

Vebjørn Aalandslid

**A Comparison of the Labour Market Integration
of Immigrants and Refugees in Canada and
Norway**

Reports This series contains statistical analyses and method and model descriptions from the different research and statistics areas. Results of various single surveys are also published here, usually with supplementary comments and analyses.

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Preface

In the public debate about integration of immigrants and refugees in Norway (and Northern Europe), Canada is often portrayed as a model country of successful immigration and integration policies. This is, among other factors, based on a noticeable higher labour participation rate among immigrants in Canada compared to Norway. In OECDs International Migration Outlook foreign-born in Canada have a considerable higher labour participation rate compared to foreign-born in Norway.

The immigration history and the composition of the immigrant population of Canada and Norway differ in a number of ways. In 2006 Canada's foreign-born population comprised 20 percent of the population, whereas 7 percent of Norway's population was foreign born. Canada has 7 times Norway's population size and 20 times as many immigrants. Canada has been a significant port of destination for immigrants from all over the world for the last centuries, whereas Norway up till 1970 was a country of emigration and has only recently become a country of net immigration.

In this report we compare the outcome on the labour market for immigrants in Canada and in Norway and analyze the results in view of key elements such as reason for migration, country of birth, education level, language ability and other demographic and compositional characteristics. The comparison is based on data from 2006 using census data from Canada and register data from Norway. At the time of the comparison the economies in the two countries were thriving, with historically high employment and low unemployment rates in both countries. Internationally, Canada and Norway both have high labour force participation rates for both men and women. The fact that the two countries have more or less equal employment rates for the population as a whole makes a study of the differences in outcome for immigrants and refugees all the more interesting.

The report is structured as follows: Chapters one and two give a description of the immigrant population in Canada and describe recent immigration history with a special emphasis on refugees. Chapter three describes the education level and language ability of immigrants upon arrival in Canada, whereas chapter four gives a detailed description of the labour market integration of immigrants and refugees in Canada. Chapter five gives a brief description of how immigrants in Norway fare on the labour market and chapter six aims at a comparison of labour market data for immigrants and refugees from the two countries. Chapter seven points to other sources of Canadian immigration data than the Census, most importantly data from LSIC (The Longitudinal Survey on Immigrants) and data from the LFS (Labour Force Survey).

The report is the product of a half years stay as a deemed employee at Statistics Canada (Statscan). Most graciously Statscan provided an office and access to Canadian census data from 2006 and advice and knowledge on how to use and interpret these data. The report has benefited from discussions and comments from researchers there, above all Tina Chui, head of the Immigration and Ethno-cultural Statistics Program. From Statistics Norway both Kristin Henriksen and Lars Østby have given support, advice and useful contributions.

The study has been financed by the Norwegian Ministry of Labour and Inclusion and Statistics Norway.

Summary

According to the OECD (2008), Canada's immigrants score among the highest in the industrialised world when it comes to employment rates. Measured by employment rate Canada ranked 3rd (only surpassed by Portugal and Switzerland) among foreign-born, whereas Norway ranked 22nd and together with the other Nordic countries lagged behind the OECD-average with 10 percentage points. These numbers and subsequent rankings, based on aggregate figures, hide variations by country of birth and reason for migration. In this report we aim to adjust for these variables when comparing the Canadian and Norwegian statistics as far as the data allows.

Higher share of economic/labour migrants in Canada

Although both countries have seen high immigration numbers over the last years, the reason for immigration to the two countries varies. Canada has a high share of economic/labour migrants, whereas Norway (at least up till 2006) had a much higher share of family and refugee migrants. Around 60 percent of the immigrants who came to Canada the last decade were economic/labour migrants compared to less than 20 percent of the immigrants coming to Norway. In the same period 13 percent of the Canadian immigrants were refugees, the corresponding rate for Norway was 25 percent. These differences in admission category for immigrants are especially significant among immigrants from Asia and Africa. Over the last decade only a few percent of the immigrants from these regions coming to Norway have been economic/labour migrants compared to a majority among the Canadian immigrants with Asia and African background. Immigrants from Asia comprise a large part of the immigrant population both in Norway and in Canada, but the majority of Asian immigrants in Canada come from East and South East Asia, whereas the majority of Asian immigrants in Norway come from the Western part of Asia and the Middle East. From Africa, more than half of the immigrants in Norway come from the eastern part, especially Africa's Horn whereas in Canada the African immigrants are more evenly dispersed with background from all parts of the continent.

More educated immigrants in Canada

More than half of the immigrants from Africa and Asia have higher education (more than 13 years of schooling) upon arrival in Canada. Education level is an important element of the Canadian immigration regime, the points system, and as a consequence a majority of immigrants coming to Canada have higher education. Equivalent figures for Norwegian immigrants suggest that less than a quarter had higher education upon arrival in Norway. Although the figures are not directly comparable they indicate that immigrants in Canada have a higher education level than immigrants coming to Norway.

Many immigrants and refugees know English or French upon arrival in Canada. Both English and French, the two official languages in Canada are spoken by people from all over the world and a majority of refugees know one or both of the official languages upon arrival in Canada. For Norway (although we don't have the data to support it) we can assume that close to none of the immigrants and refugees coming to Norway know the Norwegian language in advance. These differences matter and have to be taken into account when comparing the outcome on the labour market for both immigrants and refugees in the two countries.

Higher employment rates among immigrants in Canada than in Norway

In the total population the employment rate in Norway is a few percentage points higher than in Canada. Internationally, both countries have high employment rates, among the highest within the OECD-area. Canada has a higher employment level for immigrants where 77.5 percent are employed compared to 67.1 percent in Norway, a difference of 11 percentage points. At the same time the unemployment rate for immigrants were a little higher in Canada than in Norway, five and four

percent respectively. These overall differences in employment rates are not as striking, and to some degree expected due to the different composition of the immigrant populations in the two countries, especially given the differences in reason for migration, country background, education level and language ability.

The differences in employment rates are higher for immigrants from Africa and Asia. In Canada 73 percent of the Africans are employed, compared to 50 percent in Norway. But these figures conceal important compositional differences. 60 percent of the Africans coming to Canada the last years have been economic/labour migrants compared with two percent in Norway. A majority of the African immigrants coming to Norway have been refugees and the refugee component plays an important role in explaining the differences in labour market outcome. Somali immigrants, who are mostly refugees, comprise more than a third of the immigrants from Africa in Norway – and have low employment rates. The same low levels of employment can be observed in Canada for Somali immigrants, but they only comprise four percent of African immigrants.

The example with Somali refugees serves as an illustration for many of the other groups described in this report. Immigrant groups that do well in the labour market in Norway such as immigrants from Sri Lanka, Vietnam and Bosnia also do well in Canada, with only a few percentage points higher employment rate in Canada. Whereas groups that struggle in the Norwegian labour market such as immigrants from Somalia, Iraq and Afghanistan also struggle in the Canadian labour market, the main difference between Canada and Norway is that immigrants from these countries comprise a much larger share of the Norwegian immigrant population.

Gender differences among immigrants in both countries

Among immigrants from the Middle East and parts of Africa we see huge differences in employment rates between men and women, both in Norway and in Canada. The general employment level is higher in Canada than in Norway but the differences between men and women are around 20-30 percentage points among immigrants from these regions in both countries.

A 'better' mix of immigrants in Canada?

Canada's system of managed migration is not country specific, and the points based system has no intended bias towards certain countries or regions. This policy has given a mix of immigrants far different from Norway, with a much higher share of economic/labour migrants coming to Canada from regions where in Norway there are only refugees from the same area. Having skilled migrants coming from the same country probably has a positive effect in the integration process for refugees as well, both in terms of establishing networks for jobs, but also in forming the public perception of immigrants from a country or region. Furthermore the system encourages language proficiency as knowledge of one or both official languages gives extra points.

Networks are an important asset in job-search, and networks are likely to be more efficient for migrants from countries where the population from this country represents a higher share of the total migrant population, but if the only network is to be found among other newly arrived refugees this probably represents a more difficult way into the labour market than if there was a mix of different backgrounds. Having role models in the community that are successful in the labour market probably increases the possibility that newly arrived immigrants follow in their paths.

Sammendrag

I ordskiftet om innvandring vises det ofte til Nord-Amerika og særskilt til Canada som eksempler på land som har en vellykket innvandrings- og integreringspolitikk, langt mer vellykket enn i de skandinaviske landene. I OECDs International Migration Outlook er for eksempel sysselsettingen 20-25 prosentpoeng høyere blant utenlandsfødte i Canada sammenlignet med nivået for utenlandsfødte i de nordiske landene og innvandrere i Norge, som havner vel ti prosentpoeng bak gjennomsnittet for utenlandsfødte i OECD. Slike rangeringer tar ikke hensyn til ulikheter i innvandreres fødeland, innvandringsgrunn, utdanningsnivå eller språkkunnskaper. I denne rapporten sammenlignes utfall på arbeidsmarkedet for innvandrere i Canada og Norge hvor vi prøver å ta hensyn til slike underliggende forskjeller.

Høyere andel arbeidsinnvandrere i Canada enn i Norge

Både Canada og Norge har hatt svært høy innvandring det siste tiåret, men mens så mye som 60 prosent av Canadas innvandring har vært arbeidsinnvandring (i perioden 1997-2006) har mindre enn 20 prosent av innvandrerne som har kommet til Norge vært arbeidsinnvandrere. I samme periode var 13 prosent av innvandrerne som kom til Canada flyktninger, mens den tilsvarende andelen for Norge var 25 prosent. Særlig kommer innvandrere fra Afrika og Asia til Norge og Canada av ulike grunner. I løpet av det siste tiåret har bare noen få prosent av afrikanske og asiatiske innvandrere som har kommet til Norge vært arbeidsinnvandrere, mens et flertall av innvandrerne som har kommet til Canada fra disse to verdensdelene har vært arbeidsinnvandrere. Disse forskjellene i innvandringsgrunn gjenspeiles også i hvor innvandrere i de to landene kommer fra. Innvandrere fra Afrika og Asia utgjør rundt halvparten av innvandrerbefolkningen både i Canada og i Norge, men har bakgrunn fra ulike deler. Mens det store flertallet av asiatiske innvandrere i Canada kommer fra de østlige og sørøstlige delene av Asia har flertallet av asiatiske innvandrere i Norge bakgrunn fra de vestlige delene og Midtøsten. Blant afrikanske innvandrere i Norge kommer mer enn halvparten fra Øst-Afrika og særlig Afrikas Horn, mens afrikanske innvandrere i Canada har bakgrunn fra hele kontinentet.

Høyere utdanning blant innvandrere i Canada

Mer enn halvparten av innvandrerne fra Afrika og Asia har høyere utdanning (mer enn 13 års skolegang) ved ankomst til Canada. Utdanningsnivå er en viktig del av Canadas poengbaserte innvandringsregime, derfor har flertallet av innvandrere som kommer til Canada høyere utdanning. Vi har ikke tilsvarende tall tilgjengelig for Norge, men tall fra Levekårsundersøkelsen for innvandrere (omfattet innvandrere fra Pakistan, Somalia, Iran, Irak, Sri Lanka, Vietnam, Tyrkia) viste at rundt en fjerdedel av innvandrerne fra disse landene hadde høyere utdanning og andelen som ikke har noen utdanning var høy.

Innvandrere som kommer til Canada kan engelsk eller fransk

Både engelsk og fransk, de to offisielle språkene i Canada, er språk som blir brukt over hele verden og et flertall av både innvandrere og flyktninger som kommer til Canada kan et eller to av de offisielle språkene ved ankomst til Canada. Vi har ikke tilsvarende tall tilgjengelig for Norge men vi kan anta at så godt som ingen innvandrere eller flyktninger kan norsk før de ankommer Norge. Disse forskjellene har betydning for innvandrere og flyktnings tilpasning på arbeidsmarkedet og er med å forklare ulikheter i utfall på arbeidsmarkedet for innvandrere i Canada og Norge.

Høyere sysselsetting blant innvandrere i Canada enn i Norge

Sammenlignet med øvrige land i OECD har både Canada og Norge et høyt sysselsettingsnivå. Norge har noe høyere sysselsetting enn Canada, noe som særlig skyldes høyere kvinnelig sysselsetting i Norge. Blant innvandrere var 78 prosent sysselsatt i Canada mot 67 prosent i Norge i 2006, en forskjell på 11 prosentpoeng.

På samme tid var arbeidsledigheten 1 prosentpoeng høyere blant innvandrere i Canada sammenlignet med Norge. Tatt i betraktning de store underliggende forskjellene i innvandringsgrunn, fødeland, utdannings- og språknivå mellom innvandrere i Canada og Norge er forskjellene i andelen sysselsatte små.

Sysselsettingsforskjellene er større for innvandrere fra Afrika og Asia. I 2006 var 73 prosent av afrikanerne i Canada sysselsatt, mot 50 prosent i Norge. Men disse tallene skjuler viktige forskjeller i sammensetning i innvandrerbefolkningen fra Afrika og Asia. Et flertall av afrikanere som har kommet til Norge har vært flyktninger, mens et flertall av afrikanske innvandrere til Canada har vært arbeidsinnvandrere, noe som er med på å forklare forskjellene i sysselsetting. Somaliske innvandrere som i hovedsak er flyktninger utgjør mer enn en tredel av afrikanske innvandrere i Norge – og har lave sysselsettingsandeler. Også blant somaliere i Canada finner vi lave sysselsettingsandeler, men her utgjør de bare fire prosent av alle afrikanske innvandrere. Eksempelet med somaliske innvandrere er illustrerende for andre grupper beskrevet i denne rapporten.

