

# Exploring the Refugee Class Mix in Ethnic Inflows of Immigrants to Canada<sup>1</sup>

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## ABSTRACT

This study carried out five demographic explorations related to the refugee class mix in 219 ethnic inflows of immigrants entering Canada during 1980 and 2016. The population represented by these inflows comprised 5.6 million immigrants. The data was drawn from two special 2016 census tables that collected information on immigrants' admission categories (economic, family and refugee) and their reported ethnic ancestries. Explorations focused on the refugee mix in large and small inflows, time changes, demographic configurations and their insertion on receiving ethnic populations. Inflows comprising Polish, Vietnamese, Sri Lankan, Afghani and Iraqi ethnic ancestries had the highest levels of refugee class mix among the larger inflows while those comprising Assyrian, Burundian, Laotian, Rwandan and Tibetan ancestries had the highest levels of refugee class mix among the smaller size inflows. Admission class polarizations were observed in the refugee mix of ethnic inflows. Census data suggested that there were substantive differences in terms of their demographic configurations and that high refugee class mix inflows inserted themselves into younger ethnic populations residing in the major metropolitan areas of the country. The refugee mix in ethnic inflows has most likely produced various impacts on the ethnic community-building process at the demographic, community formation, immigrant integration, human and social capital accumulation level.

**KEYWORDS:** ethnicity, refugee class mix, immigration, Canada

## INTRODUCTION

Canada is a multicultural society whose ethno-cultural composition has been shaped by different waves of immigrants and their descendants. Each annual inflow of new immigrants adds new members to the ethnic minorities already present in the country. Ethnic groups comprise individuals bounded by linguistic and cultural practices through which a sense of collective identity is "produced and transmitted" from generation to generation (Cohen and Bains, 1988; Wallbeck, 2002). Immigrant inflows change the demographic configurations of ethnic groups and shape their institutional fabric, networks and community life (Belanger and Dumas, 1998; Kelly, 2003; Trovato, 2009, Carrière et.al, 2016).

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Immigration policy is instrumental in the demographic growth of ethnic groups as it sets the numeric levels and selection criteria for admitting individuals of different skills, education, cultural and linguistic stocks. In terms of their admission to the country, immigrants to Canada may be broadly classified into three classes or streams<sup>2</sup>: economic, family and refugee. Viewing yearly immigration inflows in terms of a population mix of various ethnic backgrounds and admission classes, ethnic immigrant inflows may display higher or lower levels of refugee class mix depending on how important refugee protection is as a selection criteria for their admission to the country. Examining the refugee mix in ethnic inflows involves undertaking: a) a joint analysis of all admission classes present in a particular inflow and, b) an assessment of the refugee component in terms of its width and depth. Width is measured by the absolute number refugee class members counted in the ethnic inflow (size) and depth by the ratio of these with respect to other class members (concentration). The study of the refugee mix in ethnic inflows is important because it provides clues on how refugee and non-refugee migration contributes to the demographic growth of ethnic communities and the community-building process (Elliot and Yusuf, 2014).

The 2016 Canadian Census has, for the first time, collected data on both the ethnic origin of immigrants and their admission categories upon arrival to the country. This data covers the period from 1980 to 2016, which captures the pre-and-post phases of the implementation of the 1992 *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act* (IRPA)<sup>3</sup> and the major refugee waves occurring after the "Boat" people phenomenon<sup>4</sup>. The methodological approach used here examines the individual responses to the 2016 census questions to retrospectively identify groups of immigrants who shared the same ethnic traits and conditions of admission upon arrival to Canada. This retrospective approach calls for the use of immigration histories to reconstruct ethnic inflows occurring within a specific period of time (see this approach in Wårneryd *et al.*, 1991)<sup>5</sup>

There are several key research questions that come to mind when examining the possible intersections between ethnicity and admission/refugee class status. For instance, what was the general picture in terms of the refugee mix present in ethnic immigrant inflows occurring during 1980 and 2016? In what ethnic inflows there was a higher refugee presence and which ones the lower? Where there any polarizations of ethnic inflows according

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<sup>2</sup> These classes respond to three major drivers of immigration policy in Canada which include the promotion of economic growth, facilitation of family reunification and humanitarian related obligation. The economic class comprises individuals such as skilled workers, business immigrants and/or sponsored dependents of skilled dependents. The first two are selected via a point system, which assigns scores based on level of education, work experience, skills relevant for work in preferred occupations and knowledge of a charter language. The family category comprises immigrants with immediate family members already living in Canada and are required to have a sponsor (typically the family member who has agreed to provide financial support for a period of three to ten years following arrival. The refugee category comprises three types of refugees (state sponsored, privately sponsored and asylum) and respond to Canada's international obligations towards refugees around the world.

<sup>3</sup> The Immigrant and Refugee Protection Act (IRPA) is an Act of the Parliament of Canada, passed in 2001, which replaced the Immigration Act of 1976 as the primary federal legislation regulating immigration to Canada.

<sup>4</sup> In the 1980's, at the aftermath of the Vietnam war, thousands of Cambodian and Vietnamese fled to Canada. Other more recent refugee waves that followed included, among many, Bosnian Muslims (1992), Kosovars (1999), Karen (2006), Buthanese (2008) and Tamil (2010). By 2017, Canada had also resettled more than 40,000 Syrian refugees (Source: <https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/services/refugees/canada-role/timeline.html>).

<sup>5</sup> It should be noted that an event such as migration may also be recalled with an incorrect timeline, that is, recalling an event prior to the specified period that actually occurred within the specified period (backward telescoping) or recalling an event inside the specified period that actually occurred prior to the specified period (forward telescoping).

to admission class traits? Has the refugee mix changed over time? What were the demographic configurations of the more representative ethnic inflows? How do these inflows insert themselves into their respective native ethnic subpopulations? Drawing on 2016 census data this paper addresses these broad questions by undertaking five major demographic data explorations which are used to reflect on the impacts of refugee mix on demographic change and ethnic community building in the last three decades.

## **DATA SOURCE, ETHNIC INFLOW SAMPLE AND METHODS**

Two special census tables drawn from the 2016 Census of Canada were used as the major data sources to undertake the data explorations<sup>6</sup>. These tables contained detailed demographic and residential information on 219 ethnic inflows of immigrants arriving to Canada between 1980 and 2016. The total immigrant population represented by these ethnic inflows was 5.64 million individuals<sup>7</sup>. Almost a third of immigrant inflows comprised individuals of Chinese, East Indian and/or Filipino ethnic ancestries (17% , 13% and 10% respectively) . Other ethnic origins included ancestries such as English, Spanish, Iranian, Polish, German, Russian, Pakistani, Vietnamese and French. In terms of ethnic composition by admission categories, the Chinese and Filipino ancestry were the most frequently reported among economic class entrants (21% and 14%) and the East Indian among family class ones (19%). The refugee class was the most ethnically diversified of the three classes comprising a variety of European, Asian, African and Latin American ethnicities such as Polish (7%), Afghan (5%), Sri Lankan (5%) and Vietnamese (5%). The data explorations carried out in the analysis of the refugee mix in ethnic immigrant inflows were carried out using cross-tabular and principal components analysis.

