production...An examination of the job-supplying high tech industries shows a massive expansion in low-wage assembly line jobs, mostly not unionized and held by immigrant or native minority women. Finally, well over a third of the net job addition of jobs from 1970 to 1980 was in garments" (1985:234-39; also see Fernandez-Kelly, 1985).

As can be seen, the distinctive feature of the particular labour scarcity argument is the underlying dynamic of capitalism held to generate a powerful demand for unskilled workers. In addition, there is a general agreement that immigrant labour can be used to fill the bottom ladders of the occupational structure (Portes, 1978a; Bach, 1978; Sassen-Koob, 1985; Henderson, 1986; MacEwan & Tabb, 1989).
However, there is less agreement on the theoretical soundness and substantive meaning of the divided working class thesis. It has been argued that while there has been a shortage of low-skilled labour in certain sectors of the capitalist economy, such as the expansion of service industries and low-wage assembly production, many of the jobs in these sectors are not marginal or peripheral to capitalism but are at its very core, at the source of its surplus value production (Lever-Tracy & Quinlan, 1988; Fevre, 1984; West, 1982; Miles & Phizacklea, 1980). For instance, in assessing the socioeconomic position of the foreign workers in Europe, Lever-Tracy and Quinlan (1988) found that immigrants were overwhelmingly members of the working class. Lever-Tracy and Quinlan have also observed that,

"In Europe, and even more so in Australia, immigrants have often come to form a majority of many occupations in particular workplaces (steel, motor vehicle and glass industries) and these have frequently been areas of long-established unionisation and key locations for the production of capitalist profits" (1988:7).

Fernandez-Kelly (1989) makes a similar point with respect to Hispanic immigrants in Southern California, who cluster in the operative and unskilled categories of electronics and garment manufacture. According to Fernandez-Kelly:

"Southern California houses the largest cluster of electronics firms in the United States, having gradually superseded Santa Clara county (the so-called Silicon Valley) as a high-tech center. More specifically, 44 percent of all production workers are Hispanic and almost 36 percent of them are female. A striking 30 to 40 percent of Hispanics working in direct production in electronics are immigrants. An additional 19 percent are foreign-born Asians, while Blacks represent only 3 percent of the labor force in direct production in electronics" (1989:155-56).
While it is true that both the electronics and garment sectors pay some of the lowest wages to industrial workers in the U.S., what is important from the point of view of the argument here is that the immigrants employed in these industries stand in the same relationship to the means of production as, comparatively speaking, native-born workers employed by other sectors of capital such as steel and auto industry, where there are higher salaries, wages and fringe benefits (8). As Lever-Tracy and Quinlan put it:

"...despite the multiplication of intermediate or ambiguous strata, classes or 'locations', the system is still driven by the extraction of surplus value from 'productive' workers. It is the tension between those who directly produce and those who control this surplus value which shapes the orbits of all the others" (1988:99-100).

Finally, it is quite misleading to suggest, as the divided working class thesis does, that native-born workers are employed in skilled, stable and desirable occupations while immigrants fill the most unattractive jobs consisting of dead-end work (with limited on-the-job learning), low-skilled (which means workers can be easily replaced), and labour-intensive (which reduces the overhead of technology). This notion is based on the assumption that the native-born have been able to move into more skilled, white collar and other preferred occupations while immigrants fill the low paid and low status jobs. On the contrary, many of the jobs held by native-born workers often involve deskilling, shiftwork, and redundancies. For instance, intra-industry comparisons in the clothing and electronics industry have revealed that it is rarely an advantage to work in an advanced
electronics factory (see Nash & Fernandez-Kelly, 1983; Fernandez-Kelly, 1989). If anything, work in the latter is more repetitive and strenuous and labour turnover is considerable (Fernandez-Kelly, 1989). Certainly, these employment characteristics make this type of employment no less desirable than employment associated with the so-called peripheral sector of the economy employing immigrants, for example, the clothing industry (Lever-Tracy & Quinlan, 1988; Schmitz, 1985; Rubery, 1978; Braverman, 1974). With regards to security and stability of employment, Lever-Tracy and Quinlan have noted that,

"the spread of unemployment and insecurity in the last decade has spared neither indigenous white men nor the employees of large corporations nor those whose jobs were in mass production or involved advanced technology" (1988:20).

In sum, the evidence is in fact against such claims that there is a marginal and mainstream working class. For instance, there is no need to divide the working class into strata, as the divided working class thesis does, since low wages and dead-end work do not in any way alter the class determination of migrant labour as seller of labour power. Thus, it does not seem necessary to make a distinction between immigrant and native-born workers, as do many migration studies (Castles & Kossack, 1973; Portes, 1978a; Rist 1978; Nash & Fernandez-Kelly, 1983).

FORCED MIGRATIONS

The last two sections took a broader view of the political economy of migration. Nonetheless, the persistence of transnational refugee movements requires an even broader type of explanation. As indicated at the beginning of the chapter, the
spatial mobility of migrants is determined by more than economic considerations, namely a demand for wage labour. A growing number of immigrants in developed capitalist countries are political refugees, who in the context of political upheaval and fear of retaliation and repression in their country of origin have been forced to migrate (Miles & Phizacklea, 1980; Cohen, 1987). That is, in conditions of forced migration, migrants do not retain any power to decide whether or not to leave (Strand & Jones Jr., 1985). In addition, these population movements have been noted as being not only rapid and without adequate preparation, but the pattern of refugee flows itself has been toward refugee camps in countries of first asylum such as Thailand and Honduras, and developed capitalist countries. In the latter case, refugees are more likely to concentrate in Western Europe, Canada, Australia, and the United States. (Richmond, 1988, 1975; Chiswick, 1988; Cohen, 1987). As can be appreciated, political refugee migrations are largely distinct from economically motivated migration--the sale of labour-power. More important, as the following discussion indicates, the Central American refugee migration meets all the requirements of a forced migration.

To begin, it must be noted that although the majority of Central Americans migrate because of threats of political violence and repression, their motives for fleeing political persecution often do not translate into a right under Canada's protocol to asylum (see refugee section in Chapter 2). One reason for this is due to the fact that Canada's definition of a
refugee is restrictive (Gilad, 1990). Only those Central Americans who are able to establish both a subjective and concrete evidence of a well-founded fear of political persecution are recognized as Convention refugees. As a consequence, the definitional problems of refugee status often prevent recognition of the political nature of the Central American migration (Margalit, 1991).

In fact, even with the passage of the 1976 Immigration Act, which incorporated into law a definition relating to the status of designated category refugees, the majority of Central American refugees do not attain actual refugee status and are, at best, considered quasi-refugees. In addition, the Canadian government retains considerable discretionary power as to who is allowed into the country under the designated refugee category from Latin America (9). According to Mata:

"Screening procedures, such as those being implemented for Salvadorean refugees and during the Chilean Coup of 1973, have been important filtering mechanisms...During the Chilean exodus, the urgency of the flight to Canada was many times in sharp contrast with the slow pace of the administrative procedures implemented" (1985:29).

For example, the inflow of Chilean refugees accounted for only 1,400 persons after the 1973 Coup d'Etat (Richmond, 1975).

By contrast, applicants for resettlement from Indochina, and previous refugee flows from Hungary (1956-57) and Czechoslovakia (1967-68), have been given more favourable treatment by the Canadian government (Segal, 1990). Historically, Canada has not only exhibited a strong preference for refugees escaping Communist countries but the applicants themselves did not undergo
a refugee determination hearing. That is, the applicants did not have to prove their claims that they were targeted for political reprisal in their country of origin. As a result, Canadian governments often found it appropriate to confer categorical eligibility to all political refugees who fled their Communist homelands rather than to apply the lengthier case-by-case adjudication process, since, persons fleeing Communist countries were presumed to meet the definition of a refugee.

Evidence shows that in 1956 and 1957 a total of nearly 38,000 Hungarian refugees was admitted (Proudfoot, 1990). The other significant refugee flow, prior to the resettlement of Indochinese refugees in the early 1980s, was the Czechoslovakian intake consisting of 19,000 refugees between 1967 and 1968 (Richmond, 1988; 1975). Finally, the Communist takeover of both Phnom Penh (Cambodia) and Saigon (South Vietnam) in April (1975), and the Laotian coup d'Etat in December (1975), which provoked the flight of many thousand Indochinese, forced Canada to increase its commitment and admit up to 50,000 Indochinese refugees by the end of 1980 (Proudfoot, 1990; Dorais et al., 1988).

In this context, it is important to note that prior to Canada's consent to the United Nations Convention on Refugees in 1969, the definition of a refugee leaned heavily towards anyone who left a Communist country. One element shaping Canada's foreign policy internationally at the time was the nature of the continental relationship between Canada and the United States. For example, the 1940 Ogdensburg Declaration signed by the two
countries created a Permanent Board on Defense, which was under the direction of the U.S. military (Clement & Williams, 1989; Smythe, 1981). After World War Two, however, as Smythe (1981) declares, the United States has been strategically on the defensive, following the adoption of socialist systems by about one-third of the world's population (also see Mattelart & Siegelaub, 1983). Inevitably, then, the signing of such Defence Sharing agreements between the two countries shaped Canadian federal actions in support of U.S. foreign policy. In fact, prior to the establishment of the Refugee Act of 1980 in the U.S., which was designed to bring the U.S. in line with international norms, the definition of a refugee included anyone who left a Communist country (Cohen, 1987).

Overall, the above assessment of the effects of Canada's foreign policy on the definition of refugee status reveals the structural constraints preventing the likely increases in Central American refugee flows. On the one hand, evidence that greater selectivity was exercised on Latin American refugees confirms that the refugee process is discriminatory (Segal, 1990; Mata, 1985). On the other hand, the definition problems of refugee status complicate the situation for Central American refugees in that only the most extreme forms of persecutions are considered as legitimate refugee claims, thereby setting numerical limitations on refugee intake from Central American countries, such as Guatemala, El Salvador and Honduras. While it might be argued that the Canadian government is prepared to accept individuals from Central American countries under specific
circumstances (i.e. designated category) evidence suggests, however, that Canada's long standing bias in favour of refugees from formerly Communist countries is a major determinant in such a decision (Segal, 1990).

In spite of the above constraints, however, recent research by Margalit (1991) has shown that the most frequently cited reason for leaving a Central American country of origin centred around war and political repression. Of the 145 men interviewed by Margalit in her (1991) *Survey of Downtown Vancouver Eastside Latin American Street Population*, 85 percent said their main reason for migrating to Canada was political repression. Margalit (1991:26) further adds that,

"Almost half (46%) of these men had family members "disappear". More than two-thirds (65%) had witnessed other being beaten and interrogated, and the same amount had been threatened with imprisonments, beatings or death. 55% had been beaten or interrogated with 28% actually being imprisoned for political reasons. 6% admitted to beating and interrogating others"

Clearly, then, since Central American refugees see their migration to Canada as a means of escaping political oppression and violence, their migration is neither voluntary nor economic. On the contrary their forced migration is due to Civil War in countries like El Salvador and the policy of national security deployed by such countries as Guatemala as well as El Salvador (10). Under the aegis of the national security doctrine, a "security statute" is decreed, granting military and police forces full control over public order, and military jurisdiction over civilians. The overall effect of this policy in Central America has resulted in widespread extrajudicial executions,
disappearances and torture—the so-called "dirty war" (Petras et al., 1981; Menchu, 1984). In short, the forced migration of refugees from Central America is either connected with a controlling government which directs their movement and exodus for political reasons or they are groups of people displaced by the ravages of civil war.

SUMMARY

This chapter has demonstrated the need to understand migration within the theoretical framework of Marxist political economy. In the case of the post 1945 migration to Western Europe and North America, it explained the internationalisation of the exploitation of labour as a consequence of the capital accumulation process. Developed capitalist countries experienced a major shortage of labour and, thus, became dependent on obtaining labour power from outside national boundaries. As a result, the chapter argued that there is a historical specificity to those circumstances which create migration.

However, because not all migration flows are determined by the demand for wage labour, the chapter also examined the various political pressures, within the Central American context, which produce the migration of political refugees. For instance, the forced migration of Central American refugees was induced by Civil War in El Salvador, and the policy of national security enforced by countries like Guatemala. Furthermore, analysis of the effect of Canadian government policy with respect to the definition of a refugee found that government policy (or rather
policies) not only varies as to the definition, but the definitional problems of refugee status prevent recognition (on the part of the Canadian government) of the political nature of Central American refugee migration.

Two conclusions emerge from the above discussion. First, because some migrations are, in part, determined by the demand for wage labour, there is a direct relationship between capitalism (conceived as a mode of production by, inter alia, wage labour) and migration. Thus, there is no need to divide the working class into strata, as the divided working class thesis does, since low wages or dead-end work do not alter in any way migrant labour's general relationship to capital as seller of labour power. The second conclusion is that although refugee migrations are not determined by the demand for wage labour, the connection of migration and capitalism, in this case, should not be conceived to be a necessarily direct one but may be, at the very least, a mediated connection. That is, the significance of refugee migration does not lie in spatial mobility as a result of the demand for wage labour per se, but in the position in the relations of production occupied by refugees before and after migration. For instance, the refugee migration process eventually leads to the incorporation of some refugees as wage labourers. This process has been further facilitated by the state which supplies refugee claimants exempt employment authorisations.

In the next chapter, I examine how the state in concrete ways (for example, through the legal and institutional controls
over the employment contract) reinforces the socio-economic structure of inequality in the Vancouver regional labour market. In other words, if the operation of the labour market is conceptualized within the idea of labour market segmentation, it is necessary to offer a historical explanation, which includes the role of the state in the (re)organisation of class relations with respect to the basic exchange, for an overall dualism in the economy.
FOOTNOTES

(1) Of course, the reappearance of mass unemployment as well as the rise in public sector expenditure during the 1970s, in the OECD countries, have given rise to the neo-classical critique of Keynesian deficit spending and its other related demand-management techniques. According to monetarism (or supply-side economics) rising public expenditure and the growth of non-market output have crowded out private spending and commodity production respectively, and thus lowered the rate of profit in the private sector. In short, productive resources are misallocated because of government policy (see Green, 1989; Ashton, 1986; Jordan, 1982).

(2) In cases of 'arranged employment' where a job through a specific employer has been provided for the applicant, for example, domestic workers, "labour market criteria" means that Employment and Immigration certifies that suitably qualified Canadian citizens or permanent residents are not available to fill the jobs concerned, and that the job offer from the Canadian employer provides wages and working conditions set by Canadian labour standards. In November 1981, however, the federal government revised its policy with respect to domestic workers and validated employment authorisations. That is, validated employment authorisations were no longer issued solely on the basis of validated demand and the domestics' ability to do the job.

(3) It has been noted by some Marxists that the lack of emphasis upon structural factors, that is, upon the position occupied by persons in production, has led to an arbitrary use of the class concept (Hunter, 1981; Clement, 1988; Clement & Williams, 1989). Hence the proliferation of such ad hoc categories as underclass, lumpenproletariat and marginal classes (see Rex & Tomlinson, 1979; Frank, 1982; Massey et al., 1987).

(4) Relative scarcity is a product of past organisation of the working class and the availability of welfare and unemployment insurance. Both income support programs enhance the ability of the worker to stay outside the labour market for prolonged periods of time.

(5) Eventually though with every increase in productivity, the relative growth in surplus-value becomes smaller. By contrast, absolute surplus-value (i.e., intensification) does not reduce the value of each product. However, an increase in the intensity of exploitation is useful to capital in that workers produce more commodities in a given period of time (cf. Fevre, 1984).

(6) Similarly, real wages have steadily declined in the U.S. since the early 1970s. From their peak in 1972 until 1985, real wages in the United States fell by 14.1 percent. Additionally, even the growth of two-wage households has failed to maintain average family income levels--by 1985, real median family incomes
had fallen by 4.9 percent from their 1973 peak (MacEwan & Tabb, 1989; also see Francis Green, 1989).

(7) Doreen Massey has recently argued that, "Whether or not a particular job is classified as skilled can be as much a result of organisational strength, bargaining power and ideology as of the nature of the task itself" (1984:41). In other words, the designation of workers as "skilled" and "unskilled" depends in large measure on whether or not entry to their organisation is deliberately restricted, and not in the first place according to the nature of the occupation itself. For example, the very fact that a job is done by women is often qualified as unskilled whatever its actual skill component (see Glucksman, 1980; Gannage, 1986).

(8) Production workers average hourly earnings in the U.S. electronics industry rose by 6.2 percent a year between 1967 and 1976, from $2.60 to $4.46 an hour more slowly than average wage increases for all U.S. manufacturing industries (see Nash & Fernandez-Kelly, 1983). Moreover, female electronics technicians do in fact receive more in average hourly earnings than female assemblers, the difference between $5.56 and $4.04 (1976).

(9) According to Mata (1985), the aftermath of the F.L.Q. crisis created in some public officials a reluctance to accept into Canada individuals of a leftist ideology.

(10) Since the late 1970s, several Central American countries have been beset by a series of political struggles. Following the victory of the Sandinista Revolution in 1979, which deposed the U.S. armed and trained military dictatorship of the Somoza regime, a civil war erupted in El Salvador. The revolutionary process in El Salvador involves forces led by Marxist-led revolutionary fronts in open military conflict with the National Revolutionary Movement (which broke ranks with the left-revolutionary opposition and joined a junta of self-styled reformist colonels and liberal businessmen), the Arena Party, and the U.S.-trained military (Petras et al., 1981).
CHAPTER IV: IMMIGRANTS IN A 'SPLIT-LABOUR' MARKET

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I argue that labour force divisions such as those found in a split labour market arise from various forms of state regulation, including the legal and institutional controls over the employment contract, licensing, and language training provisions. This means that the system of labour market regulation requires analysis in its own right as a central structuring influence on the migrants' labour market incorporation. This perspective highlights the differences in the migrants' position within the labour market, which in other labour market segmentation analyses become obscured by simple labour-force dichotomies like skilled/unskilled or primary/secondary (see Portes, 1981; Jenkins, 1978). For instance, the coherence of the 'secondary workers' category is largely based on the assertion that immigrants and other groups (teens, women and ethnic minorities) historically have filled secondary-sector jobs (Gordon, 1972; Edwards, 1975; Piore, 1979; Nash & Fernandez-Kelly, 1983; Chinloy & Stromsdorfer, 1987). These jobs are dead-end, with limited on-the-job learning, low-skilled (which means workers can be easily replaced) and labour intensive (which reduce the overhead costs of technology). Consequently, it is their employment in the secondary labour market that, according to segmented labour market theorists, explains why the earnings of immigrants are lower than those of primary-sector workers (Massey et al., 1987; Jain, 1987).
However, as long as the stress is laid on the nature of the employment (dead-end, low-skilled) or the product of qualitative differences between workers (e.g. education) rather than the system of labour market regulation, the segmented labour market concept leads to an over-simplified interpretation of how (ethnic and sex-based) segmentation arises (cf. Rubery, 1978; 1988). In fact, even in Edna Bonacich's version of segmented labour market theory, the "split-labour market", where she assumes that economic factors--differences in the price of labour--are the primary cause of ethnic separation of workers, she overemphasizes the role of intra-class conflict while underemphasizing the importance of the conflict in the capital relation, and the role of the state in creating segmented labour markets (Bonacich, 1972; 1976; 1979). Thus, one of the main criticisms directed at Bonacich's split-labour market is that the development of the labour market is viewed from one perspective: through the motivations and actions of ethnic workers in competition with each other in the labour market (Asher & Stephenson, 1990; Reitz, 1990; Satzewich, 1990; Fevre, 1984).