..men land for land er forskjellene mindre

Innvandrergrupper som gjør det bra på arbeidsmarkedet i Norge, slik som innvandrere fra Sri Lanka, Vietnam og Bosnia, gjør det også bra på arbeidsmarkedet i Canada, og har bare noen få prosentpoeng høyere sysselsetting i Canada sammenlignet med Norge. Grupper som har større problemer med å få fotfeste i arbeidsmarkedet, som innvandrere fra Somalia, Irak og Afghanistan, har også problemer i det canadiske arbeidsmarkedet, men i Canada utgjør disse gruppene en mye mindre andel av innvandrerbefolkningen. Blant innvandrere fra Midtøsten og deler av Asia finner vi store forskjeller i sysselsetting mellom menn og kvinner, både i Norge og i Canada. Det generelle sysselsettingsnivået for innvandrere fra disse områdene er noe høyere i Canada enn i Norge, men forskjellene i sysselsetting mellom menn og kvinner ligger rundt 20-30 prosentpoeng blant innvandrere fra disse områdene i begge land.

Flere innvandrere med bedre forutsetninger for å lykkes på arbeidsmarkedet i Canada

Canada har en innvandrerbefolkning med en høy andel arbeidsinnvandrere fra områder av verden hvor det i Norge bare finnes flyktninger fra samme område. Å ha en høy andel innvandrere fra en bestemt region som behersker språket, har utdannelse og arbeidserfaring har trolig en positiv effekt på integreringsmulighetene for alle innvandrere fra det samme området, også for flyktninger, både med tanke på å utgjøre gode nettverk for å finne arbeid, men også med tanke på hvordan en innvandrergruppe oppfattes i samfunnet.

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1. Immigration to Canada - a brief overview

From an international perspective, Canada has one of the highest levels of foreign-born population of any country in the world, second only to Australia among the major OECD countries (OECD 2007a). Since 1980, on average the immigration rate (measured as the number of immigrants admitted relative to the size of the population) in Canada has been around 7 per 1 000, also among the highest in the OECD-area. In this period, the yearly number of new immigrants has varied from less than 100 000 in the early 1980s, to above 260 000 in 2005 (figure 1.1)¹. At the time of the last Census, in 2006, one in five Canadians were born outside Canada and the proportion of foreign-born had reached its highest level in 75 years (Chui, Tran and Maheux 2007).

Canada's immigration policy is based on three main objectives – economic needs, family reunification and humanitarian ground (see box). First and foremost, the high immigration numbers stem from the policy in Canada to attract economic immigrants, averaging around half of the migrants coming to Canada between 1980 and 2006. In the early 1980s, a period of economic recession in Canada, when admission of economic immigrants was restricted to applicants with prearranged employment, the share was lower (Milan & Martel 2008). The share of economic migrants has increased since, to around 60 percent in the latter parts of the 1990s.

The point system of selecting economic immigrants was put into effect in the 1970s.

The Immigration and Refugee Protection Act establishes three basic categories of permanent residents, which correspond to major program objectives: reuniting families, contributing to economic development and protecting refugees. In addition, there is a fourth category comprised of other immigrants:

Economic class (skilled workers, business immigrants, provincial nominees and live-in caregivers, as well as members of their immediate family). From 2002 and onwards, the applicants in the economic class group are selected under a points system – this system grants priority to those most likely to be able to enter the Canadian labour force by virtue of their age, education and knowledge of the country's official languages. Economic category is an aggregated category. There are spouse and dependents of the Economic Skilled Workers category that are also grouped as Economic immigrants. But these individuals are not evaluated under the point system.

Family class (spouses and partners, children, parents and grandparents of the sponsors).

Refugees/protected persons category (government assisted and privately sponsored refugees selected abroad, individuals who are recognized in Canada as Convention refugees or persons in need of protection, as well as persons who have been granted protection through the pre removal risk assessment process). Protected persons may include their family members in their application for permanent residence.

Other immigrants include temporary resident permit holders, humanitarian and compassionate, retirees, persons with deferred removal orders, and post-determination refugee claimants.

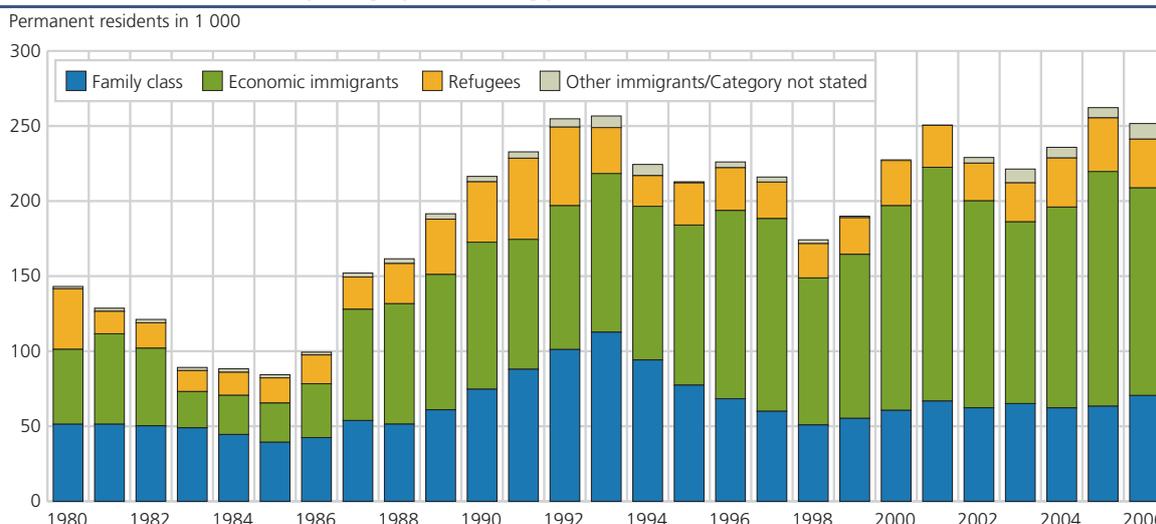
Source: Citizenship and Migration Canada

¹ These numbers only include permanent immigration to Canada and do not take into account annual flows of non-permanent residents. Non-permanent residents include students and labour migrants on temporary visas.

Family class migrants comprise the second largest group of immigrants coming to Canada. In the period 1980-2006 around 35 percent belonged to this group. In some years during the early 1980s the proportion of immigrants admitted as family class immigrants was higher than for the economic class. In absolute terms there was a peak in the number of family class migrants in 1993 with more than 110 000 coming to Canada that year.

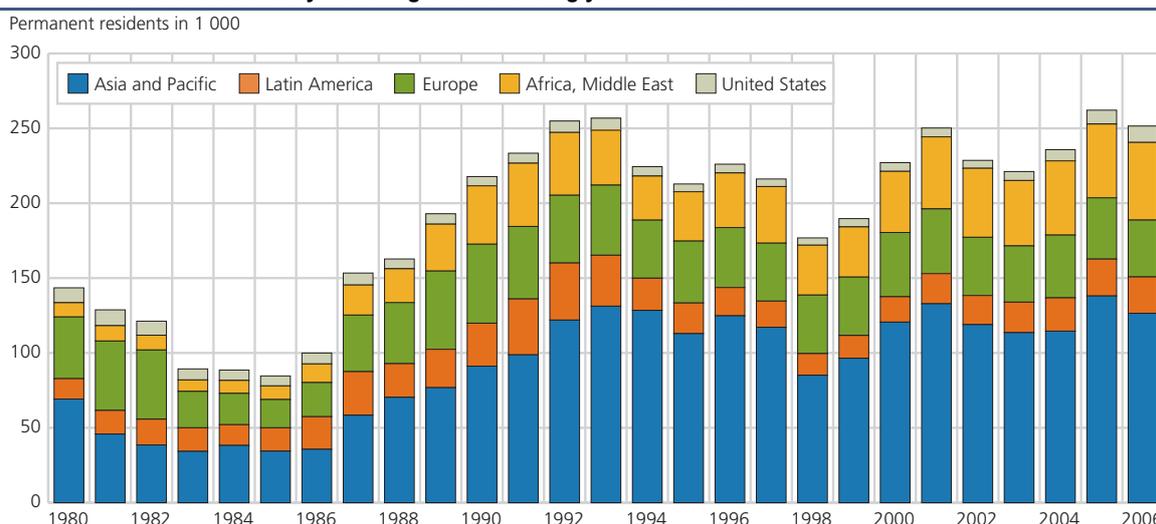
During the last quarter of a century refugees have comprised roughly 15 percent of the immigrants coming to Canada. Refugees constituted around 20 percent in the 1980s and 10-15 per cent in the years from the middle of the 1990s and onwards. As a share of the total number of immigrants coming to Canada, 1980 represents a peak with 28 percent of the migrants being refugees. In absolute terms we find the highest numbers of refugees coming to Canada in 1991/1992 with a little more than 50 000 refugees landed both years.

Figure 1.1. Permanent residents by category and landing year. 1980-2006



Source: CIC Landing Files

Figure 1.2. Permanent residents by world region and landing year. 1980-2006



Source: CIC Landing Files

Lastly, the number of newcomers granted permanent residence in the residual category has increased over the last years. This increase is primarily due to the introduction, in 2002, of the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act which gives Citizenship and Immigration Canada the authority to accept as permanent residents, foreign nationals who would not otherwise meet the requirements of the Act. Such as former temporary resident permit holders.

More immigrants from Asia, fewer from Europe

In the mid-1960s Canada changed its selection process of immigrants from a system based on national origin to one based on points that reflected language skills, work experience and other criteria associated with labour market success. As a result, immigrants who entered Canada after these changes, more and more, came from many different countries and possessed more diverse cultural backgrounds than earlier immigrants (Boyd and Vickers 2000). Over the last decades there has been a gradual change in the composition of source countries among immigrants coming to Canada (figure 1.2). While Europeans constituted 30-40 percent of the immigrants landed in the early 1980s, their share has fallen to around 15 percent in 2006. Immigrants from Asia made up less than 40 percent of the landings in most of the years in the 1980s while of the immigrants admitted in 2006, above 180,000, or more than half, were of Asian origin, a proportion that has remained fairly stable since the mid-1990s. In fact in 2006 the number of immigrants from China alone exceeded the total number of immigrants from Europe.

If we combine information about source country and admission category (table 1.1) economic class migrants are in the majority from all the major regions; Africa, Asia and Europe constituting around 60 percent of the immigrants from these regions. Family class immigrants constitute the largest category among immigrants from South and Central America and the USA. Of the refugees landed in Canada, roughly two thirds come from Asia and Africa. However, while 22 percent of the immigrants from Africa were refugees, this was true for only 8 percent of the Asian immigrants (CIC landing data).

Table 1.1. Permanent residents by category and source area. 1997-2006

Category	Family class	Economic class	Refugees	Other	Total
Africa and the Middle East	69 652	259 096	96 759	8 281	433 788
Asia and the Pacific	346 161	706 885	94 813	15 645	1 163 504
South and Central America	82 801	66 986	35 752	9 448	194 987
United States	32 932	26 854	2 493	3 814	66 093
Europe and the UK	85 459	254 870	51 591	7 742	399 662
Source area not stated	69	51	207	15	342
Total	617 074	1 314 742	281 615	44 945	2 258 376
Percentage distribution					
Africa and the Middle East	16	60	22	2	100
Asia and the Pacific	30	61	8	1	100
South and Central America	42	34	18	5	100
United States	50	41	4	6	100
Europe and the UK	21	64	13	2	100
Source area not stated	20	15	61	4	100
Total	27	58	12	2	100

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada. Facts and Figures 2006

China, largest source country

During the last decade, eight out of the top ten source countries were from Asia and the Pacific, with the largest groups coming from China, India, and Pakistan (table 1.2). In the same period immigrants from these three countries comprised around one-third of all immigrants to Canada, China alone with a share of near 15 percent. For every year from 1998 and onwards, China has been the number one source country, in the same period India has every year been the second largest.

From Africa and the Middle East², the largest groups have come from Iran, the United Arab Emirates and Algeria. From South and Central America the majority has come from Colombia, Jamaica and Mexico. Whereas from Europe the three top countries have been UK, Romania and France.