## **DATA EXPLORATIONS**

### ***Exploration 1: REFUGEE MIX IN LARGE AND SMALL ETHNIC INFLOWS***

The first exploration involved a descriptive analysis of the admission class composition of ethnic inflows of different sizes. Table 1 presents information on the admission class composition of the larger ethnic inflows (inflows of 10,000 or more immigrants) arriving to Canada during 1980 and 2016. The majority of the Filipino inflow was composed of economic class entrants (75%) while the Jamaican, Punjabi and Haitian mostly comprised of family class entrants 73%, 65% and 54% respectively). A higher presence of refugees in the ethnic inflows composition was observed among the Afghan and Somali inflows (78%). The ratio of refugee to economic class was the highest among the Afghan inflow (13.2 to 1) followed by the Ethiopian one (8.8 to 1). The highest ratio of refugee to family

<sup>6</sup> In the 2016 Census, ethnic origin is defined as the ethnic or cultural origins of the person's ancestors. An ancestor is usually more distant than a grandparent. The admission categories (economic, family and refugee) refer to the immigration program or group of programs under which an immigrant has been granted for the first time the right to live in Canada permanently by immigration authorities. About 95% of individuals participating in these inflows reported only one single ethnic origin. The remaining 5% (multiple origins) were identified by the first origin reported to coincide with the total observed across the three admission categories

<sup>7</sup> More than half (53%) of all inflows comprised economic class immigrants, 32% family class and 15% refugee class ones. The economic admission class immigrants consisted of both principal and secondary applicants (58% and 44% respectively). About 61% of the family class comprised spouses or partners and 35% by either parents, grandparents or children. With respect to the refugee class, 62% consisted of resettled refugees (government or privately sponsored) while 38% consisted of protected persons (e.g. "asylum") and their dependents.

class was the one corresponding to the Iraqi inflow (5.9). The refugee presence, however, was particularly felt in smaller size ethnic inflows (less than 10,000 immigrants). Here, the ratios of refugee class to the other ones were dramatically high (see table 2). These smaller ethnic inflows comprised a variety of ethnic ancestries of individuals which were directly or indirectly related by refugee crises and admitted into Canada through different special programs. Examples of these included the Buthanese (Nepal), Karen (Thailand), Tibetan and Laotian (East Asia), Dinka (Sudan), Rwandan, Burundian, Chadian Angolan and Sierra Leonean (East and Central Africa), Burmese (Myanmar), Tigrian and Amhara (Ethiopia), Assyrian (Iraq-Iran), Hazara, Turkmen and Tajik (Afghanistan-Central Asia) as well as Kosovar ancestries (Albania-ex Yugoslavia).

Table 1: Selected Large Size Ethnic Inflows\* ordered by refugee class presence (%), Canada 1980-2016

Ethnic Inflow	Total Population (thous.)	% Economic Class (E)	% Family Class (F)	% Refugee Class (R)	Ratio R/E	Ratio R/F
1.Chinese	934.6	65%	30%	5%	0.1	0.2
2. East Indian	729.1	50%	46%	4%	0.1	0.1
3. Filipino	536.3	75%	24%	1%	0.0	0.0
4. Spanish	158.3	53%	31%	16%	0.3	0.5
5. Iranian	155.6	63%	15%	22%	0.4	1.5
6. Polish	147.2	26%	34%	39%	1.5	1.1
7. Pakistani	132.6	57%	30%	12%	0.2	0.4
8.Vietnamese	110	17%	47%	36%	2.1	0.8
9.Sri Lankan	96.7	23%	33%	44%	1.9	1.3
10.Ukrainian	89.1	67%	22%	11%	0.2	0.5
11 .Jamaican	79.9	26%	73%	2%	0.1	0.0
12 Punjabi	66.7	30%	65%	5%	0.2	0.1
13. Haitian	66.0	30%	54%	15%	0.5	0.3
14.Afghan	56.7	6%	16%	78%	13.2	5.0
15.Iraqi	51.3	28%	10%	62%	2.3	5.9
16.Syrian	44.6	36%	13%	51%	1.4	4.1
17.Somali	34.0	5%	17%	78%	16	4.7
18.Salvadoran	33.8	19%	22%	59%	3.1	2.7
19..Tamil	31.4	22%	35%	44%	2.0	1.3
10.Ethiopian	27.6	7%	30%	63%	8.8	2.1

\*- 10,000 immigrants or more, Symbols: R=Refugee Class, F=Family Class, E=Economic Class. Source: Special tables 2016 Census of Canada

Table 2: Selected Small Size Ethnic Inflows\* ordered by refugee class presence (%), Canada 1980-2016

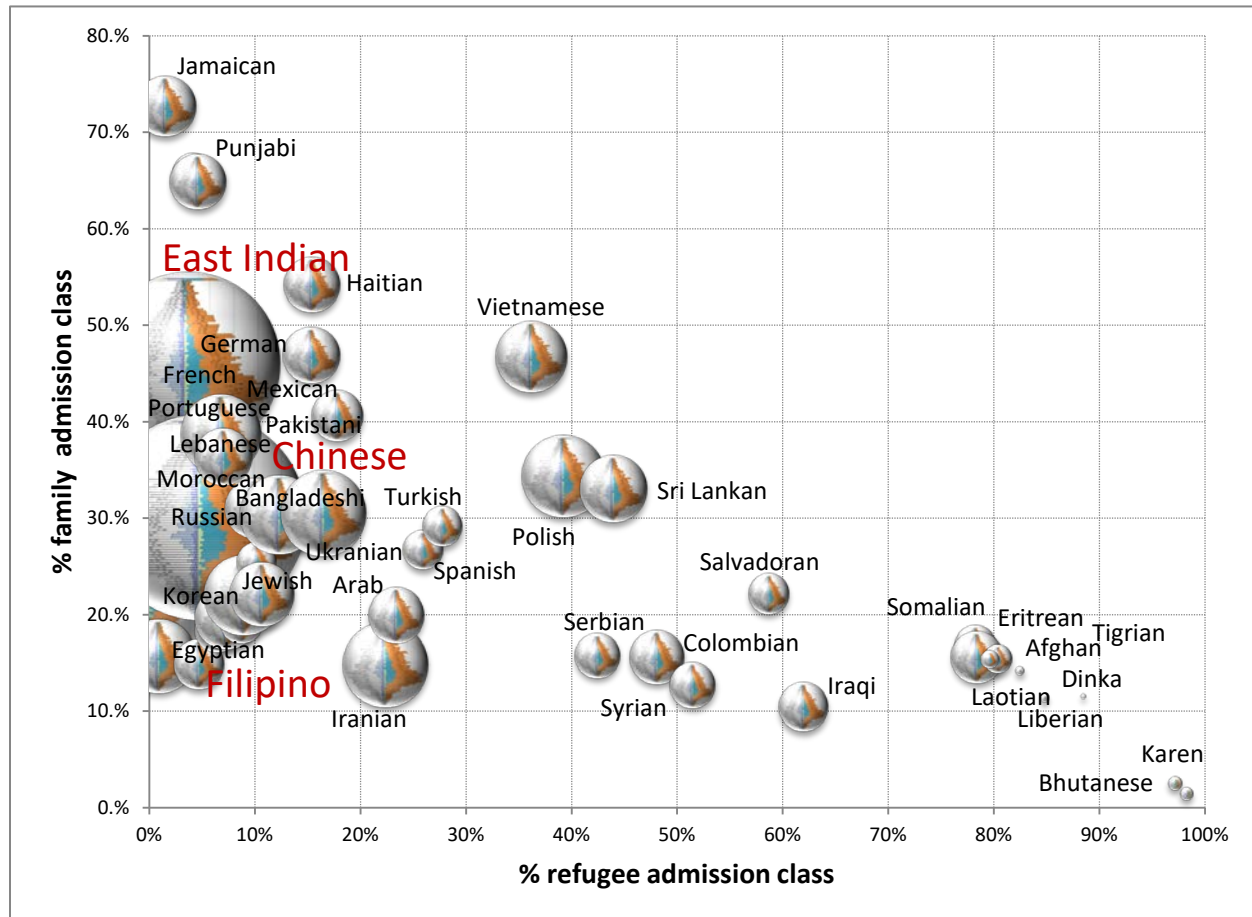
Ethnic Inflow	Total Population (thous.)	% Economic Class (E)	% Family Class (F)	% Refugee Class (R)	Ratio R/E	Ratio R/F
1.Assyrian	8.9	12%	16%	72%	6.2	4.5
2.Burundian	7.5	15%	9%	76%	5.2	8
3.Laotian	7.2	5%	15%	80%	15.9	5.2
4.Rwandan	7.1	12%	11%	77%	6.4	6.9
5.Tibetan	6.0	8%	17%	75%	9.3	4.4
6.Burmese	5.3	22%	14%	64%	3	4.6
7. Karen	3.8	0%	3%	97%	367.5	38.7
8.Bhutanese	3.2	0%	1%	98%	314	69.8
9.Oromo	2.2	6%	19%	74%	11.5	3.8
10.Tajik	2.0	20%	16%	64%	3.2	4
11.Kosovar	1.8	8%	19%	73%	8.7	3.9
12.Tigrian	1.7	3%	14%	82%	24.8	5.8
13. Liberian	1.6	4%	11%	85%	22.3	7.4
14.S. Leonean	1.5	11%	20%	69%	6.5	3.5
15.Angolan	1.4	19%	20%	60%	3.1	2.9
16.Hazara	1.1	10%	17%	74%	7.8	4.4
17.Amhara	1.1	7%	31%	62%	9	2
18.Chadian	1.0	14%	12%	74%	5.2	6.4
19.Turkmen	0.7	29%	10%	61%	2.1	6
20. Dinka	0.5	0%	12%	88%	n.a.	7.7