This basic premise of split-labour market theory, I shall argue below, fails to understand how the form of labour force divisions (ethnic and sex-based) is also likely to be related to the system of labour market regulation within the economy and not simply to differences in resources and motives which are correlates of ethnicity (cf. Asher & Stephenson, 1990; Reitz, 1990; Satzewich, 1990; Fevre, 1984). Therefore, this chapter extends the split-labour market approach to analyze how the state
in concrete ways organises the labour market through the legal and institutional controls over the employment contract, licensing activities and training initiatives, such that immigrant labour is employed on different terms and conditions and under different forms of labour organisation (e.g. professional occupational associations). In short, the inclusion of institutional factors in the split labour market explanation provides a more complete understanding of the migrants' labour market incorporation.

In Chapter Five a case study of Central American Hispanic immigrants and refugees illustrates the variety of personal characteristics and experiences of different category immigrants in the Vancouver labour market. Moreover, an evaluation of the case study material tests the tenets of the "split-labour" market model, which assumes the existence of fundamental, structural divisions within the domestic labour market based on class, gender, and ethnicity. I now consider the contradictions of the dominant employment relationship (capital-relation) within the sphere of the labour market.

Central to capitalism is the notion that the social relations of production are the site of social differences, especially asymmetrical power relations between capital and labour. Once this basic criterion for the wage exchange is given, the primary role of the capitalist state is to aid the accumulation process by mediating the ways in which struggle between the main contending classes are fought over the conditions (especially legal rights) on the basis of which wage
labour can be secured so as to be at the disposal of capital (Cooke, 1983; Corrigan, 1980). It follows, therefore, that the state is structured, in a class situation, around fundamental struggles between two or more classes. Thus, the advantage of the Marxist framework is that it can account both for the state's direct involvement in the (re)organisation of class relations with respect to the basic exchange and it grasps class domination as the content of state practices by grounding all social relations in the capital-relation (in this case the basic exchange) (see Albo & Jenson, 1989; Ng, 1988; Searle, 1981; Wells, 1981).

Additionally, since the logic of capital accumulation seeks to drive down the price of labour, displacement of high-priced with cheap labour leads in turn to efforts on the part of the working class to protect itself, for the alternative might well be a generalized reduction in wages. Trade unions in Canada and the U.S. have adopted such a strategy to justify the imposition of restrictive practices in selected occupations and industries (Li, 1990; Jain, 1987; Willes, 1984; Rubery). For example, administrative rules like long apprenticeship periods, seniority, and job demarcation exclude some groups of workers (women, ethnic minorities, and immigrants) from certain sectors of production, thereby creating a wedge between a relatively stable and well-paid workforce within organized plants and cheaper labour (cf. Argue et al., 1987). As Rubery has argued,

"With mobility restricted or eliminated there will be little market influence on the shape of the internal wage structure of the firm..." Moreover, "To induce
stability, high wages and prospects of advancement are offered by restricting the number of 'ports of entry', to each of which a promotion ladder is attached, with progress up the ladder determined by seniority" (1978:20-21).

Therefore, unlike the situation found in Bonacich's conception of the split-labour market, not only do unions opt for restrictive practices, but also their organisation and strategy in Canada produce labour market segmentation (cf. Green; 1989).

Such strategies which increase the bargaining power of workers vs. employers (for example, by blocking capital's access to cheaper labour), of course, do not exist in isolation. In fact, there are a number of interrelated institutional pressures operating--of which trade unions are a part--which lead to labour market segmentation (according to gender and ethnic lines). After all, one is not simply studying 'ethnic antagonism' arising from a split-labour market, but a complex class struggle where differences in the relation of different groups of wage labour to capital constitute differences of a class nature.

LABOUR MARKET REGULATION

The explanation put forward in this section is that where decentralised collective bargaining is carried out, women, ethnic minorities and immigrants may be particularly vulnerable to the exclusion from the primary labour market composed mostly of well-paid, white male workers. According to a survey conducted by Statistics Canada in 1982, of the nearly four million unionised workers who held a job at some time in 1981, about 65 percent were men, 90 percent worked full-time, 52 percent were in the age
group 25-44, and two-thirds had high school or less education (Statistics Canada, 1983).

To begin with, in Canada wage fixing is done through highly decentralised collective bargaining—the leading mechanism of union-management interaction for determining and regulating the terms and conditions of employment (Willes, 1984; Riddell, 1986a; Kumar, 1986). Most negotiations occur between individual union and individual employer with one or more plants, often at the level of an individual establishment. As a result, according to Riddell (1986a), there were over 20,000 collective agreements covering Canada's three-and-one-half million union members in 1981. The main exception to this pattern is the public sector (administration, health, and education), where strong provincial and national bargaining systems exist alongside local-level bargaining (Roher, 1989; Bilson, 1987; Kumar, 1986). For example, among the major national unions, the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE) with a total membership of more than 280,000, in 1981, had the largest number of locals (1,626) (Riddell, 1986b; Thompson & Swimmer, 1984). 'Locals' are the basic organisational unit of trade union organisation and the legal entity for purposes of collective bargaining, e.g. the negotiation and ratification of contracts (Beaumont, 1990; Clark, 1989).

Another exception to Canada's highly fragmented industrial relations system is pattern bargaining, whereby a number of collective agreements may be grouped together because of their similar nature. The collective agreements negotiated in the
automobile industry in Canada offer an example of this more centralised informal bargaining structure. Here, unions have had to organise firms on a plant-by-plant basis, seeking representation rights for workers (in order to establish the union as the exclusive bargaining representative) in different communities of a province or the entire country. Even in this case though while they may be successful in some plants, they are required to organise all plants of a firm if they are to have a co-ordinated national agreement with a particular firm. In addition, if the union(s) is successful in organising all plants of a firm, the union(s) must proceed to the next company(ies) in order to reach an industry-wide agreement (Roher, 1989; Bilson, 1987; Argue et al., 1987; Juris et al., 1980).

Nevertheless, because the most common mode of collective bargaining is the single-plant unit of a single employer--where negotiations may be carried on directly between the certified bargaining unit and the employer--this highly decentralised labour market bargaining arrangement has proved to be a weak institutional framework for generalising wage increases and other forms of employment protection from the strong to the weak sectors of the economy, i.e., secondary labour market(4) (cf. Juris & Roomkin, 1980). The available information on union and non-union workers' wages, benefits and working conditions suggests that unionised workers--that is employees covered by collective bargaining agreements--receive higher wages, get more paid holidays and vacations, have better sick leave, and are covered by improved welfare and benefit plans (Jain, 1987; Kumar,
By contrast, non-union workers are generally low-paid and benefit less from discretionary merit pay (productivity and over-time premia) and from long-service premia. The above findings with regard to union and non-union workers' wages, benefits and working conditions show individual claims within specific plants or companies have brought about major changes in individual companies personnel policies. However, they do not provide the basis for more general changes in the pay ratios between 'primary' workers and other groups of workers because of the absence of effective collective bargaining at the industry, sectoral or national level. In other words, in the absence of centralised wage fixation in which all wage and salary earners are treated simultaneously, Canada's highly decentralised labour market bargaining system (i.e., company-level wage bargaining) has meant wide variation in the payment workers receive, with the best rates going to workers covered by collective agreements rather than all sectors of the workforce. This latter point is particularly important in view of the fact that those firms who do not recognize unions for collective-bargaining are not required to set the pay and conditions of their employees by reference to the contents of collective bargaining. Consequently, there is little protection for less organised workers other than government established general minimum requirements on such issues as maximum hours, minimum wages, and income protection in the event of unemployment, injury, and superannuation (5) (Riddell, 1986a). Overall, firm-specific pay and collective bargainings all reduce the ability of
unions to establish common employment standards and regulate the labour market.

As a consequence, the labour market position of women and immigrants, those groups of workers often associated with secondary labour market employment in segmented labour market theory, has been made more unequal by a decentralised wage fixation system which operates against the interests of the low-paid. By 1983, for example, the result of such a wages policy had meant women's pay for full-time workers stood at 60 percent of male earnings. Table 4.1 documents the sex-based average earned income differentials for major occupational groups, 1983. Also, wages in the manufacture of clothing were generally lower than in other manufacturing sectors. As Johnson and Johnson (1982) have noted, the average hourly wage for garment workers, most of them immigrant women, was $4.23, compared to an average wage of $6.38 in all Canadian manufacturing.

By way of contrast, multi-employer, industry-wide, and national bargaining structures are the dominant form in most European countries. As Rubery (1988) has noted, in countries such as Italy where there are highly centralised institutional arrangements, disparities in pay between men and women are currently among the lowest of the capitalist countries (also see O'Donnell & Hall, 1988).

Similarly, in the Nordic countries (Sweden, Denmark) central wage agreements between powerful national employers' and union confederations have been characteristic. Moreover, in the case of Swedish unions, for example, they have adopted a wages policy
of solidarity to improve the situation of the low-paid (Lowe, 1986). This means equal pay for equal work and an effort to reduce wage differentials between different groups of employees. A major reason for the above policy is that in Sweden trade union strength has traditionally been developed around strategies of equality and solidarity. As O'Donnell and Hall put it:

"It has long been recognised that if each union ignores central organisation and comes along with its own list of claims and negotiates them individually, wage differentials will soon increase and social inequality between groups will increase, breaking down labour organisation and recruiting potential at the same time"(1988:42).

Under these conditions, women stood to gain most from solidarity in wage policy since they were overrepresented in low-paid occupations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Women's earnings as a percentage of men's earnings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Managerial</td>
<td>62.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>63.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td>68.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales</td>
<td>48.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service</td>
<td>47.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farming</td>
<td>49.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homeworkers/ (Ontario, 1980)*</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Processing/ Machining</td>
<td>60.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Product</td>
<td>54.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fabrication</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>58.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport</td>
<td>60.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Occupations</td>
<td>60.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For instance, before 1960 there were lower rates of pay for women working under the same agreements as men. However, wage differentials between men and women and between high- and low-paid decreased markedly in the sixties and seventies due to the above wages policy. Table 4.2 documents the sex-based wage differentials with respect to women’s earnings as a percentage of men’s earnings for some selected countries. But whereas in the European context the wage bargaining structures are centralised, with the same rules concerning industry-wide pay agreements throughout the labour market, in Canada plant bargaining and a very weak form of central (federal government) control over wage-fixation effectively deny trade union organisation any role in determining employment conditions on a national or industry-wide basis.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Countries</th>
<th>Men Full-time (%)</th>
<th>Women Full-time (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>78 (1981)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada+</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>60 (1983)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France*</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>74 (1981)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy*</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>74 (1983)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>80 (1981)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S.A.</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>60 (1981)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the latter point it is important to note that the fundamental reason that the Canadian bargaining structure (i.e., the level at which collective bargaining is conducted) is highly fragmented is that the power to legislate concerning labour matters is held to belong to the provinces as part of their jurisdiction over 'property and civil rights' (Bilson, 1987; Willes, 1984). According to Riddell,

"The Judicial Committee of the British Privy Council decided (in 1925) that labour relations is in essence employment contract, and thus falls under property and civil rights and therefore under provincial jurisdiction" (1986a:15).

Because of this division of authority over labour relations, the effect of provincial statutory intervention to regulate the terms of exchange between capital and labour has been to fragment the constituency for cross-plant collective agreements further and therefore has effectively limited unions' abilities to negotiate industry-wide or national agreements. Fostering decentralisation therefore has been an integral goal of federal labour law (6) (cf. Willes, 1984). Thus, the state's preference for keeping negotiations at a decentralised, plant level, has meant significant differences in wages, employment standards, and collective agreements. This in turn has created the possibility for employers to establish pockets of 'cheap' labour within those industries and jobs of the secondary labour market, since they are not required to set the pay and conditions of their employees by reference to the contents of collective bargaining or national minimum wage regulations.
STATE LICENSING

In the previous section, it was shown that the concentration of certain groups (women, ethnic minorities and immigrants) in different segments of the labour market began with Canada's predominant form of industrial regulation—a decentralised wages policy. The result of this focus is that the section put more emphasis on the actual processes and mechanisms through which immigrants adjust to the receiving country as opposed to the "human capital" approach which posits that differential rewards on the job are largely due to a lack of human capital endowments, such as education and job-specific skills (see Becker & Chiswick, 1966; Mincer, 1974; Boyd et al., 1985; Mullan, 1988; Samuel, 1988).

Hence, in this section I argue that for those immigrant workers who sell their labour and subsequently become part of the workforce, their access to employment is severely curtailed by the state's licensing activities, which grant professional occupational associations, and to a lesser extent trades organisations the right to control the training and certification of practitioners. Specifically, it is maintained that the lack of recognition of education credentials, and work experience from non-English and non-European countries by trades organisations, prevent these immigrants from competing for certain jobs, even though they may be perfectly capable of performing them. An important task, therefore, is to estimate the impact of the state's licensing activities, since they are potentially a
powerful instrument in influencing immigrant labour-market behaviour.

As noted above, the argument put forward by the proponents of the human capital approach is that some workers are predisposed to settle for the most unattractive jobs and to accept the characteristics of these jobs once they are in them, because of the workers' own choice of occupation that demand less investment in education, and their tendency to exhibit high voluntary turnover (7). Extending her analysis of wage discrimination to Hispanic women in the United States, for example, Tienda (1985) found that low education levels account for the lower wages of minority women. A similar conclusion about Mexican immigrant adaptation in the U.S. has been provided by Borjas (1986), who identified low levels of formal schooling as one of the major barriers to success in the labour market (also see Portes, 1981; 1978a). In sum, these studies within the human capital tradition tend to attribute varied labour market outcomes (e.g. wage differentials and lower positions in the occupational structure) to differences in individual human capital (8) (Borjas, 1986; Tienda, 1985; Mullan, 1988 Freeman & Holzer, 1986).

Despite these efforts to understand wage differentials or lower positions in the occupational structure as a result of unequal educational attainment, however, it is important to note that human capital studies on immigrant workers have failed to consider the institutions through which they find work and acquire skills. In other words, it is not simply that immigrants
bring different skills and education, although in many cases they do, but that they are involved in a process of labour market incorporation (9).

As stated previously, in Canada, the state's licensing activities are another key to differentiating the labour market roles of immigrants from those of Canadian-born workers. Only in this case, the state can operate more directly as a source of labour market segmentation, especially occupational internal labour markets, through its licensing and accreditation activities. According to Ashton (1986): occupational internal labour markets are found in occupations which transcend particular establishments; and the movement between the occupations involved is determined by rules and procedures specific to the occupational group and not by the individual employing establishment. For the trades it can mean the workers' ability to control access to the occupation by securing the right to license occupational activities, and thus influence the behaviour of employers through their control of labour.

However, because in British Columbia the provincial government exercises direct control over certification, since it does not delegate this power to any independent organisation, as is the case of the medical profession, for example, trades organisations (e.g. plumbers) do not have the right to license occupational activities (McDade, 1988). Moreover, in the trades where workers are not required to hold a current certificate of qualification, formal apprenticeship programs financially supported by Employment and Immigration Canada (and examinations)
have been established for voluntary certification (e.g. electricians). In turn, both of these labour market interventions give the state (in this case the province) control over recruitment, which means the state has the power to exclude the non-qualified or provide the sanctions (e.g. long apprenticeship periods) to ensure their exclusion, and thereby improve the market capacity of certified tradesmen which increases their relative earnings and job security (Bettio, 1988; Rubery, 1988, 1978; McDade, 1988; Ashton, 1986).

Control over certification also enables the province to maximize flexibility in regulating the trades workforce in other ways. For example, by virtue of its central role in setting trade worker certification requirements, the province is able to accelerate the trade worker certification process or reduce certification requirements when deemed necessary, such as under conditions of trade worker shortages. Hence, by regulating the supply of trade workers and recognition for trades credentials, the province has the capability to undercut trade workers' claims to improved salaries and working conditions. As can be seen, control over employment decisions about the employment contract give the provincial government substantial autonomy to decide if immigrants are qualified.

In fact, nowhere has the power of the state to exclude the non-qualified or provide the sanctions to ensure their exclusion been more apparent than in the regulated trades, where provincial authorities require that immigrants provide original certificates and/or transcripts and that the training of an immigrant must be
evaluated in relation to provincial standards. These employment barriers particularly affect refugees who may be unable to provide documentation of their training and certification due to their quick exit from their country of origin. This means that it is difficult to assess the equivalence of their training by provincial standards.

Subsequently, a qualified person who is prevented at first from using his knowledge (in this case job-specific skills) will often over the years forget and lose confidence in his/her abilities and, he/she will move into less skilled occupations with much less stringent language and educational requirements (10). For example, if he/she is employed in a non-skilled job, he/she may get no compensatory gains in English literacy as well as job-specific skills because of the relatively minor role of both for obtaining or holding the manual and operative jobs which constitute the secondary labour market (Reitz, 1990; Seward & McDade, 1988b; Massey et al., 1987; Portes, 1981). Thus, refugees are left with few "marketable" skills to secure employment in the primary labour market (McDade, 1988; cf. Ng, 1988). Similarly, while the process for an immigrant seeking entrance to a trade in B.C. is identical to that for someone from another province, the lack of recognition of education credentials and work experience is particularly acute for immigrants with qualifications from anywhere other than Europe or the U.S. This is despite the fact that immigrants from Third World countries in the 1970s were highly selected and generally better qualified than those from other countries (Richmond,
Table 4.3 gives the age-adjusted percentage of total labour force age 15 and over with elementary education and some university education by place of birth and period of immigration, 1986.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Elementary Education1 (Less than Grade 9)</th>
<th>Some University Education2</th>
<th>Age-Adjusted2</th>
<th>Age-Adjusted2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>23.4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Non-Immigrants</strong></td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>22.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Immigrants</strong></td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>28.2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Traditional Sources</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>25.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Long Term (Before 1971)</strong></td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>25.4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Intermediate (1971-80)</strong></td>
<td>14.7</td>
<td>25.2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Recent (1981-86)</strong></td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>34.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Non-Traditional Sources</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>34.5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Long-Term (Before 1971)</strong></td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>42.8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Intermediate (1971-80)</strong></td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>31.9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Recent (1981-86)</strong></td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>29.6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. In this table, elementary education is defined as less than grade 9 education. It should be noted that, in the case of Quebec, for example, elementary education is currently defined as grades 1-6.

2. The age-adjusted percentages are calculated for each immigrant and non-immigrant group on the basis of the age structure of the total population.