² The Middle East includes Bahrain Cyprus Iran Iraq Israel Jordan Kuwait Lebanon Palestinian Authority (Gaza/West Bank) Qatar Saudi Arabia Syria United Arab Emirates Yemen, People's Democratic Republic of Yemen

Table 1.2. Permanent residents by top source countries 1997-2006

Source countries	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
China	18 526	19 790	29 148	36 750	40 365	33 307	36 256	36 429	42 292	33 080
India	19 615	15 375	17 457	26 123	27 904	28 838	24 593	25 575	33 148	30 753
Pakistan	11 239	8 089	9 303	14 201	15 354	14 173	12 351	12 795	13 575	12 332
Philippines	10 872	8 184	9 205	10 119	12 928	11 011	11 989	13 303	17 525	17 717
United States	5 030	4 776	5 533	5 828	5 911	5 294	6 013	7 507	9 262	10 943
Korea	4 001	4 917	7 217	7 639	9 608	7 334	7 089	5 337	5 819	6 178
Iran	7 486	6 775	5 909	5 617	5 746	7 889	5 651	6 063	5 502	7 073
United Kingdom	4 657	3 899	4 478	4 649	5 360	4 725	5 199	6 062	5 865	6 542
Sri Lanka	5 071	3 329	4 728	5 849	5 520	4 968	4 448	4 135	4 690	4 490
Hong Kong	22 250	8 087	3 672	2 865	1 965	1 541	1 472	1 547	1 783	1 489
Romania	3 916	2 976	3 468	4 431	5 589	5 689	5 466	5 658	4 964	4 393
Taiwan	13 324	7 193	5 483	3 535	3 114	2 910	2 126	1 992	3 092	2 823
France	2 858	3 867	3 923	4 345	4 428	3 963	4 127	5 028	5 430	4 915
Russia	3 735	4 304	3 782	3 523	4 073	3 677	3 520	3 685	3 607	2 851
Colombia	571	922	1 296	2 228	2 967	3 226	4 273	4 438	6 031	5 813
Other	82 887	71 712	75 355	89 757	99 809	90 506	86 778	96 270	99 654	100 257
Total	216 038	174 195	189 957	227 459	250 641	229 051	221 351	235 824	262 239	251 649

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada. Facts and Figures 2006

The administrative flow data from Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) allows for analysis of the immigrants admitted into Canada, but can not give data to examine the population of foreign-born still residing in Canada. The landing data from CIC does not take into account out-migration or deaths in the foreign-born population, nor those who immigrated before 1980, thus Census data has to be used for a cross-sectional description of the population. Census-data in Canada do however not contain information about immigrant category. In the following section we give a description of the immigrants coming to Canada at the time of their arrival. These tables do not give a cross-sectional overview of the current situation, only a description of the demographic composition of immigrants entering Canada in the period from 1980-2006.

Table 1.3. Permanent residents by gender and age. 1980-2006

	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
0 to 14 years	568 589	537 196	1 105 785	51 %	49 %	21 %
15 to 24 years	415 096	489 803	904 899	46 %	54 %	18 %
25 to 44 years	1 159 041	1 171 731	2 330 772	50 %	50 %	45 %
45 to 64 years	293 877	329 202	623 079	47 %	53 %	12 %
65 years or more ...	81 987	106 660	188 647	43 %	57 %	4 %
Unknown	319	356	675	47 %	53 %	0 %
Total	2 518 909	2 634 948	5 153 857	49 %	51 %	100 %

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada. Facts and Figures 2006

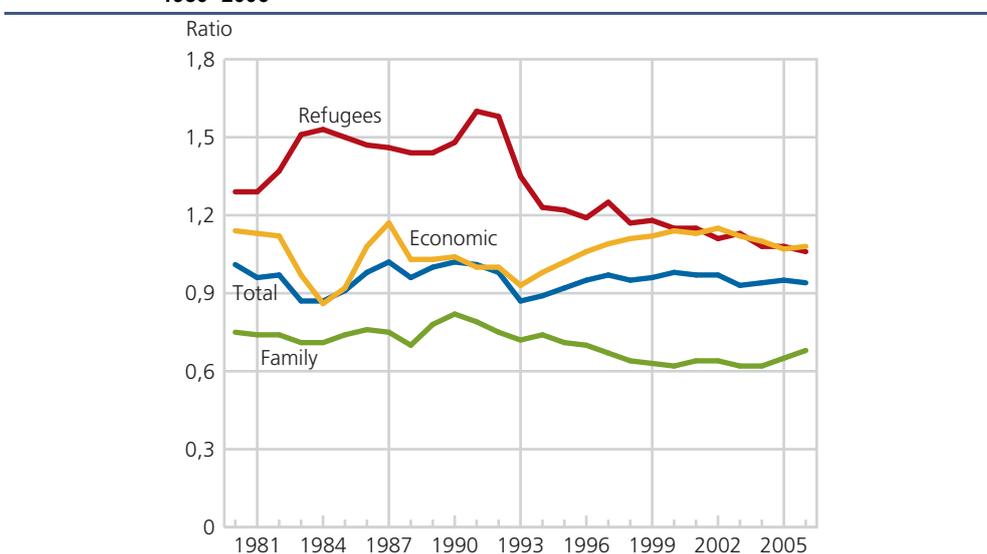
Immigrants are dominated by young adults, persons in the age group 25 to 44 years, this group comprised near half of all immigrants coming to Canada in this period. The median age for immigrants entering Canada (upon arrival) was 29 years, and only four per cent of the immigrants coming to Canada were 65 years or older.

The age group 25 to 44 years is not surprisingly dominated by economic migrants who comprise roughly two thirds. Among the younger age groups we find more family class migrants in addition to economic class dependants. The other end of the age scale is also dominated by family class immigrants. Among those 65 years and older around 85 percent are family class immigrants. Refugees have a less skewed age distribution and are more evenly spread among the different age groups. The demographics of refugees are more thoroughly described in chapter 3.

Women comprise 51 percent of the immigrants entering Canada, and there are higher rates of women in all age groups except for the youngest, as they are distributed according to the general sex ratio at birth. Since 1992, every year, there has been a majority of women among immigrants coming to Canada. In figure 1.3 we show a men pr women ratio illustrating how women dominate among family class migrants, whereas men constitute the majority of refugees coming to Canada. For most years men have also been in a majority among economic class

immigrants. If the numbers had shown economic class principal applicants the male share would have been markedly higher, conversely for economic class dependants women would have constituted a majority. The ratios given in figure 1.3 include all immigrants, also children for whom the gender ratios for natural causes are more or less equal; if the ratios had only included adults the gender differences would have been even more apparent.

Figure 1.3. Permanent residents by category and gender (showing ratio of men to women) 1980- 2006



Source: CIC Landing files

The number of immigrants has varied over the last two decades (table 1.4) from well below 200 000 in 1998 to 260 000 in 2005, but the age distribution has been fairly stable during these years. Immigrants aged 25-44 years comprise the bulk of immigrants entering Canada, some years comprising more than half. The main pattern is that the age distribution has been stable, although somewhat fewer in the oldest age brackets have immigrated over the last years compared to the early 1990s.

Table 1.4. Permanent residents by age and landing year. 1990-2006

	0 to 14 years	15 to 24 years	25 to 44 years	45 to 64 years	65 years or more	Total
1990	22 %	18 %	45 %	11 %	4 %	217 819
1991	19 %	18 %	47 %	12 %	4 %	233 439
1992	19 %	18 %	46 %	13 %	5 %	254 953
1993	20 %	19 %	43 %	14 %	4 %	256 835
1994	21 %	18 %	42 %	15 %	5 %	224 440
1995	22 %	17 %	44 %	13 %	4 %	212 922
1996	23 %	16 %	46 %	12 %	3 %	226 112
1997	24 %	15 %	47 %	11 %	3 %	216 220
1998	23 %	16 %	49 %	10 %	2 %	176 917
1999	22 %	15 %	51 %	10 %	2 %	190 109
2000	22 %	14 %	51 %	10 %	2 %	227 533
2001	23 %	14 %	50 %	11 %	2 %	250 684
2002	22 %	14 %	50 %	11 %	3 %	229 164
2003	21 %	15 %	50 %	11 %	3 %	221 489
2004	22 %	15 %	51 %	10 %	2 %	235 900
2005	22 %	15 %	50 %	11 %	2 %	262 232
2006	20 %	16 %	48 %	13 %	3 %	251 648

Source: CIC Landing files

2. Refugees and the refugee population in Canada

In absolute numbers, few countries have attracted as many refugees as Canada. According to the UNHCR³ (2008) within the OECD-region only Germany, USA and UK hosted larger refugee populations than Canada in 2007. On a per capita basis Canada ranks ahead of the US and UK, though behind Germany, Sweden and Norway within the OECD. Since 1980, more than 750 000 refugees have been granted permanent residence in Canada. The term 'refugee' is used for both convention refugees and asylum seekers coming to Canada.

In figure 2.1 we have grouped the refugees coming to Canada after landing year and (detailed) immigrant class.

Asylum seekers and their dependants now constitute the largest number of refugees coming to Canada. More specifically this includes refugees landed in Canada (refugee claimants who have received a positive determination at the Immigration and Refugee Board) and their dependants landed from abroad. Together they accounted for 70 percent of all refugees landed in 2005.

Government-assisted refugees: Permanent residents in the *refugee* category who are selected abroad for resettlement to Canada as Convention refugees under the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act* or as members of the Convention Refugees Abroad Class, and who receive resettlement assistance from the federal government.

Privately sponsored refugees: Permanent residents in the refugee category who are selected for resettlement in the Convention refugees abroad class, the source country class or the country of asylum class and who are privately sponsored by organizations, individuals or groups of individuals.

Refugee dependants: Refugee dependants are permanent residents in the *refugee* category who are family members of a refugee landed in Canada, and who were living abroad or in Canada at the time of application. Their applications for permanent residence are considered concurrently with that of the principal applicant in Canada.

Asylum refugees: A refugee claimant receives Canada's protection when he or she is found to be a Convention refugee as defined by the United Nations 1951 Geneva Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and its 1967 protocol, or when found to be a person needing protection based on risk to life, risk of cruel and unusual treatment or punishment, or danger of torture as defined in the Convention Against Torture. A refugee claimant whose claim is accepted may make an application in Canada for permanent residence. The application may include family members in Canada and abroad.

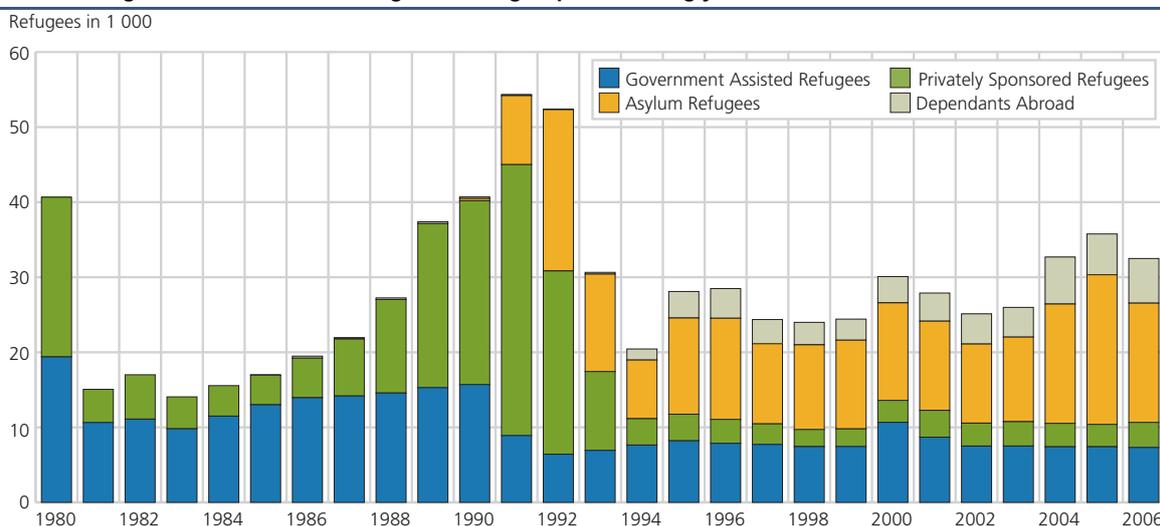
Source CIC

In the whole period from 1980 to 2006 close to a third of the refugees landed in Canada have been Government assisted refugees. These are refugees selected for resettlement among Convention refugees and who are eligible for Government assistance. Each year Canada sets a target for the number of Government assisted refugees who will be resettled to Canada and will be financially supported by the government upon their arrival. The number of Government assisted refugees has decreased somewhat, from a level around 13 000 in the 1980s to around 8 000 in the 1990s and 2000s. A large number of these refugees came directly to Canada

³ UNHCR method for identifying refugees makes comparisons on number of refugees resident in a country difficult. UNHCR does not count refugees after a certain number of years, and for most countries do not include emigration among refugees.

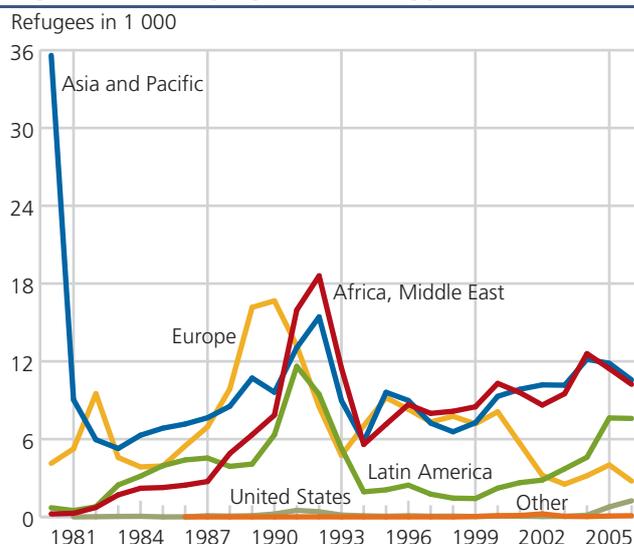
from refugee camps. Up till the early 1990s the other big group of refugees was constituted of privately sponsored refugees. Under the private sponsorship program, organizations or individuals make a commitment to provide the financial, material and personal support to resettle additional refugees above the government assisted target. The sponsoring group is responsible for assisting the applicant with his or her integration upon arrival in Canada. The number of these refugees has decreased in the latter years to a level around 3 000 a year.