\*-Less than 10,000 immigrants , Symbols: R=Refugee Class, F=Family Class, E=Economic Class  
Source: Special tables, 2016 Census of Canada

As the percentage of refugee class members increased so diminished the percentage of economic class members

(Pearson  $r=-.79$ ,  $p<.01$ ) and the percentage of family class members (Pearson  $r=-.59$ ,  $p<.01$ ). Polarizations of ethnic inflows in terms of admission class status at entry, however, were apparent (see Figure 1). Also, in the Polish, Sri Lankan and Vietnamese ethnic inflows, there were not only sizeable proportions of refugee class admissions but also family class ones. This pattern was also observable to a similar extent for Salvadoran, Colombian, Serbian, Iraqi, Syrian and Somali ethnic inflows. Inflows comprising Somali and smaller groups such as the Karen and Buthanese constituted the most refugee "exclusive" ethnic inflows of the 2016 sample.

Figure 1: Bubble Chart \*, Percentage Family Class by refugee class , selected ethnic inflows, Canada 1980-2016



\* bubble size=flow size, Source: Special tables, 2016 Census of Canada

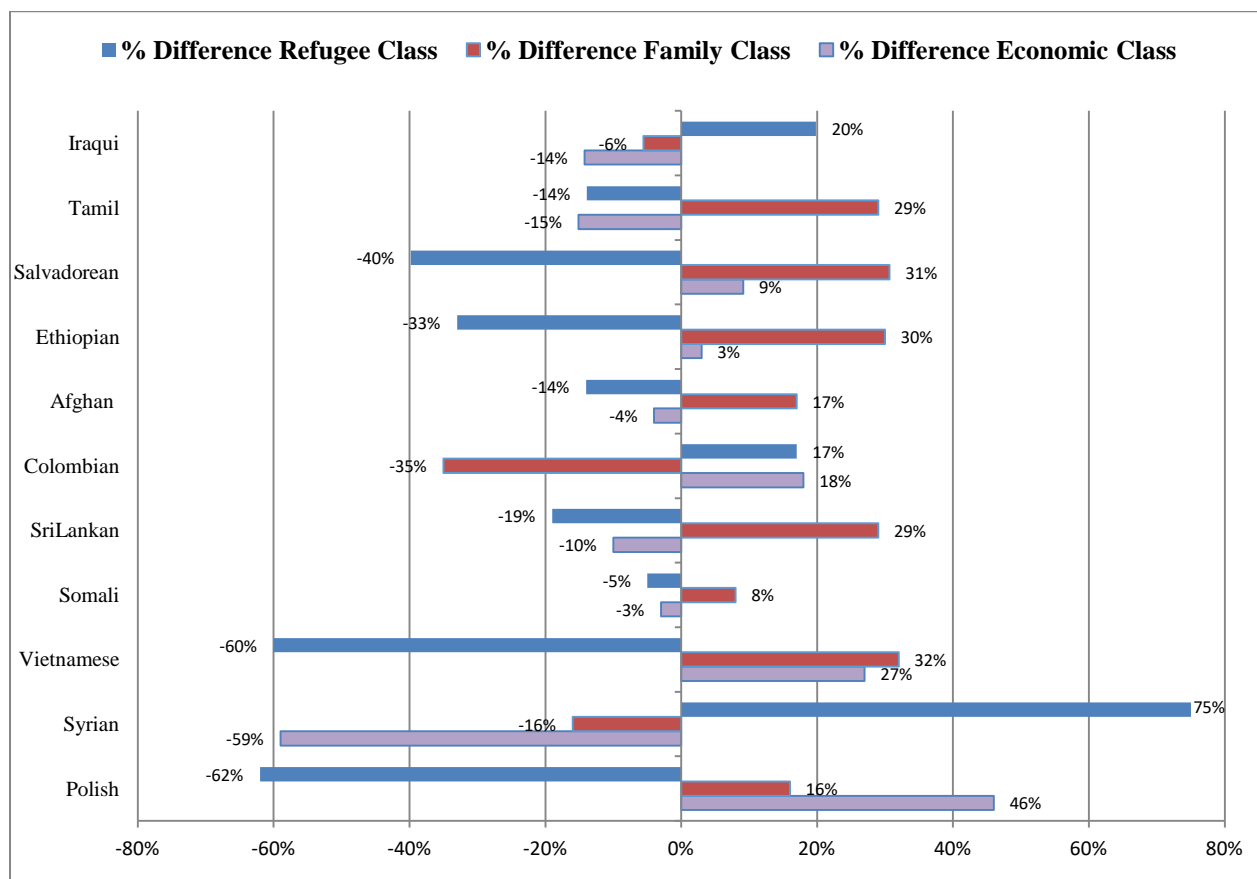
### ***Exploration 2: REFUGEE MIX ACROSS ARRIVAL COHORTS***

The second exploration focused on changes in the admission class composition of ethnic inflows over time. The older inflows were the Polish and Vietnamese (45% and 43% arriving during 1980 and 1990) while the more recent ones were the Buthanese and Syrian (63% and 56% arriving during 2011 and 2016). The Bosnian and Tamil were the most representative of the 1991-2000 period (78% and 45% share) while the Karen, Colombian and Afghan

were the most representative of the 2001-2011 period (85%, 63% and 46% share respectively).

Figure 2 graphically displays changes in the admission class composition of selected large-size ethnic inflows by contrasting the arrival cohorts of 1980-1990 with those of 2011-2016. In the case of the older Polish and Vietnamese inflows, the more recent arrival cohorts had a lower refugee presence compared to older arrival cohorts with respect to economic (e.g. Polish) and family ones (e.g. Vietnamese). This pattern was also visible among the Sri Lankan, Afghan Salvadoran and Ethiopian inflows. In the case of the Syrian, Iraqi and Colombian inflows, this pattern was reversed as the more recent arrival cohorts of immigrants tend to have a higher refugee class presence compared to older arrival cohorts. The Somali refugee mix remained relatively stable with a high refugee class presence between the arrival cohorts.