Source: Shirley B. Seward and Marc Tremblay (1989:35)

From the point of view of the state, the imposition of restrictive practices such as long apprenticeships in selected occupations (which have the support of trade unions) bar access, by limiting competition, to all the new and cheaper supplies of labour, in this case foreign-trained persons. As McDade has noted,
Although an immigrant worker could theoretically obtain employment in a voluntary trade without formal participation in the certification process, this is not recommended, because holders of certificates are frequently hired ahead of those without proof of qualification (1988:9-10).

Of course, a major factor influencing the province's decision to restrict access to the regulated trades is the system of collective bargaining within the province, which limits the scope for changes in the employment system irrespective of labour market conditions. For example, local collective bargaining usually results in formal written procedures and agreements on payment and hiring systems which limit both the firms' and the state's ability to respond to changes in labour market conditions, such as an abundant supply of ready-trained immigrant workers. Nevertheless, the state by operating more directly in the licensing and supervision of the trades can impose restriction of access to well-paid occupations in the labour market.

Consequently, in an attempt to demonstrate how labour market segmentation may be exacerbated by provincial licensing activities, several studies have pointed to problems with recognition of credentials as one possible explanation for the failure of many immigrants to translate educational attainment into occupational advantage (Reitz, 1990; Richmond, 1988; McDade, 1988). For example, a study of the labour market adaptation of Third World immigrants reported that immigrants during the first year in Canada experience substantially higher than average unemployment rates and also suffer from underemployment relative to their skills and qualifications (Ornstein & Sharma, 1981).
(Table 1.1 gives the distribution of immigrants by their place of origin). A further study, undertaken in 1986 by the Affiliation of Multicultural Societies and Service Agencies of British Columbia (AMSSA), found that skilled immigrants (particularly from non-European countries) do not always pursue their intended occupation on first arrival in British Columbia (Fernando & Prasad, 1986). Moreover, the study provided evidence of underemployment and unemployment among these same skilled immigrants. Overall, both of the above findings made by the AMSSA study lend support to other claims that the occupation which immigrants intend to enter are not always reliable indication of the occupations that they actually fill after arrival and settlement in Canada (Richmond, 1988; Dorais et al., McDade & Seward, 1988). According to Richmond:

"In 1973, up to 40% of the Third World immigrants, compared with a quarter of those from other countries were still not in their intended occupation" (1978:113).

Although information comparing the labour market experience of immigrants with particular education backgrounds vis-a-vis period of immigration is scarce. Richmond's study (1988) suggests that when the period of immigration is taken into account, occupational dislocation on first arrival in Canada was characteristic of 41 percent of those arriving in 1969, and 46 percent of those arriving in 1970 and 1971. After three years, the proportion in their intended occupation increased to 69 percent. However, according to another study by Abbott and Beach (1987), 1976 arrivals in Canada fared much worse: after one year,
53 percent of male immigrants, and 74 percent of female immigrants, were not in their intended occupation. Once again, the reasons most commonly cited by immigrants for not being in their intended occupation were: 1) non-recognition or non-acceptance of educational and occupational credentials; and 2) no Canadian work experience.

However, another point to note in this context, is that, given the impact of the recession of the mid-1970s, which resulted in the short-term rise of structural unemployment (see Table 2.11), Third World immigrants also bore the brunt of the recession and were faced with fewer employment opportunities generally (Richmond, 1988; Saunders, 1978; cf. Cross, 1988). More recently, as structural unemployment, following the 1981-83 recession, continued to radically alter employment prospects in the labour market, immigrants faced the same serious difficulties of native-born workers in establishing themselves in steady employment (Ng, 1988).

"It has been estimated that in the early 1980s, when Canada was experiencing the highest rates of joblessness since the Great Depression, roughly 50,000 to 75,000 job vacancies were sought by one and one-half million people--the ratio of one job opening for every 20 or 30 job seekers" (Burman, 1988:XIV; also see Dorais et al., 1988; Therborn, 1986).

In sum, despite the difficult economic circumstances facing recently arrived immigrants, as described above, institutional controls by provincial and professional government bodies over certification have been a fundamental determinant of the immigrant's labour market role and impact, since they limit access to the regulated trades and professions by limiting
competition from new supplies of labour. 1981 Census data reveal that immigrant women who came to Canada as adults are nearly twice as likely as the Canadian-born to have some university training (29.0 percent as compared to 17.1 percent). Yet these women are less likely than Canadian-born women to hold professional jobs (23.8 percent of women who immigrated as adults hold professional jobs, as compared to 32.2 percent of Canadian-born women). Additionally, the higher than average unemployment rates of Third World immigrants as well as underemployment relative to their skills and qualifications reflect in part these types of institutional barriers. Thus, the differentials in employment experience between immigrants from the Third World vis-a-vis Europe or the U.S. are the product of restrictive practices (e.g. long apprenticeship programs), which encourage immigrants from the former countries to withdraw from the primary labour market. Lastly, this view is a useful antidote to the neoclassical argument that differences in the skills, human capital or work experience of immigrants are sufficient to explain occupational segmentation.

LANGUAGE TRAINING

In this section, I want to examine the certification process in more depth. Initially, I want to examine the delivery of language training to immigrants since linguistic ability has been singled out by some authors as one factor leading to occupational inequality (Margalit, 1991; McDade, 1988; Seward & McDade, 1988b). Moreover, because a working knowledge of English, including knowledge of technical trade language, is required of
those who attempt the examinations for certification, it is important to understand whether opportunities for learning English in job-related courses exist. Lastly, I want to argue that while the delivery of language training is a positive step in helping immigrants achieve their intended objective (i.e., intended occupation), it also discriminates against sponsored immigrants (refugee claimants included).

To start, although no single factor can carry the weight of alleviating the relatively poor employment prospects of foreign-trained non-English and non-European immigrants, it is not possible to understand the nature of the accreditation problem without considering its relationship to the language programs provided by Employment and Immigration Canada (EIC). In Canada the primary response to high levels of unemployment and underemployment of foreign-trained persons has been the delivery of language training services. The federal government through EIC gives financial support although the language training schemes themselves are run by a complex combination of federal, provincial and local agencies (Vancouver Sun, April 9, 1991).

For instance, the EIC purchases spaces from the provinces in educational institutions on behalf of subsidized trainees such as government sponsored refugees, who receive a basic training allowance, and who meet EIC's eligibility criteria. In 1990, for example, teaching English to immigrants who qualified for a federally sponsored employment training program was worth $4.4 million to Vancouver Community College (Vancouver Sun, March 27,
1991). As for the criteria, the aims of language training are stated in the following way in the EIC employment manual:

"...language courses (are) specifically designed to remove the employment barrier which stifles the job-search efforts of two categories of clients, namely:

(i) skilled workers who cannot secure employment in their trade or profession or in a suitable related occupation because of a lack of fluency in a second language; and

(ii) unskilled workers who cannot be placed in suitable employment because of a lack of fluency in a second language" [Employment and Immigration (1986:17)].

As can be seen, with the exception of those immigrants classified by EIC as destined to the labour force, the tight eligibility criteria limits the number of immigrants who receive EIC-sponsored language training. For instance, social assistance benefits with respect to language training may be denied to those foreign-trained immigrant workers who enter as sponsored immigrants in the family category and in the assisted relatives sub-category (11). This policy is largely accounted for by the sponsorship agreement, whereby sponsors complete a form in which they agree to provide financial assistance to the named immigrant(s) so that such person(s) shall not require financial maintenance support from any federal or provincial assistance programs, such as basic training allowance, income assistance, and social welfare programs like publicly subsidized housing. Otherwise, according to Ng (1988), sponsored immigrants can be deported if they are deemed to be a financial burden to the Canadian state. In short, sponsored immigrants are seen to be dependents of the sponsor, who is legally responsible for their
financial welfare (five years in the assisted relatives subcategory and up to ten years in the family category). Thus, there is a real sense in which the state restricts access to government subsidized language-training programs to sponsored immigrants.

Furthermore, mounting evidence from various investigations suggests refugee claimants are also denied access to government sponsored language-training because of the uncertainty in their legal status (Riano, 1991; Seward & McDade, 1988b; Oproescu, 1987). In 1991, for example, a major survey of the Latin American Street Population in the Downtown Vancouver Eastside, found that refugee claimants as opposed to government-sponsored refugees do not qualify for subsidized EIC language-training (Margalit, 1991). Moreover, the study found that refugee claimants experience disproportionately high levels of unemployment partly because they lack the language skills necessary to acquire gainful employment. Subsequently, the working committee in charge of the survey produced the following recommendations on the subject:

1) That refugee claimants be given complete access to the same programs and services by the municipal, provincial, and federal governments that are available to landed immigrants and government sponsored refugees;

2) That C.E.I.C. ensures all refugees (claimants and government sponsored) have equal access to English language training, and that basic training allowances be available to them (Margalit, 1991:7).

It is quite clear from the above recommendations that the present delivery of language training is a real obstacle to refugee claimants, who are the most disadvantaged in terms of
knowledge of English or French. More significant, the lack of a formal service delivery system in this case has been seen by some researchers as a way of encouraging low wages and preparing refugee claimants for operative/manual jobs in the secondary sector (e.g. restaurants and clothing) where language skills are not necessary (Margalit, 1991; Ng, 1988; Green & Beach, 1988). Once in these jobs refugee claimants' occupational mobility is very limited.

As mentioned earlier, the main aim of language courses is to help improve the chances of labour force immigrants. However, even those individuals who have been able to qualify for subsidized EIC language training have identified a number of problems, including the fact that existing programs fail to meet the needs of foreign-trained workers. Since, a working knowledge of technical trade language is required of those who attempt the examinations for certification, opportunities for learning English in job-related courses is rare. Indeed, many authors recognise the irrelevance of much of the content of English as Second Language (ESL) curriculum for foreign-trained immigrants (McDade, 1988; Fernando & Prasad, 1986). For example, Seward and McDade (1988a) have noted that, although there are enormous variations in course content across Canada, the usual practise is to teach conversational language skills of general application, without attention to technical, job-specific language requirements that might be necessary for various vocations. In fact, only Quebec "...offers technical language training courses for immigrants with training in the health care field" (McDade,
1988:11). Second, provincial funding for ESL is often inadequate because of recent cutbacks in government spending. For example, B.C. had the lowest provincial funding for ESL among the provinces in the 1980s, notwithstanding the fact that in 1989 B.C. had the highest per capita ratio of people needing ESL training in Canada (Vancouver Sun, April 9, 1991).

Lastly, since potential participants in the language training schemes must demonstrate that their lack of fluency acts as a barrier to suitable employment, this situation has become increasingly problematic for unskilled workers with limited qualifications, since it is not considered necessary (by EIC) for them to speak one of the official languages to work in secondary-sector jobs (Green & Beach, 1988; Seward & McDade, 1988a,b). Thus, the government's distaste for or rather reluctance to invest in the language training of sponsored immigrants, refugee claimants and unskilled workers has created barriers to mobility between labour markets. The overall conclusion, then, is that it is increasingly necessary to recognize the difference between the independent and sponsored immigrants' experience, where the former have gained some occupational success aided by labour market policy (i.e., subsidized EIC language training) while the latter (sponsored, refugee claimants and unskilled) are experiencing profound difficulties, unhelped by policy intervention.
SUMMARY

This chapter has examined the system of labour market regulation in Canada and some European countries. It demonstrated that income and occupational inequality appears to have been the greatest in Canada's decentralised wage-fixation system. The Canadian industrial relations system encourages not only wide variation in the pay rates of different groups of workers, but the system also operates against the interests of the low-paid, since a decentralised wage-fixation approach leads to wage increases (initially) in those areas with strong unions rather than all sectors of the economy. Consequently, there is little protection (only minimum employment standards, e.g., provincial laws regulating minimum wage) for less-organised workers, many of whom are women, immigrant women and refugee claimants.

It was also shown that the state plays a significant role in immigrants' employment through its licensing activities, which grant the state (in the case of the regulated trades) the right to control the training and certification of tradesmen. In the former, long apprenticeship periods by imposing restriction of access to well-paid occupations in the trades ensure the exclusion of immigrants from non-English and non-European countries, who (refugees included) may be unable to provide documentation of their training. In the latter, there is evidence of discrimination against immigrants with qualifications from anywhere other than Europe or the U.S. As a result, these immigrants experience higher than average unemployment rates as
well as underemployment in relation to job qualifications. In this context, even manpower policies, especially language training measures, which serve to improve the workings of the labour market by providing those without the language skills with the necessary language training to find employment, have only on occasion provided opportunities for learning English in job-related courses. Overall, the above restrictive practices limit access to the regulated trades by encouraging immigrants from non-English and non-European countries to withdraw from the primary labour market; thus, they lead to the concentration of certain groups (immigrant women and ethnic immigrant minorities) in different segments of the labour market.

In the next chapter, a case study of Central American Hispanic immigrants and refugees illustrates the variety of personal characteristics and experiences of different category immigrants in the Vancouver labour market. Furthermore, an evaluation of the case study material tests the tenets of the "split-labour" market model, which assumes the existence of fundamental, structural divisions within the domestic labour market based on class, gender, and ethnicity.
FOOTNOTES

(1) The Canadian government passed legislation supporting collective bargaining in 1944.

(2) By the mid-1970s four of the five largest unions in British Columbia were in the public sector--B.C. Government Employees Union, B.C. Teachers Federation, Canadian Union of Public Employees, and Hospital Employees Union.

(3) Union locals are, in the first instance, the legal location of union members. They are legally constituted as representative of workers' interests, and are internally organised according to political constituencies. In other words, the union's representation and political functions are necessary conditions for attaining its goals. For instance, unions contest representation elections, thereby gaining or losing members. In Canada, in the period from April 1, 1980 to January 31, 1981 there were only 15 applications for certification, and 16 applications for decertification in the banking industry. As of 1981, only 118 of the 4,000 branches of the chartered banks in Canada were certified, and since 1977, at least 40 previous certifications have been revoked (see Forcese, 1986).

(4) From representation elections to the negotiation and even ratification of contracts, the presumption of federal and provincial labour legislation is that labour-management relations belong at the local level. For example, contract negotiations may be carried out directly between the certified bargaining unit and the employer. To a limited extent, legislation may also encourage more centralised structures within the jurisdiction. In the case of Nova Scotia, for example, the "Michelin Bill" requires that certification involve all plants of multi-establishment firms operating within the province (Riddell, 1985a; Adams, 1985).

(5) The 1986 adult minimum wage ranged from $3.65 an hour in British Columbia, to $5.00 and $4.00 an hour in the Northwest Territories and the Maritime Provinces, respectively.

(6) In the federal system of Canada, the two levels of government, federal and provincial, derive their authority from the Constitution Act of 1982; this statute embodies the scheme for division of power between the two levels of government which was originally laid out in the British North America Act of 1867. The politico-legal framework takes the form of a list of powers over which each level of government has authority.

(7) Of course, from the employer's standpoint his/her risk of investing in the training of discontinuous workers (women, minorities, and immigrants) replaces the discriminating rule of seniority (see Piore, 1979; Fogel, 1980).
(8) Much of this research is based on an underlying capitalist model of development that assumes that technological modernisation requires greater skills. Subsequently, the economic status of women, ethnic minorities, and immigrants within a country will improve if only they could be better educated. However, there is now ample evidence that an investment in education by these groups does not net them equal status and pay in the occupational hierarchy (see McDade, 1988; Schmitz, 1985; Sanderson, 1985; Willis, 1983; Clement, 1983).

(9) Of immigrants who arrived in Canada in 1986 and were aged 15 and over, 12.5 percent had undertaken some post-secondary education without formally graduating; 13 percent possessed trade certificates; and 13.7 percent had obtained one or more university degrees.

(10) According to some authors, while many employers may require certain definable technical and scientific skills in their labour force at any given time, the range and pace of innovation and change in modern labour processes (e.g. automation) can soon make these skills redundant (see Schmitz, 1985; Rees & Atkinson, 1982; Rubery, 1978).

(11) Also, because family category immigrants are not accepted into Canada on the basis of occupational qualifications in a trade or profession, the question of a skilled immigrant's ability to achieve licensing in Canada is not verified by immigration officials as part of their application for immigration. It is only the assisted relatives and other independent categories which begin the process of achieving recognition of qualifications as part of their application for immigration (see Segal, 1990).
CHAPTER V: CASE STUDY OF HISPANICS IN VANCOUVER

In the previous chapters, it was shown that there is a clear and significant trend towards an ethnically segmented workforce. First, the small but growing number of studies on the post-arrival employment experiences of immigrants from non-English and non-European countries tend to indicate the relative disadvantage of these immigrants vis-a-vis European or U.S. immigrants in terms of extent of occupational and educational recognition granted. This lack of recognition, in turn, restricts their access to well-paid occupations in the primary labour market. Second, the tight eligibility criteria associated with EIC-sponsored language training programs restricts access to sponsored immigrants and refugee claimants who are experiencing difficulty in the employment market due to a lack of fluency in a second language; thus, further circumscribing their capacity to engage in gainful employment. Finally, insofar as refugee claimants enrolled in the temporary worker program lack permanent resident status, the refugee determination process turns out a special brand of worker, who is in a weak labour market position versus employers because he/she lacks access to a wide range of economic rights (e.g., to employment, to training, and to welfare) which, in principle accrue to legal migrants. Consequently, the employment opportunities of refugee claimants are restricted to low-wage, semi- and un-skilled operative and manual jobs in the clothing, textile, restaurant, and cleaning industries, where knowledge of an official language is not necessary.
The evidence seems to suggest, then, that labour force divisions in the labour market have been reinforced by the discriminatory treatment of non-English and non-European foreign-trained workers, sponsored immigrants, and refugee claimants by the state. Nevertheless, the insights developed by the thesis so far give only a partial account of the full impact of immigration on the socio-economic prospects of recent Hispanic immigrants. Therefore, in this chapter I analyze segmentation in more detail in a specific context, that of the city of Vancouver, particularly since most Hispanic immigrants to British Columbia have settled in this large urban conurbation.

Since a central concern of this thesis is to see if Central American Hispanic immigration has resulted in a split-labour market stratified according to gender and ethnicity, a detailed case study of the Hispanic community is the most useful way of getting a grip on those factors (admission category, class, gender, occupation, and education) which have an impact on the labour market experience(s) of Hispanic immigrants in a regional labour market like Vancouver. My concern with labour market segmentation is ultimately derived from my interest in the earning opportunities the different labour markets provide.

The case study is a suitable instrument because it offers the opportunity to carry out detailed analysis of an ethnic community within a specific labour market, particularly since ethnicity is a fundamental determinant of the migrant's labour market incorporation. As shown earlier in Chapter Two, Vancouver has one of the most ethnically and linguistically diversified
populations (and workforces) in Canada (see Table 2.1). Also, given the wide dispersion of Central American Hispanic immigrants across many regions in Canada, and regional variations in local economic conditions, the case study allows an understanding of how mechanisms (e.g. category of entry) through which immigrants enter the labour market and achieve or fail to achieve occupational mobility work out in specific cases. In short, for the foreign-born Hispanics, the Vancouver labour market incorporation process itself shapes immigrant labour force participation in ways that differentiate it from the rest of the country, where distinctive labour market experiences (e.g. higher unemployment) may, for example, simply reflect differential geographical location or the differential impact of recessionary trends (see Green & Beach, 1988; Samuel & Woloski, 1985). [For an overview of the differential impact of the 1981-1984 prolonged recession upon the Vancouver labour market see Chapter Two].