Figure 2.1. Refugees to Canada after immigrant class group and landing year. 1980-2006



Source: CIC Landing files

Figure 2.2. Refugees to Canada by region and landing year. 1980-2006



Source: Source: CIC Landing files

In the late 1970s and early 1980s refugees from Asia, and Vietnam in particular, constituted the majority of refugees coming to Canada as a result of the large number of Vietnamese boat people leaving Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. The majority of the refugees in this group were privately sponsored; the Canadian government sponsored one refugee for every privately sponsored refugee⁴ (CIC). In 1980, 25 000 refugees came from Vietnam. Refugees from Vietnam continued to come to Canada, but in smaller numbers averaging around 4 000 a year up till 1994, when the entries stopped. In addition to refugees from Vietnam, refugees from Cambodia and Laos made up the bulk of Asian refugees in this period.

⁴ For definition see fact box

In 1982, after the rise of the Solidarity-movement a large number of Polish refugees came to Canada, comprising near all of the European refugees that year. The number of Polish refugees increased again by the end of the decade as the cold war ended, and in the period from 1988 to 1992 near 50 000 refugees from Poland were granted residence in Canada.

The number of refugees from Latin-American and Africa and the Middle East were increasing throughout the 1980s with El Salvadorians constituting the largest group among the Latin-Americans and Ethiopians and Iranians from African and the Middle East.

In the early 1990s Canada received more than 50 000 refugees a year, the highest number coming from Africa and the Middle East, with the largest groups coming from Iran and Somalia. European refugees in this period are dominated by refugees from the Balkans, especially Bosnia-Herzegovina, whereas refugees from Sri Lanka dominate among Asian refugees. The early 1990s is also marked by a significant drop in Latin-American refugees.

By the end of the 1990s refugees to a lesser degree come from one single source country, but from many, and no source country or region clearly dominate with around 8 000 refugees from Asia, Africa and Europe respectively.

The number of European refugees markedly drops after the end of the Kosovo-war in 1999 whereas the number of Latin-American refugees increases in the new century, the majority coming from Columbia. In 2005-2006 Colombia was the largest source country of all refugees, followed by Afghanistan and China. In 2006 noticeable changes have occurred in the leading top 10 countries of origin among refugees. Colombia now ranks as the top source country and Ethiopia ranked as the sixth leading source country. Both were hardly on the list in 1997. Others that were prominent in then such as refugees from the states in the former Yugoslavia have all dropped from the top 10 list.

Table 2.1. Refugees to Canada after former country of permanent residence and landing year. 1997-2006

	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	Grand Total
Total	24363	23990	24422	30086	27892	25124	25983	32692	35768	32493	282813
Afghanistan	1755	1378	1819	2538	2916	2746	2746	2238	2644	2191	22971
Sri Lanka	2587	2275	2615	3236	2504	2206	1787	2080	2245	1330	22865
Colombia	35	57	169	784	1281	1730	2685	2819	4519	4462	18541
Pakistan	758	757	1089	1238	2111	2102	1793	2869	2423	2241	17381
China	302	465	477	636	731	1248	2019	2538	2381	1787	12584
Iran	1680	1621	1450	1503	1472	1242	1025	1016	681	797	12487
Bosnia-H	3678	3591	2698	839	639	201	38	9	39	63	11795
India	786	914	698	1110	1152	1202	917	1181	935	1007	9902
Somalia	735	1239	1381	1215	828	500	697	1084	856	792	9327
Sudan	686	623	398	651	1038	1240	1430	1380	923	694	9063
Iraq	1347	967	916	982	1076	927	613	834	715	498	8875
Congo (Democratic Republic of)	503	664	697	951	929	782	868	1119	1033	975	8521
Yugoslavia	618	572	629	3833	1744	339	100	86	37	7	7965
Ethiopia	301	269	294	607	583	506	836	878	990	1224	6488
Turkey	101	203	195	278	442	605	637	885	1110	483	4939
Other	8491	8395	8897	9685	8446	7548	7792	11676	14237	13942	99109

Source: CIC Landing files

Table 2.2. Refugees to Canada Top 5 countries of permanent residence. 1980-2004 (grouped)

	Share of total number of refugees								
1980-1984	1985-1989	1990-1994	1995-1999	2000-2004					
Vietnam	41 %	Poland	24 %	Poland	14 %	Bosnia-Herceg.	16 %	Afghanistan	9 %
Poland	13 %	Vietnam	19 %	Sri Lanka	10 %	Sri Lanka	13 %	Sri Lanka	8 %
Cambodia	9 %	El Salvador	10 %	El Salvador	8 %	Afghanistan	6 %	Pakistan	7 %
Laos	9 %	Cambodia	7 %	Vietnam	7 %	Iran	6 %	Colombia	7 %
Czechoslovakia	4 %	Iran	6 %	Iran	7 %	Iraq	5 %	China	5 %
Other	24 %	Other	35 %	Other	54 %	Other	54 %	Other	64 %

Source: CIC Landing files

Stable number of refugees from an increasing number of countries

In total, in the period from 1980-2006 a little more than a third of the refugees came from Asia, with a quarter each from Europe and Africa and the Middle East and around 15 percent from Latin-America. A small fraction had their last permanent residence in the US. In the 1980s a small number of source countries provided a large number of refugees, whereas in latter years the number of source countries has increased. An illustration of this is given in table 2.2 where the top five sending countries are listed. From 1980-1984 the top five countries made up three out of four refugees coming to Canada, whereas from 2000-2004 the top five countries only contributed to a third of the refugees.

Table 2.3 Refugees by age and gender. 1980-2006

Refugees	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
0 to 14 years	101 413	92 087	193 500	52 %	48 %	25 %
15 to 24 years	94 564	69 235	163 799	58 %	42 %	21 %
25 to 44 years	204 112	140 240	344 352	59 %	41 %	45 %
45 to 64 years	28 580	25 040	53 620	53 %	47 %	7 %
65 years or more	3 216	4 854	8 070	40 %	60 %	1 %
Total	431 886	331 456	763 342	57 %	43 %	100 %

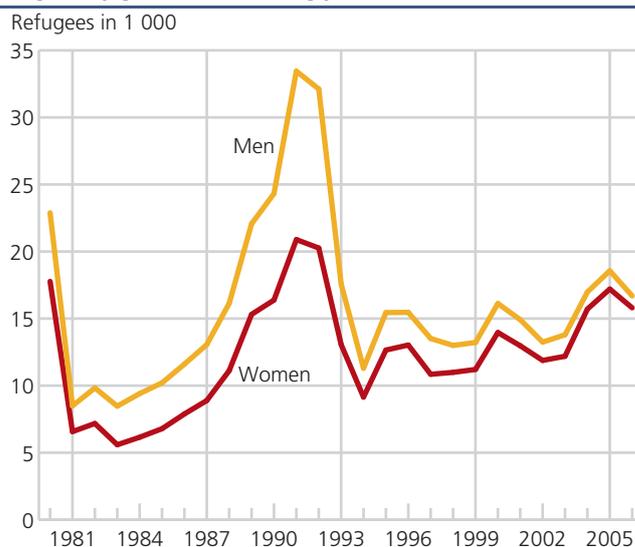
Source: CIC Landing files

International statistics on refugees (see for instance UNHCR 2008) reveal that the majority of the world's refugees are women and children; however fewer women and children manage to migrate far distances so there is a disproportionately higher share of adult men in the refugee population within the recipient countries in Western Europe. Typically young men migrate first and are later followed by their family. We find the same tendencies in Canada. As among all immigrants, refugees coming to Canada are dominated by adults, with near half being in the age group 25-44 years old. Compared to all immigrants, refugees have a higher share of children and fewer in the older age groups. Only eight percent of the refugees were 45 years or older upon arrival in Canada, in comparison, 16% of Canada's total immigrant population was 45 years and over.

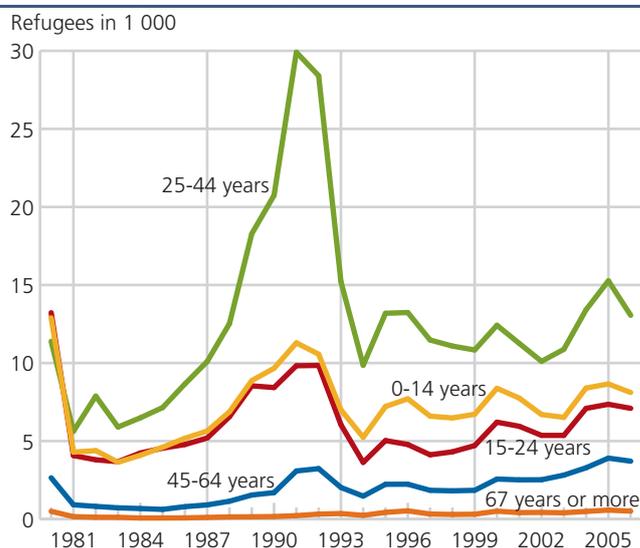
From 1980 to 2006, around 100 000 more men than women have entered Canada as refugees, and men constitute 57 percent of the refugees entering Canada. The male predominance is most noticeable in the group young adults (25-44 years) where men outnumber women with a share of six out of ten. Among the youngest age groups, the gender differences are smaller, and among the oldest (65+) there is a majority of women.

In the 1980s and the first part of the 1990s on average 50 percent more men than women immigrated as refugees, the gender ratio had a peak in 1991 with 60 percent more men than women entering Canada as refugees. This gender gap has narrowed nearly every year since, and in 2006 it nearly closed as 49 percent of the refugees coming to Canada were women. In the migratory process men often migrate first followed by women and children as family class migrants.

Early in the 1980s the share of children (0-14) and young adults (15-24) together stood for two out of three refugees coming to Canada (figure 2.4). Whereas later in the decade, these two groups are surpassed by adults (25-44) comprising up to 55 percent of all refugees in 1992, indicating that smaller families and singles grew in numbers in the early 1990s. By the end of the period we see a rise in the number of older refugees in the group 45-64 years. This group made up only 3.7 percent of the entries in 1985, in 2006 this share had risen to nearly 12 percent.

Figure 2.3. Refugees by gender and landing year. 1980-2006

Source: CIC Landing files

Figure 2.4. Refugees by age and landing year. 1980-2006

Source: CIC Landing files

We find the highest shares of men among refugees from Asia and Africa. Of the 15 largest sending countries as many as eight have a share of male refugees around 60 percent, Iraq and Sri Lanka having the highest with 61 percent men. Only among refugees from Columbia do we find more women than men. As we saw in table 2.3 the male surplus is even higher for adult refugees so for some of these groups near two out of three adults are men.

If we group the 15 largest sending countries of refugees together, of the total number of immigrants from these countries economic migrants constitute as much as 40 percent. However, there are some substantial differences between the sending countries. Among immigrants from Afghanistan, Somalia, Ethiopia and Cambodia the share of economic migrants are hardly visible. Conversely, a majority of immigrants from China and India came under the economic category, although a small proportion came under refugee category. In between, there are groups with a more even distribution of refugees and economic migrants, for instance from Sri Lanka, Iran and Colombia.

Table 2.4. Refugees after sex and last country of permanent residence. 1980-2006

	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
Total	431 877	331 448	763 325	57 %	43 %
Africa, Middle East	112 709	83 312	196 021	57 %	43 %
Asia and Pacific	155 819	113 872	269 691	58 %	42 %
Latin America	54 565	48 928	103 493	53 %	47 %
Europe	105 766	82 679	188 445	56 %	44 %
<i>Other</i>	<i>115 727</i>	<i>85 969</i>	<i>201 696</i>	<i>57 %</i>	<i>43 %</i>
Vietnam	48 368	32 202	80 570	60 %	40 %
Poland	42 602	29 402	72 004	59 %	41 %
Sri Lanka	33 197	21 180	54 377	61 %	39 %
Iran	21 903	14 858	36 761	60 %	40 %
Afghanistan	17 811	16 086	33 897	53 %	47 %
El Salvador	18 140	15 024	33 164	55 %	45 %
Bosnia-Herzegovina	14 671	14 308	28 979	51 %	49 %
Somalia	12 722	11 500	24 222	53 %	47 %
Ethiopia	13 374	9 331	22 705	59 %	41 %
Pakistan	12 796	8 903	21 699	59 %	41 %
Iraq	12 487	8 065	20 552	61 %	39 %
Cambodia	9 803	9 361	19 164	51 %	49 %
Colombia	9 374	9 429	18 803	50 %	50 %
China	9 052	7 426	16 478	55 %	45 %
India	8 216	5 458	13 674	60 %	40 %
<i>Other</i>	<i>147 361</i>	<i>118 915</i>	<i>266 276</i>	<i>55 %</i>	<i>45 %</i>

Source: CIC Landing files

3. Education level and language ability among immigrants

In the following section we show the education level and language ability of immigrants to Canada upon arrival. Education acquired after arrival in Canada is not covered. A focus on education is natural as it is often considered to be one of the most important avenues to involvement and participation in a society and as a gateway to successful labour market outcomes. Another important prerequisite for labour market success is language. Thus both dimensions can be useful background variables in understanding and explaining outcome on the labour market for immigrants in Canada.