Figure 2: Admission class compositional difference, selected large ethnic Inflows of high refugee presence, arrival cohorts 1980-1990 and 2011-2016



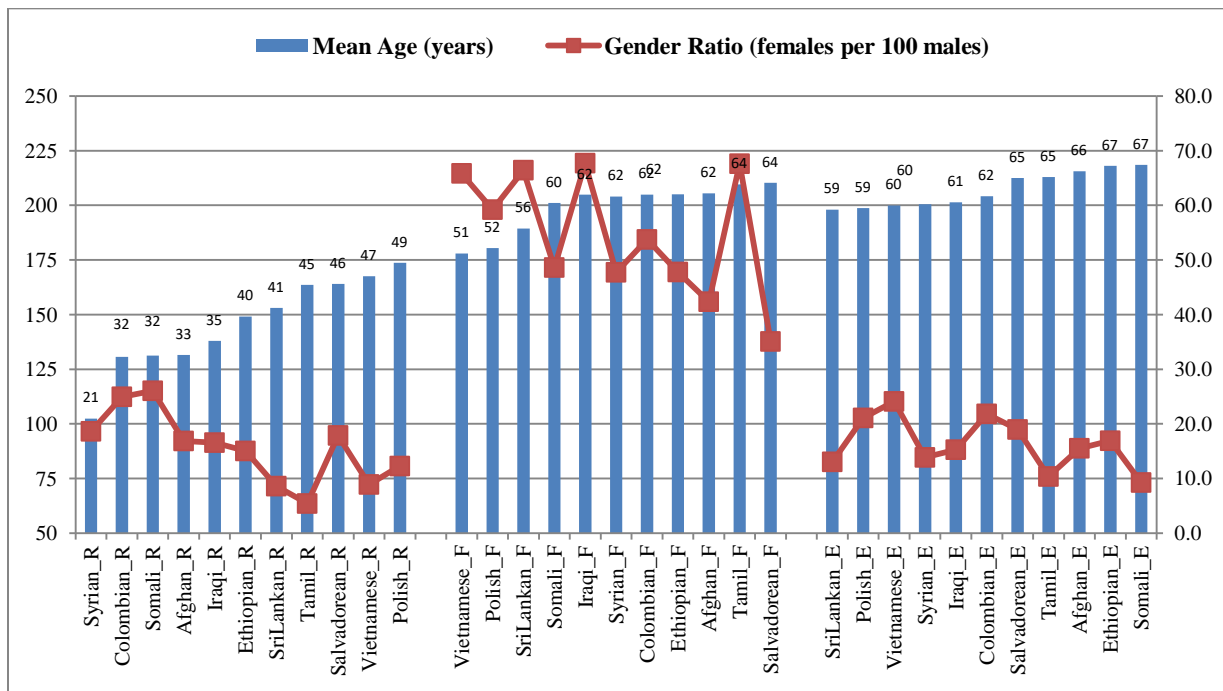
Source: Special tables, 2016 Census of Canada

### ***Exploration 3: AGE AND GENDER VARIATIONS***

The third exploration entailed a more detailed examination of the demographic configuration of ethnic inflows. The 2016 census data suggests that the refugee component of ethnic inflows were relatively younger compared to family and economic class component admissions (see Figure 2). Gender ratios (females per 100 males) were consistently

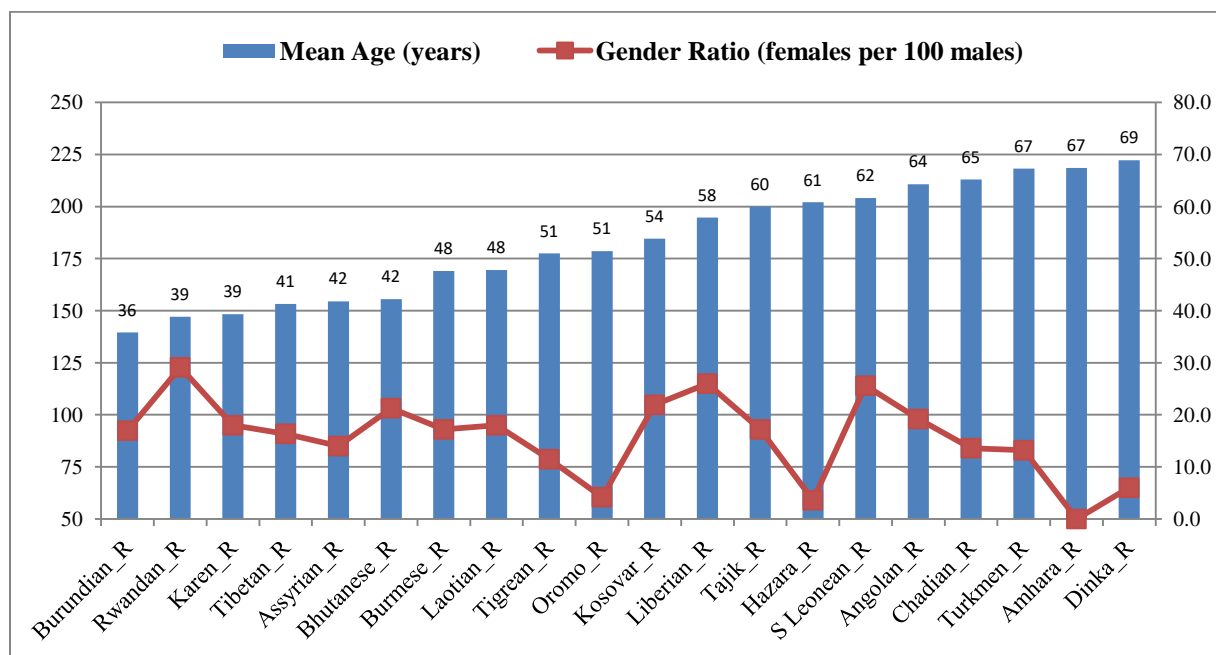
higher for family class components across groups and lower for economic class ones. The youngest refugee component among the large size inflows was that corresponding to the Syrian refugee one (mean age=21 years old) while the oldest was the Polish one (mean age= 49 years old). The gender ratios for the Colombian and Somali ones revealed overrepresentation of females in these populations while, for the other groups, males numerically dominated females. Also visible in the graph is the overwhelming overrepresentation of females in the family component category particularly in the case of Vietnamese, Sri Lankan, Tamil and Iraqi inflows (gender ratios above 200). With respect to the refugee components of the small-size refugee ethnic inflows (see Figure 3), the youngest one was the Burundian (mean age=36 years old) and the oldest one the Dinka (mean age=69 years old). The highest presence of females was found among the Rwandan, Kosovar, Liberian and Sierra Leonean inflows (gender ratios above 100) while for the remaining groups males numerically predominated particularly among the Oromo, Hazara and Amhara.

Figure 3: Mean Age and Gender Ratios: Refugee, Family and Economic Class, Selected Large Ethnic Inflows of High Refugee Presence, Canada 1980-2016



Symbols: E=Economic Class, F=Family=Class, R=Refugee Class, Source: Special tables, 2016 Census of Canada

Figure 4: Mean Age and Gender Ratios: Refugee, Class, Selected Small Ethnic Inflows of High Refugee Presence, Canada 1980-2016



Symbols: E=Economic Class, F=Family=Class, R=Refugee Class, Source: Special tables, 2016 Census of Canada

#### ***Exploration 4: POPULATION PYRAMIDS OF ETHNIC INFLOWS***

Age-sex population pyramids provide static representations of populations changing because of the action of fertility, mortality and migration. Pyramids provide further insights into the demographic configurations of ethnic inflows. Population pyramids of immigrant populations typically present a "diamond" shape reflecting the primacy of age cohorts of working ages (15-64 yrs old) which are admitted to the country. The age-sex population-pyramids organized by admission class composition for eight selected large size ethnic flows with high refugee presence are presented in Figures 5 to 10. These corresponded to the Vietnamese, Polish, Sri Lankan, Somali, Afghan and Syrian inflows. Age-gender cohorts (16 in total) were identified by their age and years of birth cohorts. Overall, the six pyramids revealed substantial differences in their shapes and composition which were reflective of their refugee histories and conditions of admissions to the country in the last decades.