CASE STUDY

In the following sections I present a detailed analysis of the Vancouver labour market in which the contours of Central American Hispanic ethnic segmentation are distinguished by age, length of residence, category of entry, and occupation. The analysis is primarily based on a case study of the employment/unemployment experiences of Central American Hispanic migrants in the Vancouver labour market. The data are almost entirely derived from an unpublished needs assessment survey of Vancouver Hispanics immigrants and refugees conducted in 1990 by the Latin American Services Network (LASN). The LASN survey was
conducted with 200 Latin Americans who came in contact with the service agency.

The LASN created in 1989, was the first attempt in the Hispanic community to initiate a coordinated effort in service provision, in such fields as education, training, health, crisis counselling and recreational services. Although the agency was disbanded in 1991 due to a lack of funding, I was granted permission by the head coordinator of the agency to pursue the study further since the data provided by the survey remained unanalyzed (1). The survey includes information on employment and immigrant status, demographics, and awareness and utilisation of resettlement services (see Appendix A). In addition, the Longitudinal Survey of the Economic and Social Adaptation of Immigrants, that covered the period 1976 and 1977, and the 1991 Survey of Downtown Eastside Latin American Street Population by the City of Vancouver Social Planning Department are also used, whenever necessary.

However, because using information obtained from the LASN survey may result in a biased database, some explanation is necessary about the collection of information. For a start, those immigrants and refugees who came in contact with the LASN community agency probably belong to the more troubled and/or articulated sector of the Hispanic community. In this context, it is important to note that Hispanics come from class-divided societies, which are not lacking in traditions of radical organisation (e.g., trade unionism) and class struggle (Zolberg et al., 1989; de Janvry, 1981; Johnson, 1979). Consequently,
many migrants possess the self-confidence not only to act collectively but to demand basic services when they suffer from depressed economic circumstances. To illustrate this point, it is worth quoting Basok (1983) at some length:

"In 1976 a number of Chilean immigrants conceived of an idea of forming a housing co-operative...The concept of a co-operative was familiar to the Chileans since co-operatives of various kinds (housing, trading, agricultural, etc.) have existed in Chile for over three hundred years. However, the way of forming a co-operative in Canada and its structure was unknown to the founders. It was necessary for them to undertake intensive research in public libraries in order to understand the Canadian idea of a co-operative. Through a lawyer, a group of Chileans was introduced to the Ontario Housing Federation. The Canadian views on co-operative turned out to be distinct from that of Chileans. While the latter expected the co-operative members to build the houses by a mutual effort, the Ontario Housing Federation insisted on hiring professional construction workers. The Chileans suggested that two of their native architects (who had not received their Canadian licences yet) were to design the houses. The Ontario Housing Federation declined this idea and employed a Canadian architect to perform the job. The Chilean initiators asked the Canadian architect to co-operate with his Chilean colleagues. He refused. The Chileans demanded another architect who would agree to collaborate with them. Their demand was satisfied" (1983:89:90).

As can be seen, Hispanics in Canada either recognize their needs and are willing to seek help from a government or community-based agency, or they have been referred by other individuals or agencies (e.g., Canada Employment Centres) because of language barriers.

Second, the LASN survey does not contain a question on gender. This is a serious omission because sex is a major axis of the socioeconomic stratification system (Boyd et al., 1985; Reitz, 1990). Thus, the main drawback of the LASN survey is that
it is not a representative sample of the Hispanic community in Vancouver.

This problem was alleviated in two ways. First, semi-structured interviews with eighty Hispanic immigrants and refugees were conducted to obtain further information and to correct the biases contained in the LASN survey. These interviews took about one hour and were held in free conversational form, but followed a set of predetermined questions (see Appendix B). What emerged was a series of autobiographical accounts of past migratory experiences and, what was more important, a general view of the structure and workings of the Vancouver labour market.

Second, through a combination of observational work and twenty open-ended semi-structured interviews and consultations with community workers of local immigrant organisations such as Downtown Eastside Economic Development Society (DEEDS) and Latin American Community Council (LACC), I provide an understanding and interpretation of the social processes that underlie the aggregate statistics (see Appendix C). It is important to point out that these individuals tended to have labour market-specific knowledge with respect to the counselling and employment placement process, which constitutes one component in the relation between immigrant workers and employers in the labour market (cf. Ng, 1988). Thus, the rationale behind the consultations and interviews is that they help to corroborate and enrich the information about a particular event cited by a particular individual in the survey; and they also provide the
basis for extended analysis of the social process of migration itself, which shapes immigrant behaviour and produces distinctive migratory experiences.

Lastly, I was able to attend Latin American Community Council (LACC) meetings and related activities, where the community workers interviewed were treated not just as sources of data but also as "informants" on what went on in the Hispanic community. Thus, apart from collecting general information specific to the Hispanic community, I discussed their views on the role that Hispanic immigrants and refugees play in the Vancouver labour market as well as their views on the functioning of the Vancouver labour market in general. The purpose of this exercise was to test the feasibility of carrying out a survey of the Central American Hispanic community for my thesis. It proved an invaluable exercise in enabling me to begin understanding the community context which shaped the socio-economic and political beliefs of the relevant population and the issues which determined political action in the area. On the basis of this experience and the fact that LACC members were openly skeptical of further research I decided that a survey was not worthwhile, because it would have created possible future conflicts with these key informants.

Finally, while I make no claims that the LASN survey sample is representative in a statistically rigorous sense, because of the small number of women involved, the LASN data still demonstrate the way in which Hispanic migrants have been incorporated in the labour market. Overall, then, the case study
must be treated as a particular study in a particular setting, not as a report on a representative sample of the Central American Hispanic community in Vancouver; however, I do expect the mechanisms and structures generating segmentation to be found elsewhere.

DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE

An examination of the 1990 LASN Survey reveals that, of the total of 200 individuals from Latin America who have lived in Vancouver since 1987, 160 (or 80%) were born in Central America. Thus, the Central American Hispanic group was the largest in the LASN survey. This information is summarized in Table 5.1.

Using this information a subsample of 160 Central American Hispanics was created. A major consideration in this context, is that, a reworking of the original LASN data makes it possible for one researcher, given a limited time period, to gain a sufficient understanding of the labour market experiences of one distinct group of Hispanic origin immigrants and refugees.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Birthplace</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chile</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Costa Rica</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El Salvador</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guatemala</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honduras</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicaragua</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>200</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: 1990 LASN Survey
With regard to age, the LASN further reveals that the Central American Hispanic group is a relatively young population. The extent to which this is true can be seen from Table 5.2, which demonstrates that, in 1990, 94 percent of the Hispanic group is below forty years of age. One reason for such a young population is that the researchers made it clear to individuals that they were concerned to survey only persons aged between 19 and 49 years of age (cf. Mullan, 1988, Massey et al., 1987).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>19-29</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: 1990 LASN Survey

In spite of the fact that LASN survey was keen to ensure that the Hispanic respondents came to Canada at an age which could facilitate labour force participation, these findings are quite consistent with Margalit's own (1991) survey of Latin American men living in and frequenting the Vancouver Downtown Eastside. According to Margalit, the general age profile of the 148 men interviewed was 28 years old. Ornstein and Sharma (1981) had previously observed this for the immigrant population as a whole and reasoned that it could, in part, be explained by the smaller proportion of elderly amongst the groups who had immigrated most recently. A major exception are those immigrants belonging to the well established Chinese and East Indian communities, where the proportion of the elderly has increased
due to an earlier start at family reunification (Reitz, 1990; Li, 1988; Buchignani, 1979). Nevertheless, the fact the majority of recent immigrants are young is not surprising because these groups are heavily concentrated in the central labour force ages between twenty and thirty-four years (see Dorais et al., 1988; Samuel 1988; Massey et al., 1987; Kalback, 1987; Tienda, 1985). Also, due to the relative recency of Central American immigration, many Hispanic immigrants have not been in Canada long enough to sponsor an older relative. [This point will be elaborated further below].

Unfortunately though data on age structure is incomplete. Since, the LASN survey did not include a breakdown of age by gender, the age distribution by gender cannot be traced. Despite this deficiency, what is of interest is that the proportion of Hispanics in the younger age groups is larger than those respondents of the 40- to 49-year old group.

With respect to marital status, a substantial number of respondents are married, and the number who are single is also relatively high. This means that marital status itself is not strongly related to the propensity to migrate and settle in Vancouver: married and single individuals have roughly the same settlement and migration propensities. This conclusion is strongly supported by the 'other' category which includes divorced, common-law, and lone parent families, and which further accounts for 17 households of the subsample. Table 5.3 provides basic data on marital status of head of household.
Table 5.3 Marital Status of Head of Household

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marital Status</th>
<th>No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong>*</td>
<td><strong>160</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Includes divorced, common-law, and lone-parent families

Source: 1990 LASN Survey

As noted above, due to the relative recency of Central American immigration, there has not been sufficient time to establish the type of extended household structure that many Hispanics consider desirable (Interview with LACC community worker, Alicia, in May, 1992). In Latin America, in general, there is a tendency for older individuals to live with their children and grandchildren in a vertically extended family (see Massey et al., 1987; Bossen, 1984). As the length of residence data in Table 5.4 shows, the vast majority of Hispanic immigrants and refugees--141 respondents (88%)--have accumulated three or fewer years of Canadian migrant experience, leaving only 19 respondents (12%) with relatively large amounts of time spent in Canada (i.e., five years and over). It is also worth mentioning that a high proportion of respondents (44 out of 79) in the married and 'other' category are males and the first in their families to settle in Canada. As a result, reunification of family members has been an important goal of many immigrant families.

However, because the process of family reunion rests on independence from state subsidy, for many immigrant families (particularly refugees) it takes a couple of years to be in a
financial position to apply for sponsorship of family members (see Dorais et al., 1988). What may also explain the delay with respect to family reunification as well as the predominance of men in the early stages of the migration process (i.e., the lag between male and female migration) is whether the migration to Canada is made with legal documents (2).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time Period</th>
<th>No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7 months</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 months</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 year</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 months</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 years</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 years</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 years</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: 1990 LASN Survey

Undocumented refugees face a constant risk of apprehension and deportation, and this fact affects all aspects of their lives in the countries through which they travel, such as the work they do, where they live, and how long they stay. This fact aside, a large part of the Central American refugee flow to Canada via Mexico and the U.S. has been clandestine; therefore, most men are reluctant to allow their wives and children to undertake the hazardous land route crossing of national borders without documentation (see Gilad, 1990). For instance, it has been reported that Central Americans face systematic extortion by unscrupulous 'coyotes' (smugglers) and border patrol officials (Zolberg et al., 1989; Massey et al., 1987). Thus, when women and their children come to Canada, it is usually only after a
husband or a male relative has gone before her to arrange legal documentation or, at least, safe passage across the border.

In the latter case, Christian church groups in both the U.S. and Canada have been the backbone of support for Central Americans (3). One type of aid has taken the form of direct confrontation with U.S. immigration laws, as expressed in the creation of 'sanctuaries' for Central Americans. These church groups often lend money for travel fares, help with initial accommodation, and guide refugees through the process to gain asylum in a third country like Canada (Interviews and field work in Vancouver, B.C., April, 1992).

Evidence of the assistance provided to Central Americans by these groups is underscored in Gilad's (1990) ethnographic account of a Salvadorean refugee family, where she found that,

"In the case of Rosita and Joseba, they first felt compelled to pay the loans they incurred to pay smugglers before they dealt with legalizing their status...What is interesting in this case is that Joseba and Rosita, who even fled El Salvador at different times, did not appear at a Canadian consular office and ask to be settled in Canada within a week of two of their arrival in Texas. They were in Texas for three to four years before the Sanctuary Movement found them; at the time they were under deportation orders from the United States, and then were taken by the Sanctuary Movement to the consular office. Had they not been approached, they would probably have gone underground again or would have been long deported back to the country they had so urgently fled (1990:297-98).

As can be seen from the above quote, another aspect of refugee immigration (which has great ramifications for family reunification) pertains to the land route itself. There is evidence to suggest that Central American refugees have travelled across two to three countries to arrive in Canada (Margalit,
Furthermore, according to Margalit, "The average transit time or time spent without status prior to arriving in Canada was 25.8 months" (1991:23). For these reasons, and the fact that Central Americans run the risk of deportation from both the U.S. and Mexico, the initial refugees to Canada from Central America and from a family are almost always men.

Finally, while it is not uncommon to find the dominance of men in the early stages of the migration process, this does not mean that female migration occurs on a much smaller scale than male migration. Rather, when women refugees migrate they generally move as part of larger family groups, when the whole family changes residence. Evidence from the LASN survey shows that families in the Convention and designated refugee categories are the most likely to migrate in groups.

**A SOCIOECONOMIC PROFILE**

I now identify the socioeconomic characteristics of Central Americans as well as the similarities and dissimilarities between different category immigrants (including refugees), since these factors strongly affect how they enter and are incorporated into the Vancouver labour market. For instance, it might be expected that the labour market prospects of Central American refugees (including refugee claimants) and sponsored immigrants in the family category would be less favourable in comparison to more qualified individuals who enter the country under the independent category, because of the operation of pre-immigration factors like lower educational levels and less skill
specialisation. Given this assumption, the objective is to emphasize that there is an apparent tie to the coupling of Hispanic immigrant labour and labour market policy (i.e., 'points system'), which reinforces the socioeconomic structure of inequality in the Vancouver labour market.

Regarding immigrant status the LASN survey shows that Central Americans have a large proportion of refugees as heads of households. Of the 160 individuals, only 31 (19%) are independent category immigrants; whereas 62 (39%) and 67 (42%) are, in fact, Convention and designated refugees and refugee claimants respectively. Table 5.5 shows the distribution of Central American Hispanics, by category of entry. What is of interest, therefore, is that Central Americans tend to be concentrated in the refugee immigrant category. In fact, data for 1984-1987 based on Department of Citizenship and Immigration statistics also confirm this pattern: for example, in 1985, Convention and designated refugees accounted for 77 per cent of the total (4,647) immigrant flow from Central America.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Status</th>
<th>No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Canadian</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Landed Immigrant (Independent)</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Convention &amp; Designated Refugees</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refugee Claimant</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: 1990 LASN Survey
This particular characteristic of Central Americans is important for two reasons. To begin with, the fact that they are concentrated overwhelmingly in the refugee category means that the experience of a first-time refugee entrant into the Canadian labour market is different from that of an independent immigrant who has been selected for his/her occupational skills. For example, the juridical status of a refugee claimant is tenuous, ranging from illegal to temporary to permanent. Therefore, unlike the independent immigrant flow which occurs through legal channels and is promoted or discouraged through explicit changes in the immigration laws (e.g. 'Canadian first' policy), refugee claimants often work illegally while waiting for their determination hearing.

Secondly, even when they are issued 'exempt' employment authorisations by immigration officials, they do not need special certification by EIC, as other workers in the temporary worker program do; thus, this floating reserve army of labour is not monitored by Canada Employment Centres (see Boyd & Taylor, 1986). This permits enforcement (on the part of employers) of wages and work conditions deemed unacceptable by independent immigrants or other temporary workers (see Johnson & Johnson, 1982). In the latter case, workers who obtain 'validated' employment authorisations are, at least, employed on the basis of prevailing wage rates and the rate of pay thought (by EIC) to be necessary to attract Canadian workers (Seward & McDade, 1988a).

As can be seen, the refugee immigrant category is relevant within this context to the extent that immigrant status will
generally predict the various types of employment situations prevailing in the labour market, e.g., illegal employment. Nevertheless, the question of the direction of Central American occupational mobility and of how difficult mobility is in a segmented labour market require more careful consideration. To begin, an ordered hierarchy of occupations is necessary for any discussion of mobility. As far as the LASN survey is concerned, however, the original occupational data are neither coded in conformity with census' occupational classifications, nor any type of social stratification arrangement. As Table 5.6 shows Central Amerian Hispanics are only classified by origin and destination occupation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation Prior to migration</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Occupation Latest Canadian occupation</th>
<th>No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Accountant</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Accountant</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Architect</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Architect</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpenter</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Carpenter</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleaning/janitorial</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Cleaning/janitorial</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctor</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Doctor</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jornalero*</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Jornalero</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawyer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Lawyer</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Machine operator</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Machine Operator</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mechanic</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Mechanic</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nurse</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Nurse's Aid</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peasant</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small Business Owner</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>Small Business Owner</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stone Mason</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Construction/labourer</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>Student</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>160</td>
<td></td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Jornaleros are farmworkers who live exclusively from their daily wages

Source: 1990 LASN Survey
For analytical purposes therefore I recoded the fourteen occupations found in the survey into six major categories corresponding to three major social classes in the socioeconomic hierarchy. The point of a framework is to provide a frame of reference from which to interpret socioeconomic differentiation among the Hispanic-origin group. What follows is the criteria used to distinguish the major occupational categories:

1) All those respondents without control over investment or the physical means of production, who did not control the labour power of others and who either sell their labour power for a wage or, if not directly involved in the wage labour relation, were dependent upon that sale, were defined as of working class origin. Of course, within the working class there are, for instance, the lines of division between skilled and unskilled workers, hence, the composition of that class was subdivided into three separate groups that reflected differences in skill: i) skilled, ii) semi-skilled, and iii) unskilled (Massey & Catalano, 1978).

2) Another important class in the Central American refugee flow is the petit-bourgeoisie, which is defined as those individuals who own a business (i.e., economic ownership and possession of the physical means of production) and are not dependent upon wage employment, but who have no control over the labour of others except the labour of family members, e.g., shopkeepers and owners of small-scale industries. The self-employed in the professions also constitute part of this class. (By self-employment I mean here to refer to control over a production process) (4).

3) Finally, land ownership may be the basis for a distinct class, the peasantry. Peasants (unlike proletarians) are not separated from their means of production, but retain control over land and family labour. In addition, peasant communities reproduce themselves by incorporating seasonal and casual wage labour with their own economic activities (Todaro, 1985; Veltmeyer, 1978).

Once again, the importance of re-classifying origin and destination occupations by their relationship to the means of production, is that, it makes it easier conceptually to begin to compare the types of labour market incorporation experienced by
Central American migrants (5) (see especially, Pentland, 1959; Castles & Kossack, 1973; Lever-tracy, 1983). Table 5.7 presents the occupational re-classification of the LASN subsample.