Statistics on education

As a part of the immigration process Citizenship and Immigration Canada collects data on the level of education at the time of landing. Although collected for all categories of immigrants, the data on education for the economic class migrants are most reliable as it is a part of the decision making process. Principal economic class migrants are subject to selection using the points system and are assessed on several criteria, among them their level of formal education. For the other groups the data are self-reported and not assessed in the same manner as for the economic class.

The statistics in table 3.1 are based on two questions: How many years of formal education the applicant has and the highest level of completed education of the applicant. Most of the forms are collected at the embassies or foreign offices and computed there. For more info see www.cic.ca or http://www.canada.org.uk/visa-info/forms/skilled/imm8sw_e.pdf

The equivalent data is not available in Norway as the Norwegian Directorate of Immigration or any other administrative body do not collect these data in a fashion suitable for statistics.

The economic class principal applicants are awarded points based on their level of education and as many as three out of four in this group arrive in Canada with a Bachelor degree or higher, four percent have a Doctor's degree. Also their spouses and dependants in the economic class have a high level of education when entering Canada, with four out of ten having a Bachelor degree or higher.

Family class immigrants have a lower level of education when entering Canada, although on a higher level than refugees, one in four had a Master's degree or higher. Among refugees the education level is lower, only 13 percent have a Bachelor's or Master's degree, and only 0.4 percent with a PhD degree. Still as much as 71 percent have more than 10 years of schooling behind them when entering Canada.

Language ability is also one of the skills giving extra points based on their proficiency in Canada's two official languages. These points are based on some standard language benchmark tests (Tolley 2003). So not surprisingly among the economic principal applicants we find high levels of immigrants in command of one or both of the languages (especially English). Among other groups the variable is self-reported, and not designed to be a formal measure of language ability.

However, when we look at what the immigrants report, refugees do not report lower language ability than family class or economic dependants, on the contrary, while more than 50 percent of the economic class dependants state they speak none of the languages, this was true for only 43 percent of the refugees. In fact the highest level of (only) French speakers is found among refugees, even higher than among Economic class principals. Country background plays an important role here where immigrants from French speaking countries naturally have a higher percentage.

Table 3.1. Permanent residents more than 15 years of age by age and years of schooling 1997-2006

	0 to 9 years of schooling	10 to 12 years of schooling	13 or more years of schooling	Trade certificate	Non- university diploma	Bachelor's degree	Master's degree	Doctorate	Total
Family Class	131 889	138 256	58 368	34 161	47 975	102 039	23 515	3 682	539 885
Economic Class p.a	8 558	21 585	23 400	26 741	54 968	276 987	111 041	23 082	546 362
Economic Class s.d	57 956	80 050	43 104	24 042	42 634	138 110	35 288	4 789	425 973
Refugees	59 161	66 550	20 884	13 189	20 682	22 546	3 471	987	207 470
Other	7 606	11 347	4 723	4 251	4 993	5 183	854	231	39 188
Total	265 170	317 788	150 479	102 384	171 252	544 865	174 169	32 771	1 758 878
Percent									
Family Class	24	26	11	6	9	19	4	1	100
Economic Class p.a	2	4	4	5	10	51	20	4	100
Economic Class s.d	14	19	10	6	10	32	8	1	100
Refugees	29	32	10	6	10	11	2	0	100
Other	19	29	12	11	13	13	2	1	100
Total	15	18	9	6	10	31	10	2	100

Source: CIC Facts and Figures 2006

Table 3.2. Permanent residents by category and language ability. 1997-2006

	English	French	Both	Neither	Language not stated	Total
Family	278 938	22 235	17 191	298 705	5	617 074
Economic Class p.a	352 457	26 021	79 036	89 271		546 785
Economic Class s.d	294 595	29 352	33 323	410 653	34	767 957
Refugees	127 884	23 390	9 635	120 705	1	281 615
Other	33 631	3 575	2 212	5 525		44 943
Total	1 087 505	104 573	141 397	924 859	40	2 258 374
Per cent						
Family	45	4	3	48	0	100
Economic Class p.a	64	5	14	16	0	100
Economic Class s.d	38	4	4	53	0	100
Refugees	45	8	3	43	0	100
Other	75	8	5	12	0	100
Total	48	5	6	41	0	100

Source: CIC Facts and Figures 2006

Summary of demographics and education and language

Official language proficiency appears to be one of the key determinants of labour market success in Canada, according to the LSIC data, not surprisingly, those who commanded one of Canada's two languages had a higher chance of getting a job than those who had no, or poor command, of one of the languages (LSIC 2006). These data indicate, may be contrary to popular belief that refugees score better than family class immigrants and economic class dependants in this area.

Furthermore, although few refugees in Canada have higher education upon arrival, many at least bring some education with them. Seven out of ten refugees have at least 10 years of schooling behind them when entering Canada.

4. Labour market integration

According to the OECD (2008), Canada's immigrants score among the highest in the industrialised world when it comes to labour market inclusion and employment rates. Measured by the employment rate among foreign-born Canada ranked 3rd (only surpassed by Portugal and Switzerland) whereas Norway ranked 22nd and together with the other Nordic countries lagged behind the OECD-average with 10 percentage points⁵.

Data from the census in 2006

Census data does not contain information about immigrant admission category; however this can be adjusted for as more detailed tables on country of birth combined with labour market participation rates are available. Internationally, standard employment rates are given for the population 15-74 years, however in some publications Statistics Canada uses what they call the 'the core working age' when calculating employment rates (Statistics Canada 2008). The 'core working age' includes persons between 25-54 years. These individuals are more likely to have completed school and less likely to have entered retirement than those in the 15 years and over group. This group will also be the primary focus of the analysis in this report.

Census 2006 - high employment rates among immigrants in Canada

In 2006, the Canadian labour market was the strongest it had been in 30 years (Gilmore 2008). For the Canadian population of core working age the unemployment rate in 2006 was at its lowest since 1976 and the employment rate for women were at an all time high, whereas the employment rate for men were at its highest since 1990. Although non-immigrants had a few percentage points higher employment rates than immigrants, the employment rate for immigrants was also at a record high. 77 percent of immigrants were employed in 2006, up two percentage points compared to 2001 (Census 2001) and four points higher than in 1996 (Census 1996).

Newcomers often take a few years to adjust to a new country and naturally have lower employment rates than established immigrants. There are some obvious barriers for the newly arrived as lack of fluency in one of the two official languages, lack of recognition of the education the immigrants bring with them, for some this takes time. For others the lack of relevant employment experience in the new country and the discounting of previous work experience outside Canada are all obstacles to favourable labour market outcomes, these factors apply not only for immigrants coming to Canada, but for all immigrants settling in a new country (among others see LSIC 2005).

Established immigrants (those who arrived before 1996) and *recent* immigrants (those who arrived between 1996 and 2000) both had labour market outcomes that closely resembled those of their Canadian-born counterparts. *Very recent* immigrants (those who arrived between 2001 and 2006) had a weaker affiliation to the labour market. In this group the employment rate was 67 percent, correspondingly the unemployment level was higher, at 9 percent (For definitions see box).

Interestingly, among men, immigrants and non-immigrants have more or less the same employment and unemployment rates. It has to be noted though that the immigrant population on average is younger than the Canadian born population and there are more people in the older age brackets – who have lower employment rates - among non-immigrants than among immigrants. Among immigrant men it is only among the newly arrived (2001-2006) that we find significantly lower employment levels than among non-immigrants. The groups arriving before 2000 all have higher or equal employment rates and lower unemployment rates than the average among Canadian born.

⁵ This comparison is based on Census data from 2000 for most of the OECD countries including Canada and register data for the Nordic countries.

Census 2006*Immigrant population*

Refers to people who are, or have been, landed immigrants in Canada. A landed immigrant is a person who has been granted the right to live in Canada permanently by immigration authorities. Some immigrants have resided in Canada for a number of years, while others have arrived recently. Most immigrants are born outside Canada, but a small number were born in Canada.

Non-immigrant population

Refers to people who are Canadian citizens by birth. Although most were born in Canada, a small number of them were born outside Canada to Canadian parents.

Very recent immigrants

Refer to landed immigrants who came to Canada up to five years prior to a given census year. For the 2006 Census, recent immigrants are landed immigrants who arrived in Canada between January 1, 2001 and Census Day, May 16, 2006.

Recent immigrants

Refer to landed immigrants who came to Canada between 1996 and 2001.

Established immigrants

Refer to landed immigrants who came to Canada before 1996.

Labour force activity

Refers to the labour market activity of the population 15 years of age and over in the week (Sunday to Saturday) prior to Census Day (May 16, 2006). Respondents were classified as Employed, Unemployed, or Not in the labour force. The labour force includes the employed and the unemployed. Population 15 years of age and over, excluding institutional resident

Employed

Persons who, during the week (Sunday to Saturday) prior to Census Day (May 16, 2006):

did any work at all for pay or in self-employment or without pay in a family farm, business or professional practice were absent from their job or business, with or without pay, for the entire week because of a vacation, an illness, a labour dispute at their place of work, or any other reasons.

Unemployed

Persons who, during the week (Sunday to Saturday) prior to Census Day (May 16, 2006), were without paid work or without self-employment work and were available for work and either: had actively looked for paid work in the past four weeks; or were on temporary lay-off and expected to return to their job; or had definite arrangements to start a new job in four weeks or less.

Not in labour force

Refers to persons who, in the week (Sunday to Saturday) prior to Census Day (May 16, 2006), were neither employed nor unemployed. It includes students, homemakers, retired workers, seasonal workers in an 'off' season who were not looking for work, and persons who could not work because of a long term illness or disability.

Employment rate

Refers to the number of persons employed in the week (Sunday to Saturday) prior to Census Day (May 16, 2006), expressed as a percentage of the total population 25-54 years old. The employment rate for a particular group (age, sex, marital status, geographic area, etc.) is the number of employed persons in that group, expressed as a percentage of the population 25-54 years of age in that group.

Source: Statistics Canada

Table 4.1. Labour market outcomes for persons age 25-54, by immigrant status and period of landing, 2006

Labour Force	Total population	Employed	Unemployed	Not in the labour force	Employment rate	Unemployment rate
Total	13 732 585	11 128 965	636 595	1 967 020	81	5
Non-immigrants	10 486 475	8 636 700	461 815	1 387 955	82	4
Immigrants	3 098 930	2 401 580	166 795	530 550	77	5
1996-2000	507 155	385 970	28 865	92 325	76	6
2001-2006	636 495	426 715	56 335	153 445	67	9
Non-permanent residents	147 190	90 690	7 990	48 515	62	5

Source: Statistics Canada, Census 2006

Table 4.2. Labour market outcomes for men aged 25-54, by immigrant status and period of landing, 2006

Labour Force	Total population	Employed	Unemployed	Not in the labour force	Employment rate	Unemployment rate
Total	6 719 840	5 774 960	319 335	625 545	86	5
Non-immigrants	5 176 520	4 469 410	243 405	463 700	86	5
Immigrants	1 470 060	1 253 995	72 095	143 965	85	5
1996-2000	237 415	204 175	11 545	21 690	86	5
2001-2006	299 035	235 085	24 230	39 720	79	8
Non-permanent residents	73 265	51 555	3 830	17 880	70	5

Source: Statistics Canada, Census 2006

Table 4.3. Labour market outcomes for women aged 25-54, by immigrant status and period of landing, 2006

Labour Force	Total population	Employed	Unemployed	Not in the labour force	Employment rate	Unemployment rate
Total	7 012 745	5 354 005	317 260	1 341 480	76	5
Non-immigrants	5 309 950	4 167 285	218 405	924 260	78	4
Immigrants	1 628 865	1 147 590	94 695	386 585	70	6
1996-2000	269 745	181 795	17 320	70 635	67	6
2001-2006	337 465	191 635	32 110	113 725	57	10
Non-permanent residents	73 925	39 130	4 160	30 630	53	6

Source: Statistics Canada, Census 2006

Table 4.4. Labour market outcomes for persons aged 25-54, by immigrant status, region and period of landing, 2006

	Total population	Employment rate			Unemployment rate		
		Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
Immigrants total	3 098 930	77	85	70	5	5	6
Latin-America	410 830	78	85	73	6	5	7
Europe	845 805	83	88	77	4	4	4
Africa	224 780	73	81	65	9	9	8
Asia	1 471 925	75	84	66	6	5	6
Other	145 590	82	88	77	4	4	4
Established immigrants total	1 955 280	81	87	76	4	4	4
Latin-America	298 260	81	87	76	5	5	6
Europe	637 795	84	89	79	3	3	3
Africa	110 710	81	87	75	5	5	5
Asia	795 585	79	86	73	4	4	5
Other	112 930	83	88	79	3	4	3
Recent immigrants total	507 155	76	86	67	6	5	6
Latin-America	44 530	77	86	70	7	6	8
Europe	98 740	83	91	76	5	3	6
Africa	42 715	74	83	64	8	8	9
Asia	308 295	74	85	64	6	5	6
Other	12 875	80	91	72	4	3	4
Very recent immigrants total	636 495	67	79	57	9	8	10
Latin-America	68 040	67	79	58	9	8	10
Europe	109 270	75	85	66	8	7	9
Africa	71 355	62	71	51	14	15	13
Asia	368 045	65	78	54	8	7	9
Other	19 785	76	87	67	5	4	6

Source: Statistics Canada, Census 2006

Immigrant women have higher unemployment rates and lower employment rates than both immigrant men and Canadian born women, regardless of how long they have been in Canada. The gender differences in employment rates among immigrants are far bigger than among Canadian-born, Canadian-born men have a 10 percentage points higher employment rate than Canadian-born women, whereas among very recent immigrants the gender difference is as high as 22 percentage

points. Hence the low employment rates for the newly arrived stems mostly from low employment rates among women.