##### Less Recent Ethnic Inflows: Vietnamese, Polish and Sri Lankan

The Vietnamese, Polish and Sri Lankan ethnic inflows represent the older immigrant waves examined in the observation period. Aside from refugees, their demographic configurations displayed a stronger presence of family and economic class members. The short tails of their population pyramids suggest that ethnic inflows have diminished in size over the years. More than half of the Vietnamese population pyramid was constituted by female family and male refugee class members (28% and 24% of the total inflow respectively). The largest cohorts were those 45-49 and 50-54 years old where more than 60% or more immigrants were refugee class members. Female and family members accounted for 43% of the Polish pyramid (22% and 21% respectively). Two population

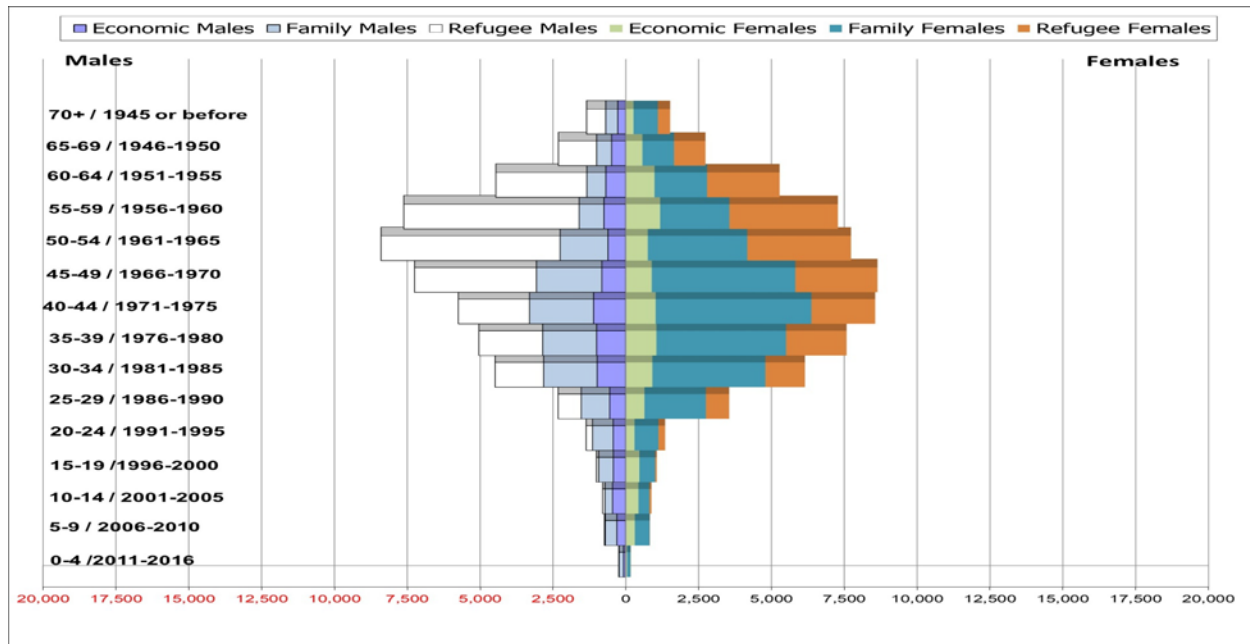


"bulges" were noticeable here revealing major immigration waves of parents and their children. Like the Vietnamese, the largest Polish cohort was a middle-aged one: 55-59 years old, accounting for 13% of the total inflow population where about 60% of cohort members were refugee class members. One out of four immigrants of the Sri Lankan population pyramid (25%) were refugee class members and a further 22% were female family members. The largest cohort of the Sri Lankan pyramid was the 50-54 year old cohort (representing 12% of the total inflow) where 54% of cohort members also belonged to the refugee class.

#### More Recent Ethnic Inflows: Somali, Afghan and Syrian

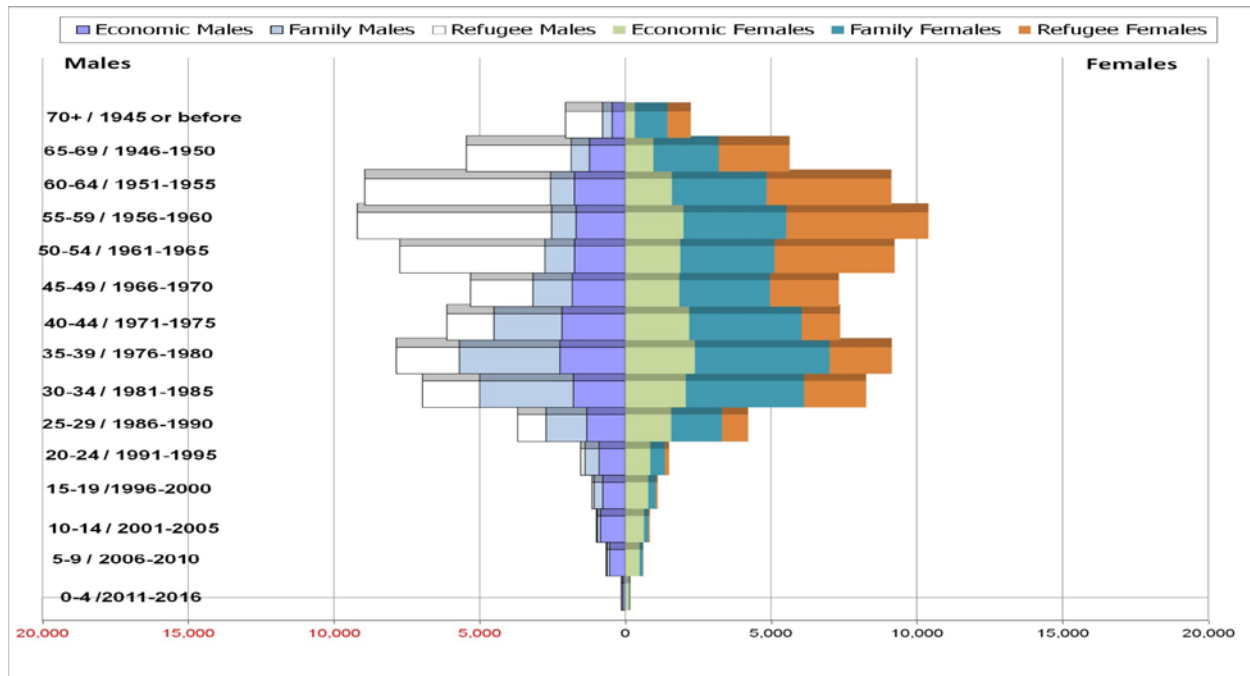
About 70% of the Somali ethnic population pyramid included female and male refugee class members (37% and 33% respectively). The largest age cohort was the 25-29 year old cohort where 78% of cohort members were refugee class members. The numerical dominance of the refugee class was also observed in the Afghan case where 73% of its population consisted of refugee males (38%) and females (35%). This pyramid displays a central "bulge" covering the 20-24 year old, 25-29 year old and 30-34 year old cohorts (which comprised 35% of the total inflow population). About 70% of these three cohorts comprised refugee class members. The Syrian ethnic inflow did not only contain refugees but also a significant contingent of family and economic class members. Although 47% of the total ethnic inflow consisted of refugee class members, 39% was constituted by economic class members, particularly male (21%). The largest cohort of the Syrian pyramid was the 5-9 year old cohort where 83% were refugee class members. The population of children and pre-workforce youth of the younger ages (under 15 years old) of the Syrian ethnic population accounted for almost a fourth (24%) of the total Syrian inflow population.