Table 5.7 Occupational Profile of Central Americans by Job Category

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Prior to Migration</th>
<th>Latest Vancouver Occupation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Class Background</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working Class</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i) Skilled</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii) Semi-skilled</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii) Unskilled</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petit-bourgeois</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv) Professional</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v) Small business Owner</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peasant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vi) small-scale farmer</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: 1990 LASN Survey

In terms of location within the country of origin occupational structure, the position of Central Americans is relatively clear. The few professionals and the substantial number of small business owners head the socioeconomic hierarchy, whereas unskilled workers [jornaleros (casual labourers), peasants, and students] are at the bottom, with skilled workers (auto mechanics, carpenters, and nurses) lying in between. For example, among the five non-manual skilled workers (nurses) in the subsample, there is evidence of a 'settled' work history and completion of their education at a technical college. By contrast, among the student respondents who claimed that they had
had some form of further education, mainly apprenticeship schemes at a technical college and university undergraduates, only five had completed their period of education and training; however, none was now using the skills that they had originally learned. The accumulated evidence thus suggests that the bulk of student respondents are not very well qualified for skilled manual (e.g. mechanic) and craft jobs (e.g. skilled machinist) as well as technical or professional occupations, which means that they belong in the unskilled category of the working class. Finally, only about one-quarter (twenty) of workers are employed in skilled occupations.

However, when migrants are classified by last occupation in Vancouver, skilled manual (e.g. mechanics) and non-manual workers (nurses) as well as professionals are not able to maintain their occupational positions. In fact, those who are fortunate enough to have a job are now concentrated in the semi-skilled sector. For instance, three of the five nurses (non-manual) are now employed in the lower echelons of the nursing profession as nurse's aids. Similarly, all those workers in the manual skilled category (mechanic, carpenter and stone mason) have experienced downward occupational mobility. In their case, however, in so far as almost all jobs in the trades have some indispensable requirement for a level of competence in English speech or writing, and some form of accreditation, the majority of Central American skilled workers find themselves at a disadvantage in the labour market because their official language skills are inadequate (cf. House of Commons, May 15, 1990; Samuel, 1988;
Green & Beach, 1988). Although at the time of the LASN survey, all respondents in this category claimed that they had had some form of further education, mainly in connection with an apprenticeship program back home, the majority of them did not even begin or attempt any further education in Vancouver, and those that did have some desire were held back for financial reasons.

In this context, it is important to note that only sponsored refugees and independent immigrants qualify for training allowances under the Adjustment Assistance Program (AAP) (Vancouver Sun, March 27, April, 9: Margalit, 1991). The AAP support system includes allocations for rent, utilities, food, clothing, bus passes, and relatively small loans for accessing the labour market (Gilad, 1990). Thus, for those skilled individuals not benefitting from labour market adjustment programs, their employment opportunities were restricted to semi-skilled operative jobs and as construction labourers.

An additional finding was the importance of self-employment for skilled workers. Clearly, since entry barriers (language difficulties and accreditation recognition) to the trades have prevented skilled workers from operating in their respective occupations, a few of the respondents (3 mechanics and 2 carpenters) have sought self-employment as a way out of underemployment and the low wages and rigid work conditions of the semi-skilled sector. Given the small scale of their operation and the low entry capital requirements to buy the necessary work tools though not necessarily the raw materials,
these workers have tried to gain access to the means of production in the hope that by selling the product of their labour they can earn more than in wage employment. However, the difficult economic circumstances during the 1980s and the relatively recent establishment of the Hispanic community in Vancouver have not made this process any easier. In fact, some of these workers have found it extremely difficult to secure work to maintain themselves above the subsistence level. Table 5.8 shows the self-reported monthly income of head of household. In this context, then, self-employment is often a survival strategy for unsuccessful job seekers rather than a route of upward mobility for Central American skilled wage workers (cf. Reitz, 1990; Li, 1988; Bonacich, 1979).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income</th>
<th>Annual Income</th>
<th>Monthly Income</th>
<th>No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Average Individual Income</td>
<td>$17,453</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(unattached)*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poverty Line Income (1981)</td>
<td>$10,600</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Americans</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$500-$1,000</td>
<td>67</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$1,000-$1,500</td>
<td>39</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$1,500-$2,000</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Reply</td>
<td>46</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* In 1986 dollars

Source: Compiled from 1986 Census of Canada, Health and Welfare Canada (1981), and 1990 LASN Survey

Self-employment was also found to be a survival strategy of two professionals. After taking advantage of a government-sponsored computer training program and ESL classes, two accountants were self-employed. However, the LASN income data
show that they still do less well than comparably qualified Canadian-born professionals. Both accountants made less than $25,000 dollars a year (see Table 5.8). Evidence of the relationship between background skills and earnings is presented in Table 4.1. The remaining professionals (a doctor, an architect, and a lawyer) have been forced into lower skilled occupations and thus are underemployed. This is well illustrated by one of the Guatemalan respondents who identified himself as a doctor by profession before migration, but who was unable to continue in this work in Vancouver because he had not written the Medical Council of Canada Evaluating Examination (MCCEE) in Central America, which is one of the pre-conditions for qualifying for an internship program in British Columbia. Consequently, his employment history in Vancouver had consisted of unattractive, poorly rewarded, jobs in the medical field, such as an assistant in the drop-in clinics of the Vancouver Eastside (Interview with community worker, June, 1992).

Lastly, the single clearest finding which emerges from Table 5.7 is that small business owners are the most unsuccessful economically. Since, they are not fluent in English and they lack sufficient starting capital, it is difficult for them to set up their own business in Canada. Another major obstacle faced by this category is that they are not well-versed in Canadian business techniques (i.e., marketing methods and advertising). As a result, many of these migrants have been forced to earn their living by selling their labour power in the unskilled sector as cleaners.
So far the labour market transition of Central Americans has been characterized solely in terms of skilled and self-employed workers. The transition has, however, another aspect which requires further explanation. As noted earlier in Chapter Two, at the time of the Latin American Street Population Survey in 1991, Central Americans were experiencing high unemployment (and other related problems) in the Vancouver labour market because of the operation of pre-immigration factors like lower educational levels and less skill specialisation (Margalit, 1991). This general pattern of incorporation is also supported by the LASN data, which show that, while educational attainment does improve job prospects, the vast majority of peasants and landless wage labourers (jornaleros) only had six or less years of education on the average. The educational background of Central American migrants is given in Table 5.9. As a result, rural migrants from agricultural backgrounds were far more likely than skilled workers to be stuck in the very bottom layer of the job market or be unemployed. For instance, an interesting trend was the channelling of rural migrants from agricultural backgrounds into janitorial jobs upon entry into the Vancouver labour market (see table 5.6).

In fact, several studies reaffirm the importance of both ethnicity and gender in the allocation of occupation positions (see Reitz, 1990; Horta, 1989; Dumon, 1981). For example, the low educational attainment and rural origin of many Southern European women has led to a strong over-representation in those occupations not requiring contact with the public, such as
cleaning and operative jobs in the clothing industry (Boyd, 1976; Gannage, 1986). Other studies of Third World immigrant men have shown patterns of ethnic occupational concentration for such occupations as security guards, taxi drivers and construction (see Reitz, 1990; Jain, 1987).

Furthermore, since many of the peasants were outside the wage economy in their country of origin, and others like the jornaleros were simply employed as agricultural labourers, their skills are not directly transferable to an urban capitalist labour market. Subsequently, they lack the necessary technical skills, plus, the language ability, necessary to function in a developed capitalist economy.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 5.9 Educational background of head of household</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some years elementary education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary completed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some years secondary education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary completed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some years technical school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical school completed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University incomplete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University completed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: 1990 LASN Survey

The serious labour market adjustment problems identified by Margalit (1991), such as high unemployment, alcoholism, drug use, drug dealing, and social tensions with the police are, in part, a reflection of this type of unsuccessful labour market incorporation. For example, Margalit reported that:

"Early in 1990, the Downtown Eastside Youth Activities Society sent a letter to the Mayor of Vancouver asking
that he address a problem of growing racial tension and violence in the Downtown Eastside. The problem described was an estimated 300 Latin American men involved in street activities. Many of these young men were refugee claimants waiting in limbo for their immigration status to be determined. They had to wait from six to eight months during which time they were not allowed to work and were also ineligible for English classes or other training programs. Their options for survival were Hardship Assistance from the Ministry of Social Services and Housing, and criminal activities such as drug dealing"...Overall, "However, the feeling was that most were vulnerable, confused young men who, not allowed to work, had nowhere to go and were therefore easily recruited into illegal activities and drug and alcohol abuse." (1991:12).

In this respect, Central American migration has been, to say the least, a subject of immediate concern for various community organisations.

Likewise, the occupational profile of students is similar to that of unskilled rural migrants, in the sense that many of them lack the skills or qualifications necessary to find gainful employment. This is not to say, however, that their employment situation has become less tenuous. As can be seen from Table 5.7, the unemployment rate for Central Americans is high (30 per cent). Of the 160 respondents only 112 were employed at the time of the LASN Survey (6). For instance, due to low earnings the majority of the student respondents can not afford more expensive housing in the suburbs; thus, they are heavily concentrated in the Downtown Vancouver Eastside, which is an economically depressed inner city area with high unemployment.

As a result their economic predicaments (visible unemployment and low-rental housing owing to low earnings) are not only different in kind from those (with the exception of rural migrants) of the general migrant population, but their
enforced idleness and loss of morale occassioned by the lack of employment opportunities in the inner city have produced feelings of disenchantment with the Vancouver labour market. Margalit has observed that,

"...the majority of men commented on their frustration of being on Hardship Assistance and not working. They expressed that not having permits and work made them lazy and depressed and led to their criminal activity" (1991:29).

This general conclusion is also supported by the LASN data, which show that students are far more likely than other migrants to be excluded from semi-skilled jobs or employment altogether.

Other evidence on their labour market incorporation, based on semi-structured interviews with twenty young student migrants, is less clear-cut and tends to show that employment differences may also be explained by the occupational aspirations of the students themselves, rather than by a shortage of jobs at skill levels appropriate to this inner-city group alone. For instance, there is a tendency for students to aim higher in the occupational structure. One reason for this is due to their dissatisfaction with certain types of wage employment, particularly unskilled manual jobs which offer low wages, unsocial hours and hard physical work (7). Another reason for their high occupational aspirations has to do (at least from the migrant's point of view) with one of the socioeconomic changes that accompany migration. As Cross has noted,

"It is, of course, well known that migrants...are likely to seek occupational improvements to justify and vindicate their original decision to tear up their roots and make an uncomfortable transition to an inhospitable industrial setting" (1988:74).
Understandably, the majority of the Central American students interviewed did express the above ambition, particularly since they are one of the more articulate sectors of the Hispanic community. Nevertheless, access to skilled jobs has turned out to be a major stumbling block in their case. Clearly, this is partly so because of the informal job-search methods they employ to seek out information on job vacancies and "career" counselling.

For example a consideration of their job-search practices shows that they either employ informal job-search channels or community-based employment agencies, rather than official job placement agencies like Canada Employment Centres. However, as Cross has shown, informal job-search methods "...tend to produce lower levels of occupational position, since family contacts tend not to be able to provide access to skilled employment unless the family already possesses members in higher-occupational employment" (1988:77). Similarly, a consistent feature of community-based employment agencies has been that their ethnic-minority clients end up in minimum wage, assembly-line jobs or as restaurant help, the jobs the majority of the students try to avoid in the first place (cf. Ng, 1988). Thus, the very fact that they employ informal and unofficial channels to seek out information on job vacancies and "career" counselling limits their employment prospects; since, the less extensive an individual's contacts, the less likely it is he/she will know about job openings.
Of course, the use of the above job-search methods is not the only factor undermining their occupational aspirations. For example, amongst those students who have entered the labour market after migration, which is almost one-half of all the interviewees, only four were involved in some rigorous form of vocational training for skilled employment (mostly as health and auto technicians). Subsequently, only four of the students were prepared to pursue further educational training and hence be in a position to penetrate the high-rank jobs in skilled or non-manual positions.

Thus, owing to a combination of factors (such as lack of previous wage work experience and job training, and the use of informal/unofficial methods to secure employment), the majority of the students interviewed were not only unable to translate their high occupational aspirations into subsequent well-paid employment, but they were generally worse off in employment terms (and particularly unemployment) than those migrants who had been wage labourers, for example. Lastly, when their occupational aspirations were unlikely to be reached some of the students opted for an alternative strategy. In general, this was to become involved in some type of criminal behaviour such as drug dealing. This latter finding is also borne out for Central American men by Margalit's own 1991 survey.

In sum, the mobility pattern outlined above suggests that students' transition into the labour market is far from linear (that is, as a continuum of employment situations stretching from the unemployed student to the skilled professional) and
frequently interrupted by their own individual judgment of the opportunity structure (8). For example, their unwillingness to take low-wage jobs with limited job prospects for upward mobility is conditioned, at least at first, by their high occupational aspirations as well as the economic returns of alternative pursuits, such as drug dealing. Although there can be no question that the latter survival strategy is a very risky one, nevertheless, it seems to be a risk worth taking (at least from their point of view) given their shared predicaments of unemployment and wagelessness. In short, it has to be conceded that the processes of mobility are far more complex, particularly in inner-city economies where the lack of employment opportunities and the supply of jobs available (mostly unskilled) often force Central American students to reconsider their initial entry into the secondary labour market.

In the balance of this chapter, I draw attention to a process which remains largely unexamined in the thesis, that is, the occupational mobility of women. Unfortunately, the data set most useful for analyzing their labour market incorporation, the LASN survey, does not contain a question on gender. This is a serious omission because sex is a major axis of the socioeconomic stratification system (9) (Boyd et al., 1985; Reitz, 1990). Nevertheless, out of a total of 160 potential wage earners in the survey, I was able to collect information on thirty-two women (5 nurses and 27 sewing machine operators). Additional information on women's labour market incorporation was also provided by semi-structured interviews conducted with thirty Hispanic women. In
drawing on this latter source it was possible to limit the danger of drawing conclusions from the unrepresentative sample of the LASN survey.

**WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT EXPERIENCES**

As noted in Chapter Two, one of the most important trends in immigration has been the increased labour force participation of women. For instance, it was found that the activity rates of female immigrants in 1981 (when adjusted for age) was higher than Canadian-born women. Furthermore, it was argued that financial hardship has a clearly detectable impact upon working class women's role in paid work. This is particularly the case with respect to refugee women who are forced to seek employment once their one-year government or private sponsorship is exhausted. Given these trends, it certainly would be misleading to look upon immigrant women as non-working dependents. Nonetheless, how women fare in relation to comparable male wage earners is a different matter. In fact, there is strong evidence that gender and category of entry are important factors in determining women's chances of acquiring occupational mobility in a segmented labour market (see Ng, 1988).

For example, Coates (1991) has recently shown that women's employment has always been, and remains, concentrated in a few occupational categories (also see Boyd, 1975; Dumon, 1981; Gaskell & McLaren, 1987). At the time of the 1981 Census four occupations (clerical, service, sales, and medicine) accounted for almost three-quarters of the women in the labour force. But just as occupational sex-segregation restricts women's access to
many parts of the economy, this is even more so in the case of recently arrived immigrant women. Interestingly, the Seward and Tremblay (1989) study of Immigrants in the Canadian Labour Force, based on the industrial distribution of immigrants at the time of the 1986 Census, reveals that the more recently they (women from non-English speaking countries) came, the more likely they are to be in lower-paying service and production jobs. In another study the latter pattern is also confirmed; immigrant women are significantly over-represented in the fabricating and assembling in the clothing, knitting, fur, and leather industries (Seward & McDade, 1988a). In short, there is a remarkable concentration of recent female immigrants in a few, mainly low-paying jobs with fluid entry and exit, and limited prospects for upward mobility, such as sewing machine operator (see Ng, 1988).

The concentration of Central American Hispanic women in the clothing industry is therefore a reflection of the above occupational sex-segregation. As stated earlier, twenty-seven respondents in the LASN survey were employed as sewing machine operators. Hence, in terms of location within the occupational structure, Hispanic women are less dispersed and where concentrated this has tended to be in industries seldom followed by men. Lastly, one of the most important characteristics of the jobs which Hispanic women hold is that they are in production.

However, occupational sex-segregation alone is insufficient to account for the weak labour market position of Hispanic women. Also important is the composition of immigrant flows, and the extent to which category of entry affects their employment
potential and earnings. With regard to category of entry, it is interesting that only seven out of thirty-two women respondents are independent immigrants, while the rest are concentrated in the Convention (nineteen) and refugee claimant categories (six). Thus, when category of entry is taken into account, refugees make-up almost 80 per cent of the women respondents in the LASN survey, a distribution of immigrant status which is very similar to that of heads of households as a whole (81 per cent).

This finding is important because earlier it was shown that refugee heads of households tend to arrive with few skills or skills which are of limited use in Canada (e.g. peasants). As a consequence, they have limited access to employment in the secondary labour market. However, occupational opportunities in the labour market are not exactly the same for men and women. As noted above, women have made a transition to the occupations that are readily available and, more importantly, that create the least difficulty in terms of employment barriers. With the exception of three medically qualified individuals who are employed as nurses's aids, the majority of Hispanic women are employed in manual jobs in the clothing industry. Thus, they are far less likely than men to be excluded from unskilled manual jobs or employment altogether.

Another finding worthy of note is the detectable impact of financial hardship upon working class women's role in paid work. For example data obtained from the LASN survey showed that the majority of Hispanic heads households are very close to poverty-line income (see Table 5.8). Therefore, the contribution of
wife's earnings to total household earnings is an important "safety net", which helps the household avoid poverty.

What is perhaps more important though, is that, the act of migration has led women to reconsider their own individual judgement of the opportunity structure. This factor became apparent in the interviews conducted with the women, where they seemed to express the view that because of their formative migratory experiences (e.g., undocumented migration), they felt more responsible for their own welfare. Subsequently, in order to fulfill their basic ambition of financial independence, they were more willing than comparable male wage earners to accept low-paying manual jobs in the secondary labour market. Also, the fact that many of these women had previous wage work experience in either small-scale family enterprises or large factories as operatives, generally gave them a good chance of selling their skills and experience in the Vancouver labour market. As a result, the work experience prior to migration often acted as a springboard for wage work in the Vancouver labour market. More important, the availability of such an alternative helped the women play a more dominant role in the household that they did prior to migration, since in many cases their economic contribution to the household often exceeded their husband's own contribution.

**SUMMARY**

Although, it is difficult on the basis of the LASN survey alone (since the survey does not contain a question on gender) to answer fully the differential employment of women versus men in
the labour market, the above evidence suggests that women have achieved a greater degree of labour market incorporation in the less desirable semi- and unskilled manual occupations than the men. Moreover, there is little evidence that category of entry has had a negative effect on women's labour force participation in the secondary labour market. However, as would be expected, the net effect is to increase ethnic inequality among ethnic women because Hispanic women tend to be concentrated in the less desirable skilled areas.

Further evidence (based on semi-structured interviews with women) also reveals that women's stress on financial independence is a major determinant which influences their decision to seek employment in the first place. In the case of semi-and unskilled male workers, however, the transition into the labour market is far from linear in the sense that their individual judgments of the opportunity structure often interrupt the so-called "fluid entry" into wage employment in the secondary labour market. As a result, those workers (rural and students) who have the opportunity to fill occupations that create the least difficulty in terms of employment barriers (e.g., dishwashers and cleaners) often refuse them because of their high occupational aspirations. By contrast, the chances of skilled workers and professionals finding a job commensurate with their qualifications are almost non-existent. In fact, most of the professionals and skilled workers have been left in a situation where the only paid work option is self-employment. However, since the incomes of the self-employed are lower than the incomes of certified
individuals, the self-employment option appears to be a response to increased difficulty in obtaining employment (that is, a survival strategy), rather than an attempt to achieve upward mobility.
FOOTNOTES

(1) For a discussion on the inadequacy of funding of community organisations by the federal Department of Employment and Immigration see Roxana Ng, 1988.