Non-permanent residents are not included in the immigrant population, however it should be mentioned that this group represents a growing contribution to the Canadian labour force. The employment level in this group is low, partly because a high share (20-30 percent) of the non-permanent residents is students.

Changing source countries

Reflecting the changing migratory patterns described earlier, at the time of the Census in 2006, Asians represented the largest group of immigrants in the working age group, comprising 40 percent of the immigrant population. The Asian share of the total immigrant working force population is highest among very recent and recent immigrants with 60 percent, compared to 35 percent among established immigrants. Also African immigrants have a higher share of the newly arrived, comprising 11 percent of the very recent arrivals compared to 5 percent among established immigrants. Despite representing a declining part of the core working age group over the last years, European-born immigrants still represented the second largest source region of all immigrants in 2006. Close to one third of the immigrants came from Europe. However among the very recent immigrants only 17 percent came from Europe. While among the established immigrants European-born made up 40 percent of the total. A more thorough description of the change in source countries was given in chapter 1 and 2.

Smaller differences in employment level between immigrants from different world regions (than what one might expect)

Among all immigrants, regardless of period of stay, the differences in employment level between world regions are small (table 4.4). For all immigrants close to three out of four are employed. Immigrants from Europe have the highest employment rates. Also immigrants from Latin-America have employment rates above the average for immigrants. When European and Latin-American immigrants come out with high levels of employment this is in part due to high levels of employment among women as the differences in employment level among men from the different regions are small. The biggest gender gap in employment level is found among immigrants from Asia and Africa. If we look at unemployment levels, African immigrants stand out with unemployment levels double that of the total population, both men and women from Africa have higher degrees of unemployment.

Bigger differences among very recent immigrants

As table 4.1 indicated, very recent immigrants have significantly lower employment rates than recent and established immigrants and the unemployment rates for very recent immigrants were more than double that of established immigrants. There are however some noticeable differences between the different regions. While very recent European and 'Other' (mostly made up by immigrants from the US) immigrants have employment levels close to the level of the total population, immigrants with the shortest period of stay from Africa and Latin-America lag 12-15 percentage points behind. Correspondingly we find high unemployment numbers, especially among African immigrants, where 14 percent of the very recent immigrants were unemployed at the time of the Census in 2006. Among Asians the unemployment level was not as high, but a high percentage of women (37) were altogether outside of the labour force. The differences in employment level between men and women were around (or above) 20 percentage points among very recent immigrants from all regions.

Differences in employment level (nearly) disappears for recent immigrants

The differences in employment level between immigrants and the total population nearly disappear for the recent immigrants. Still immigrants from Asia and Africa lag behind immigrants from Europe and Latin-America. The employment level for

both women and men increase with around 10 percentage points across the regions, the increase being largest for women.

Among established immigrants those from both Africa and Latin-America have employment levels at the same level as those of the Canadian-born and Asian immigrants have employment levels close to the level of the total population. Although the gender gap in employment is still significant for Asian and African immigrants, women employment rates are close to the average population, only 3-4 points behind.

The unemployment differences between Canadian-born and recent arrivals of immigrants, more or less disappear among established immigrants. African and Latin-American immigrants have only a slightly higher unemployment rate than the total population with 5 vs. 4 percent.

Table 4.5. Labour market outcomes for immigrant aged 25-54, by selected country of birth (15 largest) and sex, 2006

	Total - Sex	Employment rate			Unemployment rate		
		Total - Sex	Male	Female	Total - Sex	Male	Female
Total population	13 732 585	81	86	76	5	5	5
Immigrants total	3 098 930	77	85	70	5	5	6
India	259 590	79	90	69	6	4	7
China, Pro	245 270	72	79	66	7	6	7
United Kingdom	205 960	85	90	80	3	3	3
Philippines	183 790	84	88	82	4	3	4
Hong Kong, SAR	133 660	78	84	73	4	4	4
Viet Nam	117 130	78	85	71	6	5	6
United States of America	111 295	81	88	76	4	4	4
Poland	86 085	84	90	79	4	3	4
Portugal	80 145	81	89	73	3	2	3
Pakistan	74 850	64	85	41	7	6	8
Jamaica	68 890	83	87	80	6	5	6
Italy	68 870	81	87	75	3	3	3
Sri Lanka	65 775	72	85	58	7	5	9
Iran	55 570	72	81	63	7	6	8
Guyana	52 795	81	87	77	5	4	6

Source: Statistics Canada, Census 2006

Table 4.6. Employment rates for immigrant aged 25-54, by selected country of birth (15 largest) and years of residence, 2006

	Total	Total	Very recent (0-4 years)	Recent (5-9 years)	Established (10 years or more)
Total population	13 732 585	81			
Immigrants total	3 098 930	77	67	76	81
India	259 590	79	75	80	82
China, Pro	245 270	72	63	77	79
United Kingdom	205 960	85	81	85	85
Philippines	183 790	84	81	85	85
Hong Kong, SAR	133 660	78	64	70	80
Viet Nam	117 130	78	65	68	79
United States of America	111 295	81	74	78	82
Poland	86 085	84	72	78	85
Portugal	80 145	81	78	82	81
Pakistan	74 850	64	56	67	71
Jamaica	68 890	83	81	81	83
Italy	68 870	81	77	85	81
Sri Lanka	65 775	72	60	68	77
Iran	55 570	72	60	74	79
Guyana	52 795	81	75	77	82

Source: Statistics Canada, Census 2006

Larger differences in female employment

The largest immigrant groups in Canada (table 4.5 and 4.6) are also of the most established groups, so not surprisingly they are distinguished with high levels of employment. Of the 15 largest sending countries as much as 11 have higher employment rates than average for immigrants. The four countries with the lowest employment rates: Pakistan, China, Sri Lanka and Iran are also the countries with the highest shares of recent arrivals, partly explaining their lower employment rates.

Near all of the countries have high (or very high) employment rates for men, and for all groups men have higher employment rates than women. However, here the differences are vast, among immigrants from the Philippines the gender gap is only 6 percentage points, whereas among immigrants from Pakistan it is a striking 44 points. While men from Pakistan have an employment rate on the immigrant average, women from Pakistan lag 29 points behind other immigrant women. We find huge gender gaps also among immigrants from India, Sri Lanka and Iran as well, ranging from 17-27 points.

Increase in employment (for some more than for others) by years of residence

All of the largest groups have higher employment rates for established immigrants than for very recent arrivals. However for some; Philippines, UK, Jamaica, Italy and Portugal the increase is only negligible. Immigrants from these same countries are also distinguished with an overall high employment rate – also for newcomers. It has to be added though that only a small fraction of the immigrants from these countries are newcomers as around 90 percent have stayed in Canada for more than ten years.

For other groups the increase in employment rates is significant. Immigrants from China, Hong Kong, Pakistan, Sri Lanka and Iran all increase their employment rates with 15-20 percentage points, indicating that immigrants from these countries need some more time settling in to Canadian work-life. This is especially true for women from these countries, as much of the increase in employment rates stems from an increase in female participation. We saw the same tendency in table 4.4 where the largest increase in employment by years of residence came among female immigrants from Asia.

4.1. Refugees

As mentioned above, the data from the Census 2006 does not contain information about the admission category of the immigrants; hence it is not possible to directly identify employment or unemployment rates for refugees. However, from the IMDB/CIC data we know from which countries the majority of immigrants have been refugees, and in which period the majority of refugees came to Canada. Based on these data it is possible to make some estimates on how refugees fare in the Canadian labour market.

One example: In chapter 2 we saw that 87 per cent of the immigrants coming to Canada from Afghanistan were refugees, hence the observed employment rate of Afghan immigrants would be more or less equivalent to the employment rate of Afghan refugees in Canada. However, only a few of the sending countries have as high share of refugees as immigrants from Afghanistan. From Pakistan 87 percent of the immigrants arriving in Canada since 1980 have not been refugees, but as Pakistan is one of the major immigrant countries in Canada the absolute numbers of Pakistani refugees are nearly as high as the number of Afghan refugees. With this in mind we choose to focus on the countries with the highest share of refugees, identifying those sending countries where a majority of the immigrants coming to Canada have been refugees.

Very recent arrivals of refugees

In table 4.7 we give the employment rates for very recent arrivals, immigrants immigrated to Canada between 2001 and 2006 where a majority of the immigrants have been identified as refugees. We have already pointed out that recent arrived immigrants struggle more in the labour market and have a lower employment and higher unemployment rates than established immigrants. This especially applies for refugees who in Canada (and in Norway) are supported in the first year(s) after settling.

Table 4.7. Employment rates by country of birth and sex. Selected countries with a majority of refugees among immigrants arriving 2001-2006. 25-54 years.

	Share of refugees 2001-2006	Total number	Employment rate		
			Total	Men	Women
Immigrants total	12	636 495	67	79	57
Colombia	62	14 215	60	68	52
Afghanistan	91	7 380	44	61	29
Iraq	65	5 365	51	67	36
Ethiopia	64	4 190	72	86	60
Sudan	90	3 520	56	73	31
Congo (Democratic Republic ...	79	3 460	53	68	41
Zimbabwe	80	2 105	84	89	79
Somalia	88	1 740	44	65	28
Burundi	93	1 210	50	55	45
Guinea (Republic of)	77	645	54	67	44

Source: Statistics Canada, Census 2006 and Landing Data CIC

Among all immigrants, regardless of immigration category, 67 percent were employed in this group and with two noticeable exceptions all the refugee sending countries have lower employment rates than what we find among all immigrants with around 50 percent employment.

Seven out of the ten largest sending countries are African, all with high shares of refugees, but also big differences in employment, ranging from 84 percent employment among immigrants from Zimbabwe to 44 percent among immigrants from Somalia. With the exception of immigrants from Zimbabwe and Ethiopia, both with especially high employment rates, the other African groups have employment significantly lower with big differences in employment between men and women.

Immigrants from Colombia comprise the largest group of refugees in this period, with the majority arriving in 2005 and 2006, still employment rates are not far from the average among all immigrants. Among Afghan and Iraq refugees employment rates are low, especially for women.

Recent arrivals of refugees

Among all immigrants the employment rates increased around 10 percentage points in this group, the differences in employment level between immigrants and the total population nearly disappeared. Among most of the refugee groups we see a parallel increase in employment.

The immigrants from the Balkans (Bosnia and Croatia) have employment rates even higher than the total population, and we also see high employment among immigrants from Rwanda and Burundi. Again the lowest employment rates are among immigrants from Somalia, Iraq and Afghanistan, although among immigrants from Afghanistan and Iraq the employment rates have increased with 10-15 percentage points. Among immigrants from Somalia the employment level is at the same level as for very recent immigrants, both for men and for women.

Table 4.8. Employment rates by country of birth and sex. Selected countries with a majority of refugees among immigrants arriving 1996-2000. 25-54 years

	Share of refugees 1996-2000	Total number	Employment rate		
			Total	Men	Women
Immigrants total	13	507155	76	86	67
Sri Lanka	57	14020	68	85	52
Bosnia-Hercegovina	96	7895	83	88	79
Afghanistan	87	5645	60	78	43
Iraq	70	5200	62	76	49
Croatia	82	3005	83	90	75
Somalia	85	2310	45	63	33
Congo (Democratic Republic)	81	2465	65	77	53
Sudan	82	2300	70	74	64
Burundi	95	820	74	83	66
Rwanda	91	780	80	88	71

Source: Statistics Canada, Census 2006 and Landing Data CIC

Table 4.9. Employment rates by country of birth and sex. Selected countries with a majority of refugees among immigrants before 1996. 25-54 years⁶

	Share of refugees 1996-2000	Total number	Employment rate		
			Total	Men	Women
Immigrants total	18	1955280	81	87	76
Sri Lanka	57	103995	79	85	73
Bosnia-Herzegovina	59	77185	85	90	80
Afghanistan	73	26130	80	86	74
Iraq	92	13195	76	84	68
Croatia	75	8990	67	77	52
Somalia	83	8630	75	83	66
Congo (Democratic Republic)	61	8255	80	87	72
Sudan	89	7960	84	89	78
Burundi	86	7700	58	76	44
Rwanda	85	6625	69	85	51

Source: Statistics Canada, Census 2006 and Landing Data CIC

High employment in the established refugee groups

Among established immigrants (table 4.9) the employment rate is equal to that of the Canadian average and most of the larger refugee countries listed here have employment rates around the average for all immigrants.

Immigrants from Somalia, Iraq and Afghanistan stick out with the lowest employment rates, although among all of them the employment rates are significantly higher than among the recent arrivals. Especially men from these three countries have employment rates that are high, among men from Afghanistan 85 percent are employed, a share close to the average of all immigrant men. Whereas women from these three countries have employment rates that lag 20-30 percentage points behind immigrant women in general.