Figure 5: Age-Sex Population Pyramid\* by Admission Class Composition: Vietnamese Ethnic Inflow, Canada 1980-2016



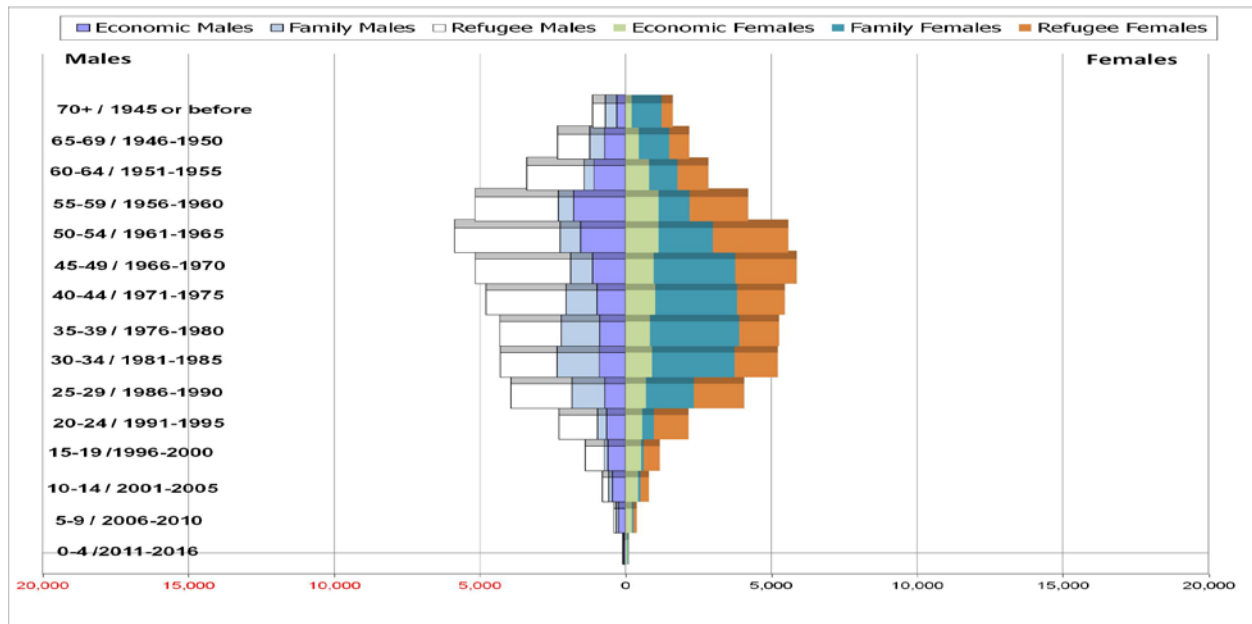
Source: Special tables, 2016 Census of Canada, \*=age cohorts presented beside (/) birth years cohorts

Figure 6: Age-Sex Population Pyramid\* by Admission Class Composition: Polish Ethnic Inflow, Canada 1980-2016



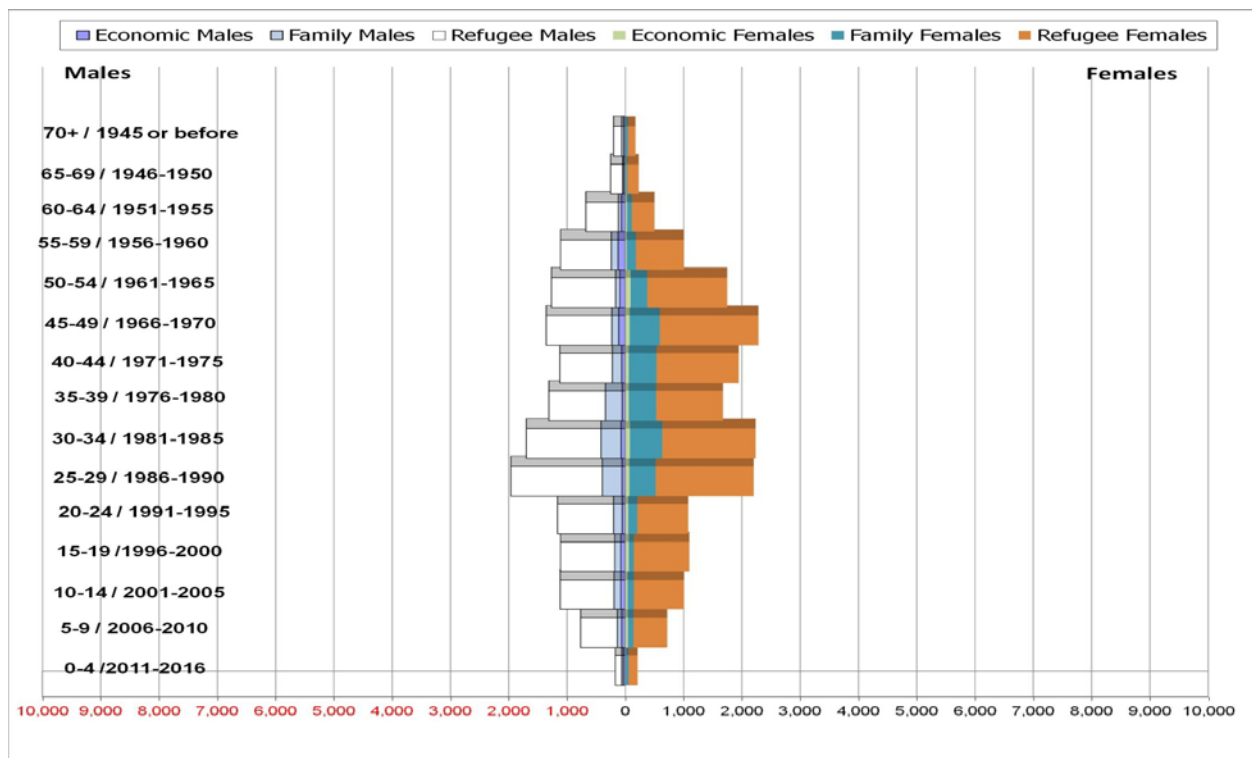
Source: Special tables, 2016 Census of Canada, \*=age cohorts presented beside (/) birth years cohorts

Figure 7: Age-Sex Population Pyramid by Admission Class Composition: Sri Lankan Ethnic Inflow, Canada 1980-2016



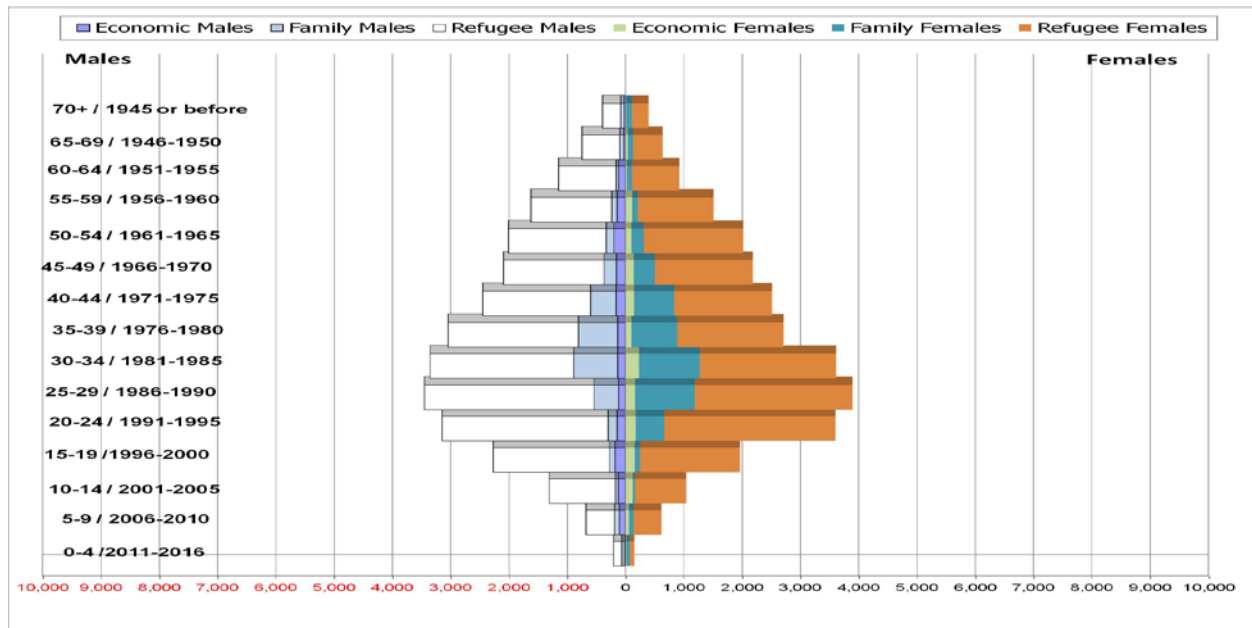
Source: Special tables, 2016 Census of Canada, \*=age cohorts presented beside (/) birth years cohorts