(2) The dominance of men in the migration process also stems from a basic division of labour within the family in Latin America. Since the responsibility for domestic production (i.e., unpaid domestic work) has rested on women and women have done the work necessary to reproduce labour power (both generationally and daily), their migration is structured by their actual or expected role in the family (see Massey et al., 1987; for a discussion of the sexual division of labour in the household and the labour market, see West, 1982; Burton, 1985; Gannage, 1986; Glucksmann, 1990).

(3) The original involvement of North American Christian churches in Latin America began in 1961, when Pope John XXIII's envoy, Monsignour Agostino Casaroli gave a speech to the U.S. Catholic leadership. Fearing the spread of Marxism (Cuba) and spiritualistic practices, he asked the U.S. Catholic church to send 10 percent of its members (priests, monks, and nuns) to Latin America as missionaries. Lately, the church's role in the region has been strengthened by more immediate factors such as the murders of El Salvador's Archbishop Arnulfo Romero and the U.S. nuns in El Salvador (Zolberg et al., 1989).

(4) In Latin America a significant factor in explaining the emergence of small-scale enterprises is the low level of wages and high turnover rates found in agriculture and industry. As a consequence, workers find that setting up their own business gives a better chance for economic and social advance than wage employment. Also, when family labour is involved in the business, the owner and his family sometimes earn through their joint labour more than if each went into wage employment separately.

(5) In this context, it is important to point out that social prestige criteria used to delineate social classes is a poor indicator of an individual's command over resources, since, it tends to confuse classes (a relational phenomena) with statistical categories or strata (cf. Mouzelis, 1978; Clement, 1983). In other words, notions of class-as-statistical category and class-as-empirical aggregate, which are both distributive definitions, fail to delineate the various social groups/classes by reference to their respective locations in the social division of labour (Miles & Phizacklea, 1980). In which case, it does not matter that members of a particular social class may vary in their possession of one or more distributive attributes (e.g., education, income or occupational standing). What matters, according to Hunter "...is that institution of private property creates the basis for a set of social classes which stand in
relation to one another as exploiters and exploited" (1981:173; also see Harriss, 1982; Robbins, 1974).

(6) A similar employment rate was found by Dorais et al. (1988) in their occupational profile of Vietnamese refugees in Victoria, B.C.

(7) A feature seldom examined in the Canadian migration literature is the class experience of young migrants. Particularly noteworthy in this context is the high unemployment among young people (Lowe, 1986; Roher, 1989; and Jain, 1987). Furthermore, they are increasingly marginalized into part-time, non-union, low skilled jobs (see Clement, 1988; Wilpert, 1988; Burman, 1988). For example, the employment structure of the fast-food industry, which has become an increasing source of employment for teenagers, is characterized on the one hand, by large numbers of unskilled, part-time, high-turnover workers and, on the other hand, by a small number of formally trained managers.

(8) A major assumption of major migration studies is that migrants show a willingness to work enthusiastically long hours at jobs unacceptable to many native-born workers (see Piore, 1979; Bolaria & Li, 1985; Chinloy & Stromsdorfer, 1987).

(9) This problem was further compounded by the practice of the community workers (in charge of administering the LASN survey) to make initial contact with the culturally designated head of household, i.e., the male head, rather than with the household member most responsible for the self-support of the household.
CHAPTER VI: IMMIGRATION AND FUTURE TRENDS IN THE ECONOMY

In this last chapter I examine how future trends in the Canadian economy may affect the performance of regional labour markets, like Vancouver, and the Hispanic immigrants employed in them. Since, by far, the greatest job growth has occurred in the office and factory support areas such as cleaning and security services and white-collar occupations (e.g. clerk, secretary, sales, legal, leasing, and consulting and management), it is necessary to know the impact of these new areas of employment concentration on the employment opportunities of recently arrived Hispanic immigrants. In fact, the weight of service occupations in the expansion of employment has a direct significance for immigrant employment, because it is the only dynamic sector of the economy in terms of employment generation during a period of labour surplus.

Second, I examine how regional trading agreements like the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), signed by Canada, Mexico and the U.S. on December 17, 1992 and implemented January 1, 1994, may impact on the performance of the Vancouver secondary labour market structure, where immigrants and women have historically filled low paid and low status jobs. What is new about regional trading agreements is that they are becoming ever more significant in the context of capitalist development, given the increasing spatial mobility of capital itself and its tendency towards the internationalisation of production (see D'Cruz & Fleck, 1988). Subsequently, one must also refer to the international level (i.e., inter-state relationships) to
understand the process whereby jobs are created and destroyed in local labour markets like Vancouver (Lebowitz, 1988; Marchak, 1986; Massey & Meegan, 1985). This last point is borne out by the increasing concern shown by policy analysts (Reitz, 1990; Seward & Tremblay, 1989; Seward & McDade, 1988a) for the migrants' labour market location in a period of rapid job loss and deteriorating economic conditions brought about by two major recessions (1981-83 and 1990-92), and by the fact that the previous Free Trade Agreement, signed by Canada and the U.S. on January 2, 1988, had cost Canada about 165,000 jobs in a two-year span (Mahant, 1993; Sinclair, 1992; Vancouver Sun, April 22 & Sept. 27, 1991). Many of these job losses were in the relatively labour-intensive phases of the leather, textiles, clothing and automobile manufacturing sectors, where many recent immigrants are concentrated (House of Commons, May 15, 1990; Globe & Mail, June 7 & Dec. 7, 1991). As a consequence, the labour market prospects of recent immigrants have been greatly affected by the signing of regional trade agreements.

Finally, if effective language training provision is to be provided to assist those immigrants classified by EIC as destined to the labour force as well as those presently excluded from language training schemes (i.e. refugee claimants and sponsored immigrants), it is important to know to what extent greater provincial autonomy over manpower training will affect EIC's language training service. Presently, ESL instruction and job-related English training are considered a job-training programme and are provided free of charge through the Adjustment Assistance
Program (AAP) to immigrants destined to the labour force across Canada. As a result, the federal government has up to now assumed complete responsibility for this type of resettlement service.

However, the development of recent initiatives connected with manpower training suggest that the federal government is backing away from its commitment to accept financial responsibility for providing manpower services that are needed by immigrants and refugees to achieve self-sufficiency (Vancouver Sun, August 4, 1993). Hence, there is every reason to believe that the lack of a coherent resettlement policy at a federal level will further fragment Canada's already highly decentralised labour market, and thus have a serious impact on those immigrants who are experiencing labour market difficulties due to a lack of a second language. As noted earlier in Chapter Four, Canada's highly decentralised labour market arrangement has proved to be a weak institutional framework for generalising wage increases and other forms of employment protection from the strong to the weak sectors of the economy (cf. Rubery, 1988; O'Donnell & Hall, 1988). I now examine the three issues raised above.

**IMMIGRANTS IN A SERVICE ECONOMY**

As stated earlier, one of the most distinctive and critical features of the Canadian economy throughout the 1980s has been the weight of service occupations in the expansion of employment. Coates (1991) has noted that between 1981 and 1991 virtually all of the net job creation occurred in the service sector (1). In concrete terms this means that those immigrants (including
refugee claimants) who entered the workforce during this period increasingly took the large array of service jobs that need to be performed in situ, such as personal services (e.g. cleaners, hairdressers), restaurants, and white-collar occupations in retail trade as well as in the producer services (e.g. banking, insurance, advertising, leasing, consulting and management). In British Columbia, this type of employment situation has been further reinforced by tourism-related businesses (B.C.'s biggest employer), which have created an expansion in the supply of low-wage, non-union, and part-time jobs in such areas as accommodation, food services, and recreation (2) (The Employment Paper, Issue, 93). Lastly, there is evidence to support the claim made by Bailey (1985) that in cities with significant foreign-born populations immigrants are disproportionately employed in restaurants (see Vancouver Planning Commission, 1990; Vancouver Sun, May 22, 1990; cf. Sassen-Koob, 1985; Chinloy & Stromsdorfer, 1987).

As employment opportunities in the service sector expand and regional labour markets like Vancouver become increasingly dependent on the service sector for employment growth, it is important to know to what extent service industries serve as "entrepôt employers" of immigrant labour. Entrepôt employers are defined here as those employers supplying unattractive jobs consisting of dead-end work (with limited on the job training), low-skilled (which means that workers can be easily replaced), and labour-intensive (which reduces the overhead of technology) (cf. Lever-Tracy & Quinlan, 1988). Thus, the notion of an
"entrepôt employer" entails three interrelated characteristics: low-paying, fluid entry and exit, and limited job prospects for upward mobility.

The restaurant industry provides an excellent illustration of the labour market role of an "entrepôt" employer as described above. A closer look at the industry reveals that immigrant-owned restaurants have not turned to formally trained workers either because on-the-job training makes it possible to train unskilled immigrant workers or because in the case of cooks in ethnic restaurants, formally trained workers are not available. Thus, when workers are needed, according to Bailey (1985), restauranteurs in this sector hire immigrants exclusively and when possible from their own home countries (3). Also, restauranteurs in the immigrant sector are less likely to discriminate against other immigrants in hiring for particular occupations. In other words, whereas many chain-owned restaurants (e.g. steakhouses) and expensive full-service restaurants hire few if any immigrants as managers or waiters/waitresses, immigrant-owned restaurants exhibit a preference for immigrant workers in these occupations (Bailey, 1985).

Immigrants are also employed in large numbers in the intermediate sector of the restaurant industry, where table or counter service is provided to the customers, for example, coffee shops, steak houses and pizzerias. As Bailey notes:

"...almost all of the unskilled kitchen jobs in the sector and many of the more skilled cooking jobs are held by foreign-born men" (1987:69).
A major reason for the above occupational concentration is that the limited menu selection, plus, the extensive use of pre-prepared foods obviate the need for the well-developed cooking skills that predominate in the full-service sector. Given the low level of required skills, it is relatively easy to find in cities with significant foreign-born populations unskilled immigrant workers to fill openings in this sector.

By contrast, in full-service kitchens there is an articulated skill hierarchy that includes unskilled workers (e.g. dishwashers) and skilled workers with formal training and extensive experience (e.g. chefs). Therefore, when workers are needed, full-service restaurants do not hire unskilled workers exclusively because workers in this sector are not interchangeable. Nevertheless, this sector of the industry employs large numbers of semi- and unskilled immigrant workers.

Finally, although immigrants are employed in the fast-food sector to a much lesser extent than in immigrant-owned restaurants, for example, the high levels of labour turnover in this sector create a demand for migrant labour. Restaurants in the fast-food sector are dominated by large corporations through franchise chains and employ large numbers of part-time, low-paid workers with minimal skills (4) (Clement, 1988; Lowe, 1986). According to Bailey (1987), a turnover rate of 300 percent is common in some restaurant chains. One factor contributing to the high-turnover rates is the production process itself, which through the use of such cost-saving devices as expensive and highly specialized ovens and stoves has reduced the need for
skills associated with preparing food. In fact, most food arrives at the restaurant already prepared except for final frying or heating (5). Therefore, since workers are unlikely to learn skills in return for their low-paid work, they often leave this type of dead-end work.

Also, workers do not exhibit dependable and stable behaviour because of low pay and lack of occupational opportunities. In the latter case, most fast-food companies have an informal policy of not recruiting management trainees from their lower-level work force (Bailey, 1985). This contrasts with the motivational structure found in immigrant-owned restaurants where immigrants anticipate opportunities for skilled work within the industry despite their initial low wages (6). In sum, since the structure of the fast-food industry militates against the development of skill-acquisition by first eliminating cooking skills with the introduction of technology, and workers are unlikely to learn skills in return for their low-paid work, high levels of labour turnover are an accepted part of restaurant operations in this sector. As a result, this sector is characterized by fluid entry and exit.

In conclusion, if the dominant trend in the Canadian economy is towards service sector employment, then the demand for immigrant labour is likely to rise rather then fall for several reasons. First, in cities with significant foreign-born populations (and a declining manufacturing base), service industries like restaurants have become an increasing source of employment for immigrants. In New York city, for example, by
1980, when the foreign-born population accounted for 25 percent of the city's population, they comprised 54 percent of the restaurant labour force (7) (Bailey, 1985). Second, the significance for immigrant employment of dynamic growth of service jobs is that many of these jobs require low skill levels, minimal language proficiency, often involve undesirable night or weekend shifts, and typically offer limited or no advancement prospects. Hence, the fluid entry and exit associated with these jobs, since no specific educational or formal training are required, provides the possibility of employment for those immigrants without post-secondary education and, more important, those whose occupational qualifications are not recognized by employers in their respective fields.

Finally, the expansion of part-time employment in the service sector also generates conditions conducive to the absorption of a large number of immigrants. In other words, since part-time workers often work for lower wages, have few employee benefits and little or no job security or opportunities for career advancement, this type of employment situation encourages a high degree of labour turnover amongst these workers. Consequently, in order to maintain a revolving-door employment process, where high levels of labour turnover are an accepted part of business operations, many employers in the service sector (e.g. fast-food restaurants) depend on latent reserves of labour comprised of youth, women and immigrants.
REGIONAL TRADE AGREEMENTS AND IMMIGRANTS

I have already argued in Chapter Four that Canada's system of labour market regulation influences which social groups suffer labour market disadvantage. Simply put, since there is no industry-wide regulation of pay and no national minimum wage, this system encourages payment of low wages to women and immigrant workers. Yet, according to some policy analysts and economists, these groups also have the labour market disadvantage of being concentrated in labour-intensive or "trade-sensitive" industries (e.g., clothing, textiles, footwear and leather), where developing countries enjoy comparative labour cost advantages (8) (Seward & Tremblay, 1989; Dorey, 1989; D'Cruz & Fleck, 1988; MacMillan, 1987). These authors argue that immigrant workers' concentration (particularly women) in currently "trade-sensitive" industries and plants has made them especially vulnerable to redundancy associated with the relocation of manufacturing operations to low-wage countries.

In spite of increasing competition from developing countries, however, the most significant feature of redundancies associated with plant closures is that the main culprit of rapid job loss in the early 1990s, apart from recessionary conditions, was the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement (FTA). In fact, the employment changes (in terms of job loss) brought about by the FTA have been startling. For example, in 1990 alone, Ontario's manufacturing employment base shrank by 90,000 jobs (Globe & Mail, June 7 and Dec. 7, 1991; Mahant, 1993).
Set against this overwhelming evidence of declining manufacturing employment, the possibility exists then that the newly completed North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), implemented January 1, 1994, could have a further negative effect on Canada's manufacturing employment base, particularly since Mexico enjoys a comparative labour cost advantage in labour-intensive industries (CLC Trade Watch, 1990). However, from a more sectoral perspective, the process of internationalisation as some form of 'knee jerk' reaction to cheap labour is reductionist because it anticipates a mechanical and continued migration of North American labour-intensive industries to developing countries like Mexico, where cheaper labour power can be obtained (see MacMillan, 1987).

In fact, the process of internationalisation does not necessarily imply that labour-intensive manufacturing industries are being completely abandoned by capital's quest for cheaper labour power. On the contrary, some authors claim that new working arrangements in 'trade-exposed' industries, particularly a strong shift toward domestic subcontracting, are not only creating the conditions necessary for a return to home sourcing, but they are simultaneously opening up new employment opportunities for immigrant workers as employers, pressed to cut costs and increase the flexibility of production, exploit the availability of immigrant labour reserves in the process of industrial restructuring (see Ward, 1990; MacEwan & Tabb, 1989; Green, 1989; Waldinger, 1985; Sassen-Koob, 1985). These claims rest on the general premise that the balance of comparative
advantage (in terms of labour costs) has tipped back to developed countries for one or more of the following reasons.

First, employment in small subcontracting firms is generally non-union and wage rates are far below those found in medium and large unionized manufacturing firms (Sassen-Koob, 1985). A second factor promoting home sourcing is the availability of a large immigrant workforce whose powerlessness in the labour market, due to a weak system of employment regulation at both plant and industry level, ensures the cheapness and flexibility of their labour power. Thus, while the 1980s have witnessed an unprecedented decline in manufacturing employment, job displacement in medium and large firms has been juxtaposed by an expansion of domestic subcontracting in immigrant-owned firms, which can rival in cost terms imports from developing countries. More important, the concentration of immigrants in these "trade-exposed" industries affords them some relative protection from redundancy by the trend towards subcontracting in this sector (Ward, 1990; Green, 1989; Sassen-Koob, 1985; West, 1982). The reorganisation of U.S. garment production along a two-tier 'arm's length' subcontracting arrangement(s) is a good illustration of these developments.

To begin, the subcontracting arrangement in the clothing industry allows the manufacturers to off-load the costs of production as well as the risks associated with fluctuations in demand onto the subcontractor (Schmitz, 1982; Johnson & Johnson, 1982). This is possible because the subcontracting system in the clothing industry separates design and marketing, which are done
by the manufacturers, from production, which is done by the subcontractor (O'Donnell & Hall, 1988; Waldinger, 1985). Thus, the clothing manufacturer is able to sustain a competitive position vis-a-vis foreign competitors through a two-tier production arrangement which minimizes costs by allowing for fluctuations in demand without the necessity to retain or train a workforce.

But while the manufacturers have a range of strategies available to them in their pursuit of profitability, subcontractors are put in a special relationship vis-a-vis market fluctuations. In a market characterized by instability and variability (due to fashion and seasonal changes as well as discontinuous runs) subcontractors take the brunt of fluctuations, because their production is the first to be cut in slack periods (Waldinger, 1985; Schmitz, 1982). Moreover, the variable demand itself reduces the usefulness of automated equipment or advanced production techniques such as assembly-line production (Bailey, 1985). Consequently, the prime means of maintaining profitability amongst subcontractors is the extraction of surplus value through the intensification of work.

In this context, it is worth pointing out that since labour costs in the clothing industry are the main costs of production, some care must be taken in specifying the conditions which are necessary for an increase in the intensity of exploitation to take place. A central feature arising from the intensity of exploitation in the subcontracting sector is the impact this has had on the development of the technical division of labour within
production. Because clothing is still organised on the basis of one operator per machine, one of the ways in which productivity has been increased (by the subcontractor) is through the further elaboration of the division of labour (Waldinger, 1985). In the first instance, the Babbage Principle has been applied in so far as an increase in the division of labour allows for the substitution of skilled labour by less skilled labour (Sassen-Koob, 1985; Jenkins, 1984; Frobel et al., 1980). The rationale for the above strategy by the subcontractor is simple: as the assembly stage of garment production constitutes 80 per cent of labour costs, the substitution of skilled workers who prepare a whole garment by semi- or unskilled workers who mass produce one piece results in considerable savings on the wage bill. Other methods of cheapening labour include piece rate incentives and time motion study, where earnings are linked to measured time standards (West, 1982).