Compared to all immigrants, refugees have lower employment rates and the differences seem to be largest for the very recent arrivals, and for many groups almost disappear for the established immigrant groups. However, for some of the refugee groups the differences in employment seem to persist, not catching up with the rest of the immigrant population. It has to be added though that there are huge differences in labour market outcome between the different country backgrounds. There are huge differences in employment level between men and women among refugees from the Middle East and certain parts of Africa, these differences seem to persist also among established refugees.

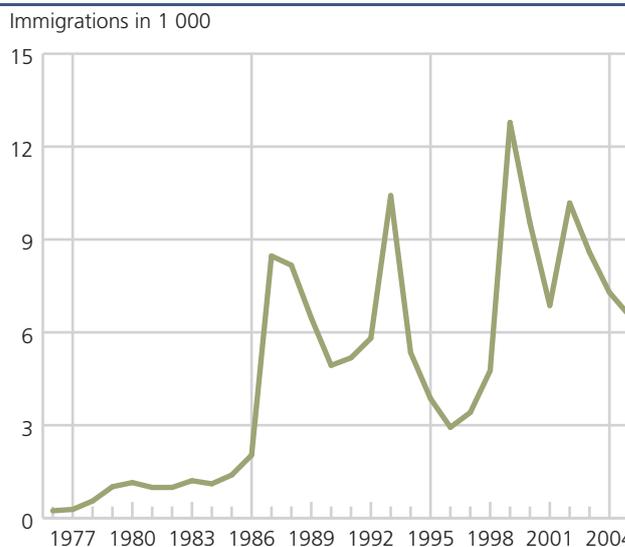
⁶ When identifying the share of refugees among the established immigrants the share of refugees between 1980 and 1995 is applied as the CIC landing data only has information on immigrants' background dating back to 1980.

5. Labour market integration of immigrants and refugees in Norway

In 2006 Norway's 318 000 immigrants constituted close to seven percent of the total population. A little more than a third, 117 000, of all immigrants in Norway have refugee background. But among immigrants from Asia and Africa, more than half are refugees. Norway has only recently become a country of net immigration. In 1970 the immigrant population in Norway counted only 59 000 persons, making up 1.5 per cent of the population. Only one in six immigrants had a background from outside Europe, whereas in 2006, four in six come from Asia, Africa, Latin-America and Eastern Europe. For a comprehensive description of Norway's immigration history see for instance Brochmann and Kjeldstadli (2008) or OECD (2009), the latter gives an overview of migration to Norway over the past decades. A detailed description of the demographic characteristics of the Norwegian immigrant population is given in Mathiesen (2006).

Of the 117 000 people with refugee background, 89 000 persons came to Norway as resettlement refugees or asylum seekers, while the rest, 28 000, came to Norway as relatives of refugees. In the beginning of 2006 nearly 18 000 resettlement refugees resided in Norway. 8 900 persons were living in Norwegian reception centers for asylum seekers per 1.1.2006, waiting for their applications to be decided, this group is not included in the statistics. Around 25 per cent of the refugee population came from Eastern Europe, mainly from the Balkans, while the rest came from Asia, Africa, South and Central America and Turkey. Refugees from Iraq and Somalia made up the two largest groups. A total of 158 countries were represented among the persons with refugee background.

Figure 5.1 Immigration of refugees 1976-2005



Source: Population Statistics, Statistics Norway

More than half with less than ten years of residence

At the beginning of 2006, roughly half of the immigrants in Norway had duration of stay less than ten years. 32 per cent have stayed in the country for less than five years. Refugees in Norway had more or less the same distribution. However, there are fewer refugees among the immigrants with 20 years or more of residence, seven percent compared to 22 percent among all immigrants. African immigrants have a shorter period of stay compared to other immigrants, two out of three have stayed less than ten years in Norway, while European and Asian immigrants in total have a distribution close to the average for all immigrants. There are however important differences among the different country backgrounds reflecting Norway's immigration history.

Among the largest refugee groups Vietnamese refugees were among the first to arrive in Norway, and eight out of ten have stayed ten years or more in Norway. Among those with the shortest durations of stay we find Iraqi, Somali and Afghan immigrants, where eight out of ten have stayed in Norway for less than ten years.

The Norwegian register based statistical system

The main source for Norwegian migration statistics, both on stocks and flows, is information from the Central Population Register (CPR). Most demographic statistics in Norway is based on the CPR; although the register was established primarily for administrative, not statistical purposes (Aalandslid and Østby 2009). All persons residing in Norway with the intention to stay for at least 6 months are included in the (CPR). The CPR is the basis of all population statistics produced by Statistics Norway.

The CPR was established in 1964, based on the Population Census of 1960. Between 1964 and 1990, it was located within Statistics Norway, and run jointly by the tax authorities and Statistics Norway, with all municipal offices being run by the tax authorities. From its inception, the CPR has included all persons who were registered as being settled in Norway at the time of the Census as well as all registered population movements, and assigned them a unique Personal Identification Number (PIN-code). The PIN-code is essential in linking the persons registered in the CPR to information about them in other administrative registers for the purpose of statistical descriptions and analysis.

All vital events, such as births, deaths, marriages, national and international migration are registered in the CPR. As are demographic characteristics like age, marital status, citizenship, number of children, place of birth, national background, and year of first immigration. From this information it is possible to reconstruct individual demographic biographies for the period over which the register has existed. By using individual pin-codes, Statistics Norway can link population data with different administrative registers. A number of registers in the private and governmental sectors also use the PIN-code. Examples from the governmental sector include: school attendance, labour market participation, registers of income and wealth, social security, crime and driving licenses. Statistics Norway can only link these data for statistical purposes, not for any sort of control. Through this system, Statistics Norway can describe the living conditions of immigrants in general and refugees in particular in Norway. The system is ideal for longitudinal studies of individual integration paths for different immigrants groups.

The register statistics on the employment and unemployment are based on several sources: Data from the Register of Employees and the Unemployment Register, both at the Norwegian Labour and Welfare Administration and information from tax files from the National Tax Administration. Annually Statistics Norway produces statistics on "Employment among immigrants, Unemployment among immigrants and Employee statistics for immigrants". The official statistics on employment and unemployment for the whole population is based on the same system. The statistics on immigrants' labour participation correspond to, and can be compared to, the figures for the population as a whole. Persons who move to Norway for a shorter period than six months as individual employees, self-employed, or are employed by a foreign employer selling their services in Norway, are not included in the regular population/labour market statistics.

Source: Statistics Norway

Definitions and concepts

Immigrants: are defined as “persons born abroad to foreign-born parents” (Earlier labelled as “First-generation immigrants”).

Refugees: In this report, the term "refugee" applies to resettlement refugees and asylum seekers who have been granted asylum or a stay on humanitarian grounds, as well as those who are family reunited with the above mentioned .

Country background: is one’s own or, alternatively, parents' country of birth. If the parents have different countries of birth, priority is given to the mother’s country of birth. Persons who do not have an immigrant background, that is both parents born abroad, have Norway as their only country background.

Employed persons are persons who performed work for pay or profit for at least one hour in the reference week, or who were temporarily absent from work because of illness, holidays etc. Conscripts are classified as employed persons. Persons engaged by government measures to promote employment are also included if they receive wages.

Unemployed is defined as persons with no income-earning work, but who are seeking work and can start working immediately.

Table 5.1. Immigrants and refugees by country of birth and years of residence. 1. January 2006

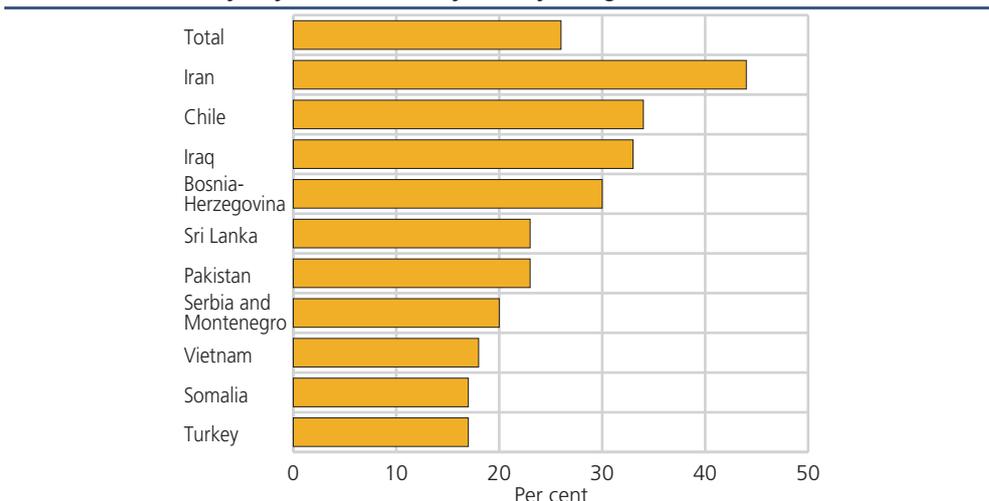
Country background	Total	0-4	5-9	10-19'	20+
Total	318 514	32 %	19 %	27 %	22 %
Europe, total	95 479	35 %	18 %	27 %	21 %
Sweden	22 472	26 %	26 %	20 %	28 %
Denmark	17 779	17 %	10 %	17 %	55 %
Bosnia- Herzegovina	12 718	7 %	16 %	76 %	1 %
Germany	12 035	38 %	17 %	11 %	34 %
Poland	10 938	51 %	8 %	23 %	18 %
Africa, total	36 768	44 %	22 %	24 %	10 %
Somalia	13 712	49 %	29 %	22 %	0 %
Morocco	4 418	17 %	19 %	35 %	29 %
Asia included Turkey	114 668	32 %	19 %	31 %	18 %
Iraq	16 494	40 %	45 %	14 %	0 %
Pakistan	15 482	17 %	12 %	27 %	43 %
Vietnam	12 245	11 %	6 %	48 %	35 %
Iran	12 148	24 %	22 %	52 %	3 %
Turkey	9 337	23 %	18 %	35 %	25 %
Sri Lanka	8 067	17 %	20 %	57 %	6 %
Philippines	7 556	36 %	16 %	30 %	18 %
Thailand	7 553	55 %	19 %	20 %	5 %
Afghanistan	5 956	81 %	14 %	5 %	0 %
North-America, total	7 834	26 %	13 %	16 %	46 %
Latin-America, total	12 405	27 %	15 %	41 %	17 %
Oceania, total	1 073	46 %	15 %	14 %	26 %
Refugees	117 231	32 %	22 %	38 %	7 %

Source: Population Statistics, Statistics Norway.

Education level among immigrants and refugees

Norway does not have a comprehensive system of collecting data on the education immigrants obtain abroad and researchers have to rely on surveys. Data from the ‘Living Conditions of Immigrants in Norway’ is probably the best (up to date) source for data on the education level of immigrants coming to Norway. The survey only covers ten of the largest non-western immigrant groups in Norway at the time of the survey, covering half of all immigrants at that time. The survey gives an indication of the education level among immigrants from these countries. In figure 5.2 we have listed the share of immigrants with higher education from these countries. The chart reveals big differences in the share of immigrants with higher education ranging from 44 percent of the Iranian immigrants to 17 percent among the Turkish and Somali immigrants. On average around one out of four immigrants has taken higher education abroad before immigrating to Norway.

Figure 5.2 Share of immigrants with higher education taken abroad among immigrants coming to Norway 18 years and older by country background. Percent



Source: Living conditions of Immigrants in Norway 2005/2006

Immigrants and refugees in the labour market

Immigrants, regardless of recipient country and reason for migration face some obstacles in the labour market that seem to be universal. Newly arrived immigrants lack relevant experience in the host country and must adjust to a whole set of challenges such as unfamiliarity with the labour market, language barriers, rebuilding of social networks, acceptance of credentials and pre-migration work experience and possible discrimination. Refugees face all these challenges as well, in addition to the flight situation itself that might represent further challenges for integration in the labour market.

The employment participation rates in Norway are among the highest in the world and only a few countries have higher employment rates than Norway (OECD 2007b). One of the reasons for the high employment rates is the high participation rates among Norwegian women who have an employment rate some 15 points above the OECD-average. For the 25-54 age group, 83 percent in the total population were employed and the unemployment rate was at a historically low, only 2 percent.

Among immigrants in general the employment rate at 67 percent was well below the total population, also unemployment was higher at 4 percent. Established immigrants (more than 10 years of residence) have a higher employment rate compared to very recent arrivals (0-4 years of residence). And immigrant men have higher employment rates than immigrant women. However while employment rates among immigrant men (on average) only increase a few percentage points with years of residence, the employment rates for women increases with 20 points from 48 percent to 68 percent from the very recent arrivals to the established immigrants.

Among the newly arrived, there are a high proportion of labour migrants with a clear majority of men (from Poland, Germany and Sweden) all with high employment rates, whereas among the more established groups there are more refugees and family migrants where more women are represented.