Figure 8: Age-Sex Population Pyramid\* by Admission Class Composition: Somali Ethnic Inflow, Canada 1980-2016



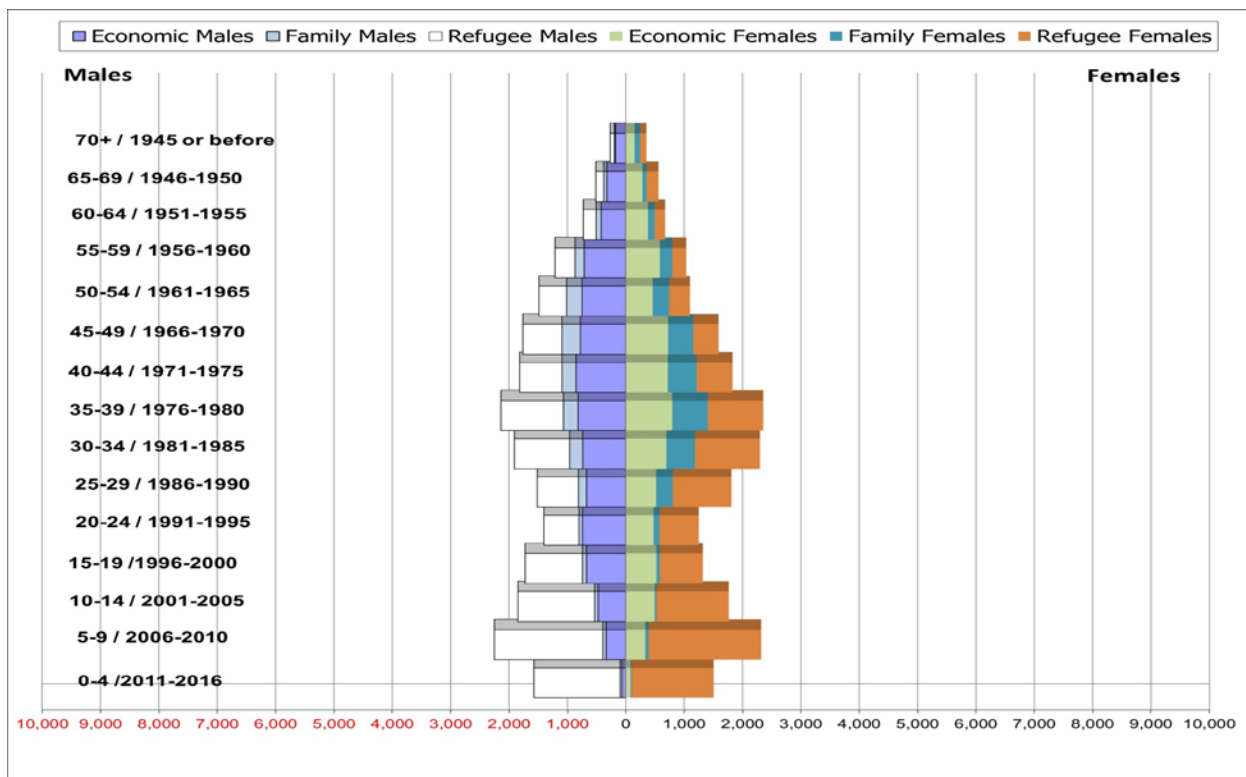
Source: Special tables, 2016 Census of Canada, \*=age cohorts presented beside (/) birth years cohorts

Figure 9: Age-Sex Population Pyramid by Admission Class Composition: Afghan Ethnic Inflow, Canada 1980-2016



Source: Special tables, 2016 Census of Canada, \*=age cohorts presented beside (/) birth years cohorts

Figure 10: Age-Sex Population Pyramid \* by Admission Class Composition: Syrian Ethnic Inflow, Canada 1980-2016

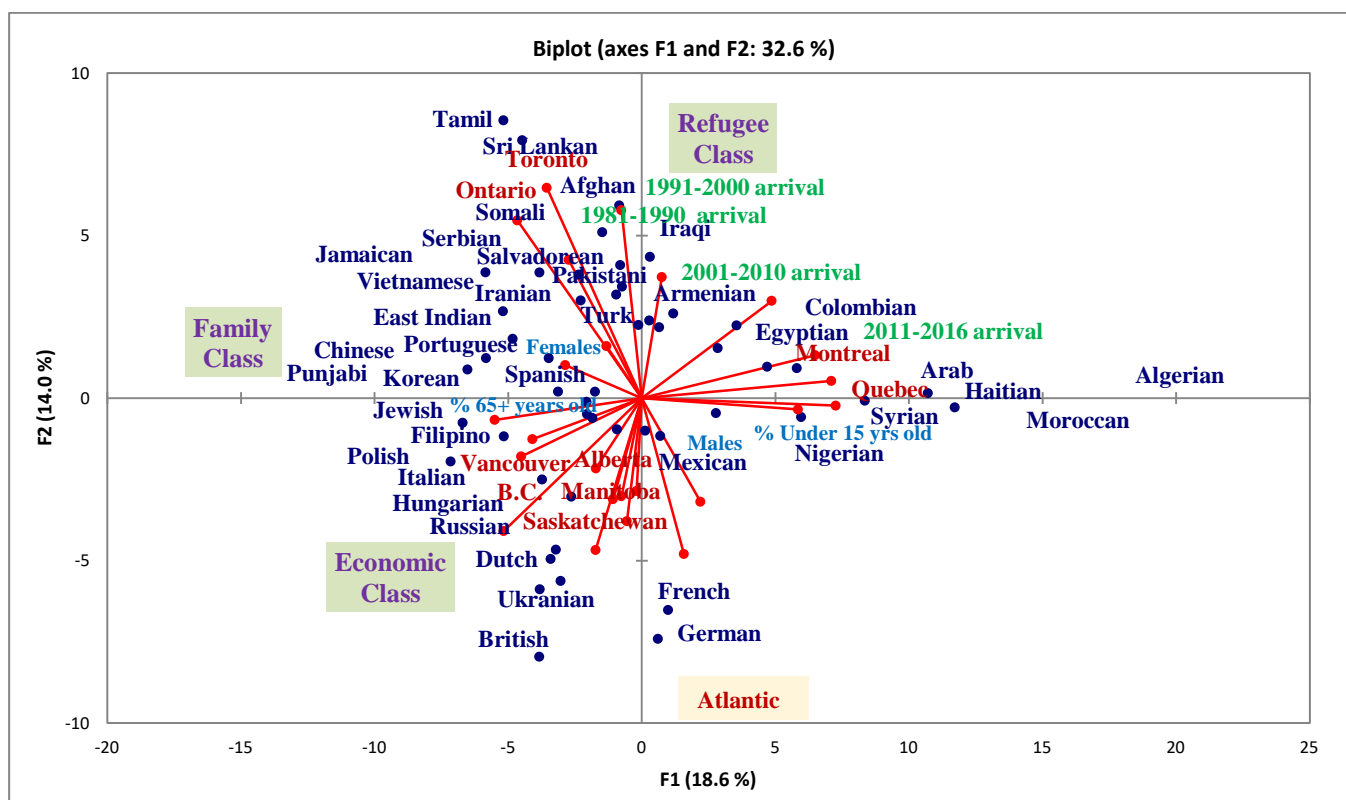


Source: Special tables, 2016 Census of Canada, \*=age cohorts presented beside (/) birth years cohorts