Of course, it is important to note that the intensity of exploitation does not always amount to increased productivity if wages rise in proportion to output. As Fevre has observed:

"The intensity of exploitation will rise where real wages fall without a reduction in output as well as where output per head rises without a proportionate increase in wages" (1984:13).

By simultaneously increasing productivity through the further division of labour and also driving down wages through the substitution of cheap labour, subcontractors are significantly increasing the degree of exploitation. Thus, in contrast to neoclassical economics which identifies low wages with low
efficiency, we see that so-called cheap labour may be more, rather than less, productive. Overall, then, lower wages do not necessarily mean a higher rate of exploitation (see especially, Freeman & Holzer, 1986; Green & Beach, 1988; for a critical review of such work see Fevre, 1984; and for empirical criticism see Schmitz, 1982 and 1985).

Finally, in so far as technical innovation and its introduction in the labour process has always been related as much as to labour supply-side factors as it has to the technical possibilities within an industry (e.g. clothing production is still organised on the basis of one operator per machine), a quantitative expansion in the labour-supply of immigrant workers may dampen the upward pressure on wages, and thus act as a deterrent to relocation or to investment in new machinery (9). Evidence in support of this latter contention has been provided by Waldinger's (1985) case study of the New York City apparel industry, where he states that the influx of immigrants mitigated the costs disadvantages confronted by New York producers. For example,

"...the relative costs of apparel labour is no longer as great as it previously was. New York's wage differential which edged upward in the early 1970s, moved downward in the second half of the decade. Immigration also relaxed the internal competition for low-level labour as indicated by the continual slippage of apparel labour costs past the remainder of New York's depressed manufacturing sector" (Waldinger, 1985:335) (10).

Overall, the evidence has been mounting that massive immigration into the U.S. has lessened the labour costs associated with a North American location vis-a-vis foreign competitors (MacEwan

As can be seen, the continuing viability of the subcontracting sector is linked to a number of factors. First, subcontracting firms can vary labour costs by redefining the job tasks of workers without any compensating change in pay. As a result, the more experienced and skilled workers on production work do not necessarily receive additional payments, either for differences in jobs that they undertake or for differences in their skill. Second, but related to the first point above, on-the-job training allows subcontracting firms to substitute informally trained immigrant workers for skilled sewing machine operators, who can only be recruited at a higher cost on the labour market. This type of substitution exerts a downward pressure on wages as less skilled workers are more easily replaceable (Bailey, 1987). Finally, the simple technical division of labour found in a subcontracting firm (since it is not based on job grades or on workers' characteristics, e.g. skill or seniority) enhances the firm's ability to respond to changes in labour market conditions for a particular kind of worker. In the case of subcontractors they are able to take advantage of a largely female immigrant workforce, whose weak labour market position (due to a lack of labour market regulation and language difficulties) ensures the cheapness and flexibility of their labour power.

To summarize, one of the central arguments in Free Trade discussions is that immigrant workers' concentration in certain
currently "trade-exposed" industries has made them vulnerable to redundancy associated with the relocation of labour-intensive manufacturing industries to low-wage countries (including the U.S.). What is striking about this argument is that in identifying the migrants' confinement to a particular industrial category (i.e. labour-intensive) as a major cause of their economic weakness or vulnerability, its central reference point is the standard neo-Smithian model of the changing world market for labour power, according to which capital's prime means of restoring the rate of profit is the relocation of industry to low-wage countries. Plainly this is a reductionist argument since it anticipates a mechanical and continued migration of North American industries to developing countries, where cheaper labour power can be obtained.

In contrast, a more satisfactory approach is to recognize from the outset that new working arrangements in North America, particularly a strong shift toward domestic subcontracting, are creating the conditions necessary for a return to home sourcing. For example, domestic subcontracting firms in the U.S. have been able to take advantage of the availability of immigrant labour at low wages because of an unregulated labour market system which facilitates the exploitation of these types of workers. As a result, the expansion of the subcontracting sector has facilitated rather than obstructed the use of immigrant labour in the restructuring of certain labour-intensive industries towards a low wage economy.
LANGUAGE TRAINING AND IMMIGRANTS

Introduced in 1975 as a component of Canada's immigrant resettlement program, the Adjustment Assistance Program (AAP) administered by Employment and Immigration Canada (EIC) continues to be the federal government's main policy instrument for addressing the problem of lack of language-skills of immigrants and refugees (11). The prime objective of the program is to provide language training allowances to independent immigrants and government sponsored refugees destined to the labour force. These admission categories are eligible for the support system, which includes allowances for rent, food, and clothing, for one year from their date of arrival in Canada. Hence, one of the main characteristics of the APP is that benefit eligibility is dispensed according to immigrant status.

A second major characteristic of the AAP is the minimal direct instructional role played by the federal government. In other words, while funding decisions are the result of a federal initiative, it is the provinces which run the language training schemes, usually through community colleges or community service agencies, with the federal government playing a coordinating role. This form of language training provision is conditioned by the institutional structure of the Canadian state, which grants the provinces exclusive jurisdiction over education. Hence, unlike other spheres of federal government activity where labour-market policy relies on centralised interventionist measures, for example, the delivery of old age income security, the delivery of language training services depends upon a contractual arrangement
between the federal government and the provinces whereby EIC agrees to pay for the training costs of immigrants in provincial educational institutions on a "per seat" basis.

Notwithstanding the decentralised nature of the delivery system which depends upon the cooperation of other levels of government and the tight eligibility criteria which disqualifies sponsored immigrants and refugee claimants, what is important in this context is that the federal government has up to now accepted full financial responsibility for providing economic assistance to those immigrants destined to the labour force. However, two policy change proposals by the previous Conservative Government have increased the anxiety of provinces, community colleges and community agencies that the federal government is backing away from full federal responsibility for resettlement (12). In 1991, a bilateral immigration accord signed by Ottawa and Quebec handed over responsibility for language training and resettlement to Quebec (McBride, 1993; Vancouver Sun, Feb. 8, 1991). Further evidence of withdrawal came in the summer of 1993 with the decision by the Conservative Government to give Quebec control over manpower training (Johnson et al., 1994; Vancouver Sun, August 4, 1993). Although there is no doubt that the major factor that lay behind the Conservative Government's proposal to hand over manpower training to the Province of Quebec was the failure of the 1987 Meech Lake Accord, which if passed would have awarded Quebec earlier control over manpower training and immigration, the point nevertheless remains that under the cloak of the call for greater "efficiency" in manpower services, the
federal government is accelerating the movement towards the decentralisation of manpower training and resettlement (13).

The question to be examined then is to what extent greater provincial autonomy over manpower training will affect language training service in a period when there are increasing calls by community organisations and provincial authorities, other than Quebec, for greater federal intervention in the labour market (see Margalit, 1991; Vancouver Sun, March 27 & April 9, 1991).

In early 1990, for example, a report submitted to the Standing Committee on Labour, Employment and Immigration stated that as a result of a less selective immigration policy, there was a large pool of recent immigrants with low levels of education or poor official language abilities (House of Commons, May 15, 1990). Subsequently, the report recommended that the federal government accept full financial responsibility for language training provision.

Generally speaking, the transfer of significant jurisdictional authority from the federal government to the provinces does not mark a new departure in Canada's highly decentralised labour market system. As previously noted, in 1925 the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council recognized the primary responsibility of the provinces for industrial relations. Nonetheless, what is new about the initiatives taken by the Conservative Government in the early 1990s is that they have the potential to effectively eliminate the delivery of a uniform national system, where the same rules concerning language training entitlement apply throughout the country.
For instance, in the absence of a strong federal administration to organise and coordinate the delivery of language training, the existence of relatively autonomous provinces will make it possible for the provinces to vary the rules concerning entitlement. This is possible because each province has its own laws covering education and welfare. Thus, for example, in the Province of Quebec where there is a certain amount of preference for knowledge of French as opposed to English, the possibility exists that provincially financed educational institutions might discriminate against those immigrants who wish to take English language training by refusing to fund English courses.

Similarly, the introduction of a system of income allocation independent of that provided through EIC language training allowances, creates a potential threat to nationally-defined income assistance levels. That is, as each province attempts to make the resettlement language allowance consistent with its own welfare system, the level of income maintenance benefits given to immigrants destined to the labour force will vary substantially from one province to the next. Thus, in the case of those immigrants and refugees destined to the financially-strapped Maritime provinces, they will probably find themselves in a weak labour position relative to those immigrants who are destined to economically strong regions such as British Columbia, as the former provinces will have more restrictive allowance provisions. Once again, this is possible because in the absence of a uniform scheme throughout the country, the provinces will retain more
options on whether or not they will utilise federal guidelines with respect to training allowances.

Finally, in an era when the problem of Third World immigrant underemployment and unemployment (due to a lack of official language ability) has assumed an unassailable position as a key issue in government reports, it is difficult to see how the federal government can respond to this immediate problem without control over a centralised manpower training system (see Coates, 1991; McDade, 1988; Seward & McDade, 1988a; Fernando & Prasad, 1986). So far, when the federal government has been faced with the above problem of immigrant unemployment and underemployment, it has been able to respond rapidly by establishing a compilation of centrally-funded language training schemes. As a result, the federal government through EIC has taken a pro-active or interventionist position in the labour market, in which worries over Third World unemployment and underemployment have become matched by a parallel concern for language training itself.

However, as the federal government and the rest of the provinces struggle over the extent of their jurisdiction in the areas of immigrant resettlement and manpower training, it is likely that the federal government will be inhibited from continuing to fund the major training activities developed under EIC if it loses jurisdiction over these areas. Thus, one of the possible direct consequences of a decentralised manpower training system is that those individuals facing serious barriers to employment, due to a lack of fluency in an official language, will be denied access to a uniform language training system--
where the same rules concerning entitlement apply throughout the country. Lastly, from a logistical standpoint, the presence of more than one manpower system in the country will make it difficult for the federal government to coordinate language training services and to establish equity between the assistance available in each province as each province will attempt to impose its own uniform system of regulation in respect to training allowances, classroom training and counselling, and on-the-job language training.
FOOTNOTES

(1) Part-time employment during this same period accounted for over one-quarter of all employment growth (Coates, 1991).

(2) Outside of the Vancouver Lower Mainland in 1986, about 9 percent of all workers were directly employed in the forestry industries (Lundy & Warme, 1986). More important, " Estimates of the total direct and indirect employment related to the industry have been calculated at 30 percent" (Lundy & Warme, 1986:27; see Marchak, 1986).

(3) In New York city, for example, by 1980, when the foreign-born population accounted for 25 percent of the city's population, they comprised 54 percent of the restaurant labour force (Bailey, 1987).

(4) National data in the U.S. indicate that in 1983, 70 percent of all fast-food workers were 16 to 21 years old, and 85 percent, 24 years or younger. Moreover, females accounted for 66 percent of the total work force and about 63 percent of the teenage work force in the sector (Bailey, 1987).

(5) Bailey (1987) notes that although employees are sometimes engaged in ordering or inventory control, the large majority of tasks in fast-food restaurants can be learned in a few hours or days. Average hourly rates in 1983 in the U.S. fast-food industry were about $3.70.

(6) The development and reproduction of a skilled workforce in the restaurant industry is thwarted by low pay. Although Canadian statistics on restaurant earnings are scarce, a study of the New York restaurant industry sheds light on the relative earnings of restaurant workers. According to Bailey's (1987) study of the industry with the exception of about 35 percent of the chefs and a few other cooks, no workers in the industry in 1983 earned wages that if annualized would equal the 1983 average income ($21,759 a year) for workers covered by unemployment insurance in the New York metropolitan area. In Canada, the average earned income of full-year workers in the service industry was 9,319 and 19,806 for women and men respectively.

(7) In Vancouver, B.C., by 1991, the foreign-born population accounted for 31 percent of the city's population (Census Canada, 1991).

(8) In 1987, the Economic Council of Canada identified the following areas as "trade-sensitive" industries: rubber and plastic products, leather products, textiles, knitting mills, electrical products, chemicals and chemical products, and miscellaneous manufacturing (MacMillan, 1987).
(9) It is worth pointing out that during the early 1990s gross immigration to Canada exceeded the 1974 high of 220,000 people, despite the fact that this period was characterized by recessionary conditions and rising structural unemployment.

(10) In 1977, the average wage of apparel workers in New York City was 64 per cent of average manufacturing wages (Sassen-Koob, 1985b). However, according to Sassen Koob (1985b) this is a significant overestimate since it excludes sweatshops and industrial homeworkers. For example, the hourly wage (with no fringe benefits) of New York City sweatshops was $1.75 in 1983 (Corbridge, 1986).

(11) The major reason for the Canadian federal government to provide assistance to immigrants is the 1976 Immigration Act, which commits Canada to aid newcomers adaptation. Part 1, Section 3(d) of the Act states as one of the objectives of Canada's immigration policy:

"...to encourage and facilitate the adaptation of persons who have been granted admission as permanent residents to Canadian society by promoting cooperation between the Government of Canada and other levels of government and non-government agencies in respect thereto..." (quoted in Adelman, 1991:346).

(12) In fact, the federal government began the decade by retreating from direct intervention by dismantling the Secretary of State language training program. One of the positive features of the language training provided by Secretary of State, before its cancellation on April 1, 1990, was that all immigrants were eligible for training regardless of category of entry, gender or employment status (See Seward & McDade, 1988a).

(13) On August 4, 1993, Prime Minister Kim Campbell described Quebec's new manpower system as "modern and efficient" and a model that other provinces could copy (Vancouver Sun). Campbell also said that "...although Ottawa would not bow out totally from manpower training, it is more important to deliver services efficiently than to squabble over jurisdiction" (Ibid., A4).
CHAPTER VII: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The main objective of the thesis was to show that the process of selection in immigration policy via the points system, family reunification and humanitarian objectives, creates a "split-labour" market among Hispanic migrants and, therefore, reinforces the socio-economic structure of inequality which operates in the Vancouver labour market. One of the underlying assumptions of the thesis was that those Hispanic migrants not accepted on the basis of occupational qualifications in a trade or profession were expected to have low earnings or low occupational status. As far as refugees were concerned, the pattern of inequality found in the Vancouver labour market was in part a function of the skill-status of the refugees themselves. For example, the serious refugee unemployment problem identified by Margalit (1991) as well as the case-study material was due to the operation of pre-immigration factors like lower educational levels and less skill specialisation. Also, because many of the refugees had been peasants or jornaleros (agricultural workers) in their country of origin, their occupational skills were not directly transferable to an urban capitalist labour market. Thus, the general pattern of labour market incorporation showed that these migrants were far more likely than other category immigrants (e.g. independent) to be overrepresented in those occupations not requiring contact with the public such as cleaning or janitorial or be unemployed.

It is also important to note that although the significance of the Central American refugee migration did not lie in spatial
mobility as a result of the demand for wage labour, since it was a forced migration, Central American refugees' labour market incorporation patterns (an over-representation in the underemployed and unemployed) throughout the 1980s and early 1990s were a consequence of the kinds of employment opportunities that were available to them in a highly regulated and recession prone Vancouver labour market. For instance, the very fact that their arrival in the early 1980s involved an increase in the supply of labour during a period of labour surplus did not make for an easy transition into wage employment. In fact, the rise in mass structural unemployment amongst all workers during the 1980s had a particularly severe impact on Central American refugees. First, they were forced to compete with Canadian-born workers and other migrants for the few available operative and manual jobs in the secondary labour market. Second, because labour shedding hit those occupations and industries traditionally associated with migrant labour (i.e. full-time semi- and unskilled jobs in manufacturing), refugees were unable to secure steady employment, and thus were occupationally disadvantaged. Overall, scarcity of jobs, particularly in inner-city areas, was another important factor limiting the employment prospects of refugees.

Lastly, the analysis of the labour market experiences of Central American refugees and refugee claimants clearly showed how the immigration process itself shaped their labour market incorporation by granting or denying them access to a wide range of economic rights afforded independent category immigrants and
government sponsored refugees. Certainly, the refugee determination process, created by the 1976 Immigration Act, made it easier for Central Americans to gain admission into Canada as a refugee claimant and to obtain an employment authorisation once in Canada. This was reflected in the high number of 'exempt' employment authorisations issued by immigration officials during the 1980s. However, as argued in Chapter Two, the refugee determination process also turned out a special brand of worker.

First, since immigration officials did not confer refugee claimants the right to employment until the hearing with the Refugee board was carried out, and working prior to the hearing was illegal and subject to deportation, this type of legal vulnerability influenced the claimants' search for employment as well as their willingness to accept jobs (when available) at lower wages. Case study evidence revealed, for example, that the lack of a work permit prior to the hearing made some Central American refugee claimants lazy and depressed and, in some cases, this often led to some type of criminal activity, such as drug dealing. More important, even after an 'exempt' employment authorisation was granted by immigration officials, refugee claimants still remained far more vulnerable (in terms of greater exploitation in the labour market) than validated workers in the 'temporary' employment authorisation program as they remained outside the regulatory sphere of Employment and Immigration Canada. Workers who obtained 'validated' employment authorisations were, at least, employed on the basis of prevailing wage rates and the rate of pay though by EIC to be
necessary to attract Canadian workers. Overall, the old refugee determination system (1976-89) created a new source of labour power which complemented the process of mobilisation of permanent immigrants into Canada; however, the weak employment protection given to refugee claimants by EIC allowed employers to exploit this migrant group more than any other labour-market group.

Finally, the fact that refugee claimants had to prove their capacity to support themselves without recourse to public funds or welfare benefits showed that they were denied access to a wide range of economic rights which, in principle, accrued to independent migrant and government sponsored refugees. For example, the tendency by EIC to dispense language training benefits only to labour force immigrants (including government sponsored refugees) denied refugee claimants access to ESL instruction during a period of high unemployment. As a result, where jobs had at least some indispensable requirement for a level of competence in English speech or writing, refugee claimants were less likely than other category migrants to secure employment in the primary labour market. Overall, however, the widespread concern expressed in the migration literature that official language proficiency potentially influences the migrant's occupational placement within the secondary labour market did not materialize, since knowledge of English played a minor role in obtaining or holding an operative or manual job in this sector.

As far as independent immigrants were concerned, evidence from the case study material showed that skills gained from a
prior occupation held in Central America were not relevant to employment in the Vancouver labour market because of the non-recognition of occupational and educational credentials. Consequently, there was no correlation between the level of jobs held in Central America and that currently held in the Vancouver labour market. For example, when in employment, Central American skilled workers and professionals typically occupied lower status jobs and earned less than their Canadian-born counterparts. As far as income was concerned, the relative position of Central American skilled migrants became worse at higher income levels.

This general conclusion was also supported by other evidence (based on the LASN survey and semi-structured interviews) which showed that, while educational attainment did improve job prospects in terms of self-employment, Central American skilled workers and professionals were more likely than Canadian-born workers of similar skill level to be excluded from the primary labour market. Thus, Chapter Five went on to show that there was no support for the neoclassical view that differences in the skills, human capital or work experience of Central American skilled immigrant workers were sufficient to explain their occupational disadvantages in the labour market. On the contrary, it became apparent from the evidence that it was the processes which led to the recognition of these skills or work experience which proved crucial in explaining occupational segmentation.

For example, provincial institutional controls over licensing and accreditation in the trades came to exert a direct bearing on Central American migrants' employment opportunities by
either denying recognition of their educational and occupational credentials or by extending the period of apprenticeship. In practice, these employment barriers particularly affected government sponsored refugees who were unable to provide documentation of their training and certification due to their quick exit from their country of origin. This meant that it was difficult for provincial authorities to reassess the equivalence of their training by provincial standards. In the case of independent category immigrants, many qualified individuals were forced to reassess their labour market strategies since many of them could not afford to be without means of support during the long retraining period.

Another major aspect of Central American migration pertained to women's labour market incorporation. The fact that the majority of Central American Hispanic immigrant women did have previous wage work experience in either small-scale family enterprises or large factories as operatives, generally gave them a good chance of selling their skills and experience in the Vancouver labour market. As a result, the work experience prior to migration often acted as a springboard for wage work in the Vancouver labour market. However, because one of the prime determinants of the employment position of immigrant women was the relatively rigid system of sex-typing of occupations, Hispanic women made a transition to those occupations that were readily available and that created the least difficulty in terms of employment barriers. With the exception of three medically qualified individuals who were employed as nurses's aids, the
majority of Hispanic women were employed in manual jobs in the clothing industry or held jobs with few if any skill and language requirements in the hotel-restaurant industries as chambermaids and cleaners. This latter employment trend emerged quite clearly in the course of the interviews. In sum, although there was little evidence that category of entry had a negative effect on women's labour force participation in the secondary labour market, the overall net effect of category of entry (since the majority of women were refugees or sponsored immigrants) was to increase ethnic inequality among ethnic women because Hispanic immigrant women tended to be concentrated predominantly in the least skilled jobs.

To conclude, the pattern of occupational segmentation depicted above does confirm the role played by immigration mechanisms and procedures in creating and sustaining a 'split-labour' market among Central American migrants. New Hispanic entrants into the Vancouver labour market either faced few employment opportunities, sharp reductions in income if they found a job (due to underemployment) or unemployment altogether. Moreover, although the thesis did not concentrate on questions of class consciousness among individual migrants, it nevertheless found instances of the conflict, when refugee claimants and government sponsored refugees expressed their dissatisfaction with certain types of waged employment, particularly unskilled manual jobs which offered low wages and limited job prospects for upward mobility (e.g. dishwasher). As a consequence, the migration process (and the subsequent transition into the labour
market) of Central American migrants was far from linear in the sense that individual judgments of the opportunity structure often interrupted the so-called "fluid-entry" transition into wage employment in the secondary labour market. Simply put, immigrant workers (particularly males) who had the opportunity to fill those occupations that created the least difficulty in terms of employment barriers often refused to accept them.

Finally, while the thesis clearly demonstrated that Central American migration to Canada must be seen within the context of Canadian capitalism, the migration itself was not the outcome of labour shortages in Canada. On the contrary, due to the increasing political violence and repression in several Central American countries during the 1980s and early 1990s, Central American migration to Vancouver, B.C., was governed by political factors. For instance, the forced migration of Salvadorean refugees was induced by civil war and the policy of national security enforced by that country during the aforementioned period. Nevertheless, once Central American refugees were in Vancouver their occupational mobility patterns were a consequence of the capital accumulation process--a process which leads to the labour market incorporation of some migrants as wage labourers in the secondary labour market or to the predicament of mass unemployment.
APPENDIX A
LATIN AMERICAN SERVICES NETWORK NEEDS ASSESSMENT SURVEY

SECTION A: BACKGROUND

1) What is your age?

2) What is your marital status? Single___ Married___ Divorced___ Separated___ Widowed___ Other___

3) Name the country of citizenship before immigrating to Canada? Country___

SECTION B: LANGUAGE

4) How well you say you speak and understand English yourself?
   a) Very well___
   b) Fairly well___
   c) Not very well___

5) How well you say you read and write English?

SECTION C: IMMIGRATION EXPERIENCE

6) What is your present immigrant status? Specify___

7) Why did you immigrate to Canada? Specify___

8) When you arrived in Canada did you expect to return home eventually? Yes___ No___

9) How many years have you lived in Vancouver? Specify___

10) Where did you live before you moved to Vancouver? Specify___

11) Did you live in the United States before immigrating to Canada? Yes___ No___

12) Is there a member of your immediate family who used to live with you and who is now left behind in your home country or in a country other than Canada? Yes___ No___ Don't know where they are___

SECTION D: EDUCATION AND OCCUPATION

13) How many years of full-time schooling have you completed? Years___

14) Did you ever attend a vocational school? Where?___
   What type? a) Community college___
   b) Trade School___
   c) Business/Commercial___
   d) Special vocational___
15) Did you graduate and get a diploma/certificate from the school? Yes__ No__

16) What occupation were you trained to do? Specify__

17) Are you presently working in your area of specialization? Yes__ If no, specify reasons why?__

18) Did you attend a university? Yes__ No__

19) Did you graduate and get a degree/diploma from a university? Yes__ No__

20) Are you working at the present time? 
   a) Self-employed__ 
   b) Employed full-time__ 
   c) Employed part-time__ 
   d) Looking for work__ 
   e) Laid-off temporarily__ 
   f) Student__ 
   g) Training program__

21) If not employed, when were you working last? 
   a) In the last six months__ 
   b) Between 6 months and one year__ 
   c) More than one year ago__

22) In what type of work are you employed/or interested in? 
   a) Service__ 
   b) Manufacturing__ 
   c) Transport/distribution__

SECTION E: INCOME/HOUSING

23) What is your approximate monthly income? 
   Below - $500__ 
   $500 - $1000__ 
   $1000 - $1500__ 
   $1500 - $2000__ 
   $2000 - $2500__ 
   $2500 - $3000__ 
   $3000 - $4000__ 
   $4000 +

24) Do you receive social assistance from the government? Yes__ No__ If yes, what type of assistance?__

25) In what area of Vancouver do you presently live? 
   Area__

26) Why do you live in this area of the city?__

27) Counting yourself, how many people live in your house? 
   Number__
28) Have you experienced settlement problems after migration to Canada? Specify__

29) Are you aware of government and community services? Yes__ No__ If yes, please make a list.

30) Lastly, do you have suggestions for resolving settlement/adaptation problems? Specify__

WE THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION IN THIS SURVEY
APPENDIX B

THE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

This questionnaire is concerned with the labour market experiences of Hispanic immigrants and refugees in Vancouver. The information that you give me will be used as part of a thesis project.

There are two points that you should bear in mind while you are answering out the questionnaire.

1. Your answers will be kept confidential.

2. Think about every question or statement carefully before answering.

I THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION IN THIS STUDY.

SECTION A. ARRIVAL

1) What year did you arrive in Canada?

2) In what year did you come to Vancouver?

3) Where were you originally resettled when you came to Canada (city and Province)?

4) When you first arrived in Vancouver, who was most helpful to you in:
   a) locating housing?
   b) locating a job?
   c) locating medical aid?
   d) learning about day-to-day living in Vancouver?

5) What is the main reason you left your home country?

SECTION B. DEMOGRAPHICS

6) Code sex: Male__ Female__

7) What is your age?

8) Are you married, single, or something else at present?
   a) Single__ b) Married__ c) Separated__
   d) Divorced__ e) Common law__ f) Widowed__

9) If married, was your spouse able to leave your home country with you? (yes/no)

10) If no, is your spouse with you in this country now?

11) Were you among the first in your family to settle in this country, or did you come to be reunited with family members who were already here?
12) Is there a member of your immediate family who use to live with you and now is left behind in your home country or in a country other than Canada? Yes__  No__  Don't know where they are__

13) In your home country, about how many people lived in the village, town or city where you spent most of your life?
   a) less than 500__  b) 500-2,000__  c) 2,000-10,000__
   d) 10,000-100,000__  e) more than 100,000__

14) Do you have any relatives who live in Canada or Vancouver? 

SECTION C. LANGUAGE

15) How well do you feel you can speak and understand English?
    Very well__  Fairly well__  Not very well__
    a) Speak English__
    b) Understand English__

16) How well do you read and write English?  Very well__
    Fairly well__  Not very well__
    a) Read English__
    b) Write English__

17) Can you write a letter or fill out a job application in English?

18) How well do you read and write Spanish?  Very well__
    Fairly well__  Not very well__
    a) Read Spanish
    b) Write Spanish

19) What other languages do you speak?
    Can you read in__?  Can you write in__?

20) Are you currently enrolled in an ESL course?  (yes/no)
    If yes, how many months have you been attending ESL?
    If no, have you attended an ESL class?  (yes/no)
    If yes, how many months did you attend?

SECTION D. OCCUPATION AND EDUCATION BACKGROUND

Now, I would like you to please tell me the following information about yourself.

21) How much formal education or training have you obtained in your home country?
    a) no formal education or training__
    b) elementary school or less__
    c) some high school__
    d) some high school plus trade or commercial school__
    e) high school graduate__
    f) trade of commercial school graduate__
    g) some university__
    h) university graduate__  Specify degree__?
22) How much formal education have you obtained in Canada?

23) What was your main occupation in your country?
   a) never employed
   b) self-employed
   c) other

24) Are you currently employed? (yes/no) In what?

25) Do you work full-time (35 hours) or part-time?

26) What is your job title?

27) Are you self-employed?

28) Do you have more than one job?

29) What do you do at your job(s)?

30) How did you find your job(s)?

31) How long have you been employed at your present job(s)?

32) How much are you paid per hour/week/month at your job(s)?

33) Do you have a car available for your use?

34) How do you get to work?
   a) car/car pool
   b) bus
   c) walk
   d) bicycle
   e) motorcycle
   f) other

35) Not considering wages or salaries, do you think your current job(s) has more, the same, or is lower in responsibilities than your last job in your country?

   a) If dissatisfied, why are you dissatisfied?
   Explain_

SECTION E. MIGRATION AND RESIDENCE

36) Counting yourself, how many people live in your house?

37) Do you own or rent the housing you currently live in?
   a) Own house
   b) Rent house
   c) Own apartment
   d) Rent apartment
   e) Own or rent other
   f) Rent-free

38) What proportion of your total household income is spent as shelter costs (utilities, rent, mortgage, property taxes, maintenance)?
   Less than 25%
   25%-50%
   50% or more

39) How long have you been living at your current residence?
40) How many times have you moved since coming to Vancouver?

41) Do you still expect to be living in the Vancouver area in two years? yes__ no__ don't know__

SECTION F. GOVERNMENT PROGRAMMES

42) At the present time, are you receiving any of the following?
   a) Unemployment Insurance__
   b) Social Assistance__
   c) Hardship Assistance__
   d) Subsidized language training__
   e) Other__

43) Have you ever had government-sponsored job training in Canada?
   What type of training__?

44) Are you currently enrolled in an ESL course sponsored by the government?
   Yes__ No__ If no, give reasons why__?

45) Are you aware of any place(s) where you can receive job skills or language training?
   Yes__ No__ Don't Know__
   a) If yes, what are the name of the place(s)__?

SECTION G. ATTITUDES ON ISSUES

Finally, I would like to ask your opinion on a number of issues.

46) Are you being treated fairly by your employer?

47) Do present immigration laws make it difficult for Hispanics (Latinos) to come to Canada?

48) Could you tell me if the following are very serious__, somewhat serious__, not too serious__, or not a problem at all for Hispanics in Vancouver?
   a) Discrimination against Hispanics as far as jobs, pay, or other working conditions are concerned__
   b) Unemployment among Hispanics in Vancouver__
   c) the difficulty for Hispanics in finding good housing at a reasonable cost__

49) Lastly, how concerned do you think the leaders of the Hispanic community in Vancouver are with the problems and interests of the members of the community?
APPENDIX C
THE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

This questionnaire is concerned with the labour market experiences of Hispanic immigrants and refugees in Vancouver. The information that you give me will be used as part of a thesis project.

There are two points that you should bear in mind while you are answering out the questionnaire.

1. Your answers will be kept confidential.
2. Think about every question or statement carefully before answering.

I THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION IN THIS STUDY.

SECTION A. EMPLOYMENT

1) In general, what are some of the special problems of adaptation faced by Central American immigrants and refugees?

2) Specifically, what are some of the reasons most commonly cited by your clients for not being in their intended occupation?

3) After their arrival, do you find that many Central Americans are in lower skill jobs than those they had left in their home country (or for which they were trained in their home country)?

4) Is it difficult for you, as a community worker, to ascertain the equivalent type of work done by an individual from a country which is economically and technologically different than Canada?
   a) If yes, do you think this is due to the fact that many Central Americans have skills which are not directly transferable to the Vancouver labour market?

   Interviewer Note:
   Some studies suggest that immigrants who have been educated in the educational systems of developing countries may find that the labour market value of their education is less easily assessed than immigrants from European countries, for example.

5) According to your own experience do you find that Hispanics experience disproportionately high levels of unemployment and underemployment?

6) What do you think are some of the reasons for the high unemployment among refugee claimants?

7) Do you feel that Central American women display occupational characteristics which reflect a sex-segregated occupational structure?
8) How strong would you say are the educational differences between men and women? independent and sponsored?

9) Please, tell me if a significant number of Central Americans have less than nine years of education.

Interviewer Note:
The reason why I am asking is that these persons are considered "functionally illiterate".

SECTION B. LANGUAGE AND IMMIGRATION

10) I would like to know what you think about the present delivery of language training to immigrants and refugees?

11) Should Employment and Immigration provide equal access to settlement language training programs for all immigrants and refugees?

12) In your opinion do you find that those clients who come in contact with immigrant services agencies belong to the more troubled and/or articulated sector of the community?

13) In your job, how often do you come into contact with refugees who are suffering psychologically from the previous violence and trauma of war and repression in Central America?

14) Are there any persons receiving your assistance who have problems with drug and alcohol use?

15) Of these persons, what proportion (according to your estimates) are engaged in illegal activities, such as the sale of drugs?

16) How satisfied are you with the present funding of community services to immigrants?

17) Are you concerned that present immigration laws make it too difficult for Hispanics to come to Canada?

18) What is your overall impression of the new refugee determination system?

19) What other information do you have about your personal experience(s) with Central Americans that might be useful to my thesis?
APPENDIX D

LIST OF LATIN AMERICAN CENTRES

WOMEN

Latin American Mothers' Group
Mosaic-Britannia Community Centre-Health Department
Meets: twice a week

Central American Women's Group
Mount Pleasant Neighborhood House

Violence Group: support group for women
Family Services
Meets Mondays 7:00-9:00

Support Group for Women
Immigrant Services Society (ISS)

English Classes for Women
ISS, Fridays
Mosaic
Pacific Immigrant Resources Society (P.I.R.S.)
Burnaby Multicultural Society

Latin Group of Mutual Support
Single Mothers (daycare/foodbank)
Little Mountain/YWCA
Meets once a week

Sewing Classes
Catholic Welcoming Services
Britannia School

Program "Viaje por la Vida"
Sharing of experiences, support group
Catholic Welcoming Services

MEN

Violence Group for men
Family Services

Oppenheimer Park Recuperation Program
Union Gospel, Willingdon Catholic Church

A.A. Downtown Eastside
Meets 4 times: twice a week (alcohol) and twice a week (narcotic)

Door is Open
Drop in night. Cultural Activity, free time.
Wednesday 6:00-9:00
Cooking Lessons
Britannia Community Centre, Family Services

Ray-Cam Recreational Programs
Indoor soccer, soccer team, facilities

IMMIGRATION/SETTLEMENT SERVICES

Inland Refugee Society
Direct Assistance (cash, food, clothing, household goods) referrals, consolation, ESL

Immigrant Services Society
Welcome House
Information, translation
Counselling referral
Host program
Job finding club
ESL training programs
ESL classes

MOSAIC
Information assistance
Counselling, orientation
Community outreach
Employment Programs
Translation

Catholic Mission
Welcome House
Household goods/direct assistance
Orientation, information assistance
ESL, referrals

M.C.C. Refugee Office
Orientation, interpretation
Immigration, Employment assistance
ESL (1 small group)

Welcome Centre Burnaby and Coquitlam
Burnaby Multicultural Society
Information and referrals
Interpretation
Counselling

Surrey-Delta Immigrant Services Society
Information and orientation
lobbying, referrals

Willingdon Spanish Church
Immigration Assistance
Catholic Latin American Welcoming Services
Immigration Assistance
Orientation package
Translations, referrals

EMPLOYMENT

D.E.E.D.S. (Downtown Eastside Economic Development Society)
Employment project/training for Latin American men

Employment Data Bank
Employment Bulletin
ACLAH (Asociacion Cristiana Laboral Hispana)

Co-operative Project
MSS, Catholic Mission

Small Business Counselling
DEEDS, ACLAH

Orientation Guide
Trades and Professions, required training, validation, alternatives
Spanish and English versions
ACLAH

Employment Orientation for Professionals
ACLAH

Outreach Employment Activity
Downtown Eastside Latino Project (Survey)

EDUCATION

ESL Language Classes
Inland Refugee Society
Mosaic, Catholic Mission
ESL for women: Burnaby Multicultural Society

Hastings Training Centre
Upgrading, ESL, Math

TEKNOS--Career Institute
Training for Immigrants

King Edward Campus

ESL
APPENDIX E

THE MAIN STAGES OF THE NEW REFUGEE DETERMINATION SYSTEM

Acceptance procedure for claimants in the backlog

1) Preliminary interviews assess whether there are "humanitarian" or "compassionate" grounds for accepting the claimant. If accepted refugee can go ahead and seek landed-immigrant status.

2) The second step for rejected claimant is a two person panel hearing [an immigration adjudicator and a member of the ImmigrationRefugee Board (IRB)] to assess whether the person has a credible refugee claim under the United Nations rules, e.g. evidence of torture is a credible basis for a refugee claim. The U.N. defines a refugee as a person who has a "well-founded fear of persecution" for reasons of race, religion, nationality, social group or political opinion.

The claimant must make his/her intention to claim refugee status no later than at this point in time, before any evidence is taken. If the claimant fails to do so he/she will be prohibited from making his/her claim later on. The claimant has to convince one of the two-person panel to proceed to the next hearing. If the claimant is found to have a credible basis, he/she will be sent to a full hearing. The full hearing will take place in about four to seven months from this point. If their claims are unsuccessful, they can be deported within 72 hours.

3) In the full hearing two members sit. Also, the IRB member who sat on the claimant's credible basis hearing is not allowed to sit on the claimant's full hearing before the IRB. More important, under no circumstance should the claimant choose one member to hear his/her case unless the refugee hearing officer indicates in writing that the case will be conceded. The claimant needs a competent lawyer at this hearing; he/she is required to prove that he/she is a convention refugee at least on a balance of probability--that is, at least 51%. If the claimant looses tha case there is virtually no right of appeal and the claimant will be deported within several days.
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