### Exploration 5: ETHNIC INFLOWS AND RECEIVING POPULATIONS

Immigrants of different ethnic backgrounds, after arrival, are inserted into their respective receiving ethnic populations (Trovato, 2009). It is important to assess, then, how ethnic inflows are likely to be absorbed into the social, demographic and residential fabric of their receiving ethnic communities. To undertake this particular data exploration, the major dimensions underlying the indicators of the 219 ethnic inflows in conjunction with those of their ethnic receiving populations as identified in the 2016 Census were identified by Principal Components Analysis (PCA)<sup>8</sup>. PCA is a statistical technique which builds a sequence of uncorrelated (orthogonal) and linear combinations called components, which account for most of the variation present in the data (Jobson, 1992). The PCA bi-plot<sup>9</sup> of this analysis (see Figure 11) allows for the examination of inflow and receiving ethnic populations simultaneously by looking at their coordinate positions in a plane spanned by the two major dimensions underlying the indicators.

Figure 11: PCA Biplot, Two Major Dimensions of Ethnic Immigrant Inflows and Receiving Population Indicators, Canada 1980-2016



<sup>8</sup> A total of 10 ethnic inflow population and 75 receiving ethnic population indicators of a demographic and residential nature were selected for this analysis.

<sup>9</sup> PCA bi-plots are graphs where vectors representing indicators are presented as points in principal component space. The bi-plot of the second component on the first component (which represent the major sources of variation in the data) is particularly useful as it displays the correlations of variables in terms of various indicator vectors of different magnitudes, directions and positions. Correlations between two indicator variables in component space are equal to the cosines of the angles between the indicator vectors ( $\theta$ ), or  $r = \cos(\theta)$ . Highly correlated variables are located at sharp angles from each other ( $\theta = 90$  degrees or less) while those zero correlated are "orthogonal" to each other ( $\theta = 90$  degrees). If variables are perfectly negatively correlated, then  $\theta = 360$  degrees (vector in opposite direction).

The first two components accounted for about a third (32.6%) of the total indicators' variance. The first factor (18.6%) opposed ethnic inflows that chose Quebec (Montreal in particular) as its residence to those choosing Ontario, the Prairies and the Atlantic provinces. The second one (14%) opposed those with higher refugee mix to those who had either family and/or economic class predominance in their ethnic inflows. The position of ethnic residential choices suggest that inflows of higher refugee class tend to prefer destinations situated in Quebec and Ontario where the metropolitan centers of Montreal and Toronto CMA are located. The more recent 2011-2016 and 2000-2010 waves cluster around Montreal where inflows of Haitian, Colombian, Arab, Syrian, Moroccan, Algerian and Berber ethnicities also find their new residences. Inflows of younger individuals (under 15 years old) are found there as well. The earlier waves of immigrants tend to cluster around Toronto and include the Afghan, Sri Lankan, Tamil, Iraqi and Somali inflows. Inflows of higher economic and/or family mix tend to reside in Ontario and other Western provinces such as Alberta, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and B.C. These places are where the largest inflows (Chinese, East Indian and Filipino) tend to reside and where the larger number of women and seniors tend to be found. Atlantic provinces tend to be the most attractive destinations for ethnic inflows reporting French and/or German ethnic backgrounds.

## DISCUSSION

The 2016 census data explorations undertaken in this study has produced a number of interesting findings. During 1980 and 2016, about 5.6 million immigrants entered Canada. With a few exceptions (e.g. the Filipino and Jamaican cases where economic and family admissions were exceedingly dominant), the refugee presence cut across all ethnic boundaries and was visible across large size and small size ethnic inflows which appeared somewhat polarized in terms of admission mix. The explorations of demographic configurations suggested that refugee, family and economic class immigration waves coalesced, preceded and/or succeeded each other. Often, family and economic migration constituted "demographic backbones" of refugee migration (e.g. Vietnamese, Polish, Sri Lankan, Colombian and Syrian inflows). Also, ethnic inflows of high refugee mix inserted themselves into the younger populations of the major metropolitan areas of Canada.

Economic, family and refugee migration are the cornerstones of a country's total immigration flow (Papadimitrou *et al.*, 2008). Over time, these streams define how ethnic communities are built in their host countries. Community building may be broadly defined as a sense of belonging where a strong connection is experienced with others who share the same ideas and values (Sergiovanni, 1994; Karlis, 2015). In the case of ethnic communities, the end result of community building is continuity – a process created by a common cultural identity reinforced by participation in networks and local organizations.

The refugee mix of ethnic inflows, in terms both of their width and depth, has likely impacted the ethnic community building process at many levels. The first obvious impact of the refugee mix may be simply singled out is at the *demographic level*: immigration has added more complexity to the racial, linguistic and religious diversity of ethnic

communities in Canada (see SC, 2017). Another likely impact is at the level of *community formation*: some ethnic communities have been born principally from refugee waves while others developed due to a combination of economic and family related waves. Immigration occurring during 1980 and 2016 has consolidated the social fabric of more established communities such as the Vietnamese, Polish or Sri Lankan as well as ensure a foothold for smaller ethnic communities rooted in Eastern and Central Africa, East Asia and the Middle East.

Another major impact of the refugee mix on the community-building process which may be singled out is at the *immigrant integration level*: the refugee mix has accentuated socio-economic integration challenges for some ethnic community members. Ethnic communities with a larger contingent of refugee and family immigrants of working age in Canada have been observed to struggle more with lower income, scarcity of jobs and longer spells of unemployment (CIC, 2007). These challenges also extend themselves to specific refugee categories such as government sponsored (GARs), privately sponsored (PSRs) and landed in Canada (LICs) types. Newly arrived Syrian, Afghan and Somali GARs and PSRs as well as Colombian and Salvadoran LICs have to be considered as having a socio-economic double "jeopardy risk": ethnic minority plus admission class status.

Impacts of the refugee mix may, however, be more far-reaching at the *human and social capital (HSC) accumulation level*: the refugee mix brings to Canada different types of HSC capital-generating agents. Social capital theory suggests that both refugees and non-refugees, upon arrival to their new countries, are interested in developing a new collective "identity" by creating bonds with members of their own ethnic group as well as with members of other ones. At the bonding level they aspire to develop strong relationships and family connections with people so that cultural practices and settlement experiences can be shared and familiar relationships maintained. At the bridging level, the social capital of refugees is built through neighborhood encounters and participation in communal activities and institutions. All these connections assist in their integration by increasing their health, sense of well-being, opportunities for employment, and safety (Zetter *et al.*, 2006).

Overall, the explorations undertaken with 2016 census data suggest that the refugee mix present in immigrant inflows is an important ingredient in the settlement, establishment and social status achievement of ethnic communities in Canada. Refugee, family and economic class streams jointly have contributed to an ongoing process of community formation and development. Although some ethnic communities may have been primarily refugee communities, this character is changing due to arrival of economic migrants and family-linked migration. However, regardless of the particular ethnic community being examined, an intersectional analysis of admission class and ethnic status is necessary in order to understand how these communities evolved and even how will they will look in the more recent or distant future.

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