Table 5.2. Labour market outcome for immigrants aged 25-54, 4th quarter 2006

	Total population	Employment rate	Unemployment rate
Total population	1894696	83	2
All immigrants	213481	67	4
Established (10 + years)	98294	71	3
Recent (5-9 years)	47068	68	6
Very recent 0-4 years)	68119	60	4
Men total population	987947	86	2
Immigrant men	106857	73	4
Established (10 + years)	49472	74	3
Recent (5-9 years)	22356	75	6
Very recent 0-4 years)	35029	71	4
Women total population	957277	80	2
Immigrant women	106616	60	4
Established (10 + years)	48814	68	3
Recent (5-9 years)	24712	62	6
Very recent 0-4 years)	33090	48	5

Source: Labour market statistics, Statistics Norway

Table 5.3. Employment rates for immigrants aged 25-54 by region and year of entry. 4th quarter 2006

	Total population	Employment rate			
		Total	Very recent (0-5 years)	Recent (5-9 years)	Established (10 + years)
Immigrants total	212865	67	60	68	71
Nordic	29444	84	80	84	85
EU/EEA except Nordic	41674	79	75	83	81
Europe non EU/EEA	23845	67	55	71	73
Asia (incl Turkey)	79457	59	46	59	65
Africa	24351	50	42	51	56
Latin-America	9067	68	56	70	73
North-America And Oceania .	5027	70	59	71	78
Othe	608	71	65	80	78
Sweden	14851	85	84	85	86
Poland	12715	76	76	80	75
Pakistan	10322	52	46	54	53
Iraq	9604	45	31	53	45
Vietnam	9148	67	45	61	70
Denmark	8643	84	74	84	87
Iran	8225	59	46	54	65
Somalia	7882	35	30	36	40
Germany	7827	84	82	88	86
Bosnia-Herzegovina	7597	76	65	73	78

Source: Labour market statistics, Statistics Norway

Immigrants from Asia and Africa with lower employment rates

The differences in employment rates for immigrants from the different world regions are large. While immigrants from the Nordic region and the EU/EEA-area have employment rates well above the immigrant average and close to the average of the total population immigrants from Africa and Asia have markedly lower employment rates. Refugees comprise around half of the immigrants in the latter group as we have shown earlier in this chapter. Years of residence have a markedly positive impact on the employment rates, not so much for immigrants from the Nordic countries or the EU/EEA, but for immigrants from Asia, Africa and Latin America the employment rates increase with 15-20 percentage points from very recent arrivals to the established immigrant group.

Of the ten largest immigrant populations (in the core working age 25-54 years) in Norway (table 5.3) immigrants from Sweden and Denmark have come under the umbrella of the common Nordic Labour Market, without any restrictions on intra-Nordic migration of citizens of these countries, and the bulk of Polish and German immigrants have come as EEA labour migrants. Immigrants from Iraq, Vietnam, Iran, Somalia and Bosnia-Herzegovina have come as refugees, whereas immigrants from Pakistan consist of labour migrants from the 1970s and their subsequent family. The labour migrants from Norway's neighbouring countries and from the EEA all have employment rates well above the immigrant average whereas the

immigrants from countries with a majority of refugees stick out with noticeable lower employment.

The introduction programme

To provide for an effective transition to working life, municipalities are as of November 2004 obliged to offer those between the ages of 18 and 55, who we in this report define as refugees⁷, an introduction programme. The scheme combines an introduction programme with an economic benefit paid to the participants.

The aim of the programme, which is to be adapted to the individual's needs and abilities, is to provide basic skills in the Norwegian language, as well as a basic understanding of the Norwegian society, and to prepare for participation in working life and/or further education. The duration of the programme is to be tailored to the individual's circumstances, and it may run for up to two years with additional periods to compensate for approved leaves of absence. The municipalities shall provide programmes for newly arrived persons as soon as possible and no later than within three months after a person has settled in the municipality. Participation in the programme is both a right and an obligation for persons in the target groups (Sopemi 2007-2008).

As the program was introduced in the fall 2004 most of the participants were still in the program in 2006, with the consequence that the employment rates for the newly arrived refugees are low.

How do the refugees fare?

The tables listed above show the employment rates for all immigrants, in the following section we will show specific labour market only for refugees. 58 percent of the refugees were registered as employed by the 4th quarter of 2006. This is 11 percentage points lower employment than what we find among all immigrants and 25 percentage points lower than the total population.

The differences in employment between all immigrants and refugees are around 10 percentage points for both men and women. For refugees in general years of residence seem to have a bigger impact than among immigrants in general as the employment rates increases with 24 points from very recent arrivals of refugees to the established group of refugees. Among immigrants in general the increase was 11 percentage points.

The average employment rate for refugees conceals large differences between different national groups. Whereas refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina have an employment rate close to the national average, only 36 percent of the refugees from Somalia were employed and only 46 per cent of the refugees from Russia. As we saw in table 7.1 four groups had high shares of newly arrived refugees. Among refugees from Russia, Afghanistan, Somalia and Iraq, the share of newly arrivals ranged from 40 to 90 percent. For the same refugee groups we find low employment rates and subsequent higher unemployment rates.

The gender differences seem to decrease with years of residence. Women have a 13 points lower employment rate than men and for the newly arrived the differences are as high as 24 percentage points. Among the established refugee groups there is only a five percentage points difference.

⁷ Refugees and family members reunited with them, in addition to persons granted residence on humanitarian grounds and family members reunited with them.

Table 5.4. Labour market status refugees aged 25-54, by sex country background and years of residence. 4th quarter 2006

	Total	Employment rate		
		Total	Men	Women
Refugees total	71 645	58	64	51
Established (10 + years)	38 739	66	68	63
Recent (5-9 years)	17 874	55	63	45
Very recent 0-4 years)	15 032	42	54	30
Iraq	9 053	46	56	29
Vietnam	8 089	68	74	63
Iran	7 423	59	62	54
Somalia	7 214	36	47	22
Bosnia-Herzegovina	7 025	76	79	74
Sri Lanka	4 791	70	79	61
Serbia	4 295	61	68	52
Chile	3 151	73	77	69
Afghanistan	2 495	49	63	29
Russia	1 553	46	51	43

Source: Labour market statistics, Statistics Norway.

Table 5.5. Employed refugees by country background and years of residence. Per cent of persons 25-54 years. 4th quarter 2006.

	Total	Total	Very recent (0-4 years)	Recent (5-9 years)	Established (10 + years)
Refugees total	71 646	58	42	55	66
Iraq	9053	46	31	53	44
Vietnam	8089	68	50	59	70
Iran	7423	59	43	52	64
Somalia	7214	36	33	36	39
Bosnia-Herzegovina	7025	76	66	72	78
Sri Lanka	4791	70	54	56	75
Serbia	4295	61	52	61	63
Chile	3151	73	73	65	74
Afghanistan	2495	49	46	54	57
Russia	1553	46	43	66	71

Source: Labour market statistics, Statistics Norway.

Relative high employment rates among established refugees

For refugees, years of residence seem to play an even more important role on their employment levels than for immigrants in general. Among very recent arrivals of refugees (0-4 years of residence) only 42 percent are employed compared to 66 percent in the established group (10 years of residence or more). Most refugees take part in the government introduction scheme, so the low levels of employment the first years after their settlement are expected. The employment level found among established refugees is close to the level found among immigrants in general. Almost all the nationalities increase their employment levels with years of residence.

Refugees from Sri Lanka and Vietnam, both refugee groups that have stayed in Norway for a long period, had considerably higher labour participation than the refugee groups that arrived more recently. Although refugees from Sri Lanka from their first years of arrival had high levels of employment, while it took nearly a decade before the refugees from Vietnam reached the same high levels. For all countries the employment rates increase with years of residence, however for some the increase is negligible. Refugees from Sri Lanka and Vietnam who immigrated in the 1980s all have an employment rate close to the national average. For Somalis, the increase is considerable lower and no single arrival cohort of Somali refugees have yet an employment rate above 40 per cent.

Summary

Immigrants in Norway have an employment rate some 16 percentage points below the total population. Also unemployment is higher at four percent, compared to two percent in the total population. Established immigrants have a higher employment rate compared to very recent arrivals, and immigrant men have higher employment rates than immigrant women. Among the newly arrived, there are a high proportion

of labour migrants with a majority of men (from Poland, Germany and Sweden) all with high employment rates, whereas among the more established groups there are more refugees and family migrants where more women are represented.

Refugees are much less likely to be employed than immigrants in general and the average population in Norway. In the total population aged 25-54 roughly eight out of ten are employed, and among immigrants in general seven out of ten are working whereas less than six out of ten of the refugees are employed.

These averages however, conceal important and large differences. As expected, the labour participation rates are low in groups dominated by recent arrivals. Less than half of the out the refugees from Russia and Afghanistan were employed in 2006; both groups have recently migrated to Norway. Refugees from Sri Lanka, Chile and Vietnam, on the other hand have considerable higher employment levels above 70 percent, partly because these groups have stayed in the country for a longer time. The number of employed increases correspondingly with years of residence for most immigrant groups, and this is especially true for refugees. However some groups lag behind even when we control for years of residence. For refugees from Somalia no single cohorts of refugees have a labour participation rate above 50 per cent. Even though labour participation rates increase substantially with duration of residence, this is not the case for all the refugee groups, and even after 10 and 15 years of residence the gap up to the total population is not closed.

Furthermore there is a huge gender gap in the labour participation among refugees. In the total population there is only a 6 percentage point difference in the labour force participation between men and women. Among refugees the gap is 13 percentage points, and for some refugee groups as high as 20-30 percentage points.

6. Comparison of Canada and Norway

This report is a first attempt to make a comparison of labour market outcome for immigrants and refugees in Norway and Canada taking into account country of birth, reason for migration, time of residence and demographic characteristics.

From a Norwegian perspective the Canadian experience is an interesting case to examine and contrast with Norway's. Canada's immigration is by many in Norway viewed as an international success story when it comes to integrating immigrants in the labour market and society in general. Canada's multiculturalism policy is often held up as a role model of inclusion and integration⁸. Whereas Norway, together with her North European neighbours, allegedly has struggled more with the labour market integration of immigrants.

There are some obvious and important differences in the immigrant populations in Norway and Canada both in size and composition that serves as a backdrop for the comparison. In Canada the foreign-born population comprises 20 percent of the population, whereas 7 percent of Norway's population is foreign born (figures from 2006). Canada has 7 times Norway's population size and 20 times as many immigrants. Canada has been a significant port of destination for immigrants from all over the world for the last centuries, whereas Norway up till 1970 was a country of emigration. In fact Norway had higher emigration rates than any other country in Europe, except Ireland in the latter part of the 19th century.

Both Canada and Norway have seen high population growth over the last years mainly from migration.⁹ In 2006 Canada saw its highest immigration levels since 2001 and Norway had the highest immigration levels ever recorded. Net international migration continues to be the main factor of the Canadian demographic growth. It accounted for about two thirds of the population increase in 2005/2006. In 2006 Norway had lower immigration rates than Canada, but higher birth rates. The total fertility rate was 1.59 in Canada in 2006 compared to 1.90 in Norway. Data used in the comparison between Canada and Norway was collected in 2006 when the economies in both countries were thriving, with historically high employment and low unemployment rates in both countries. Internationally, Canada and Norway have high labour force participation rates for both men and women, although female employment is somewhat higher in Norway than in Canada.

In this report we have compared employment and unemployment rates and we have showed differences in educational level and language ability. The report also covers a description of the data available on integration in Canada and Norway. International comparisons are often flawed by weak data and non comparable concepts and definitions. Both Statistics Norway and Statistics Canada have strong and solid data in this area and this report is an attempt to facilitate these data for a more just comparison.

A number of topics will not be compared

In the following chapter we will first describe the observable differences in the labour market outcome for immigrants and refugees in Norway and Canada, the focal point being the observable characteristics of the immigrants and the composition of the immigrant population in the two countries. Subsequently we will use these data to try to identify some explanations for these differences. We will first compare the data for immigrants in general, thereafter for refugees.

⁸ A view promoted by scholars, NGOs and politicians. See for instance: Aftenposten (28.05.2008, 28.04.2006, Dagbladet (21.04.2008, 18.02.2008, 28.01.2007 24.10.2004,), Klassekampen (20.09.2007, 06.10.2006) Stavanger Aftenblad 06.02.2007, Utrop 23.04.2008

⁹ This tendency has continued after 2006. In 2008 Norway had its highest population growth ever recorded. Also Canada had high immigration numbers, the highest since the 1980s.

The study is narrowed down to whether the immigrants or refugees are in the labour force or not. There can be many explanations for why a group does not participate in the labour force, in this study we have focused on characteristics with the group itself, not on other (external) factors such as the structure of the labour market, business cycles or differences in the welfare systems in the two countries. One example of these structural differences is given by the OECD. In a special report on immigrants' integration in the labour market in Norway. The report (OECD 2009) shows that low-skilled immigrants in Norway have unfavourable outcomes in international comparisons and that this seems to be attributable to a mix of disincentives to work and limited availability of low-skilled jobs.

Although we will briefly discuss the effects of the Private Refugee Programme in Canada, we will not try to explain the differences in the immigration regimes in the two countries. These perspectives, though important, will not be covered here and are reserved for other studies. Furthermore, contemporary debate in Canada focusing on the falling income of the recently arrived highly educated immigrants is an important topic, but will not be covered in this report.

Where do immigrants in the two countries come from?

In the previous chapters we have shown the demographic composition of the immigrant populations in the two countries (for Norway only briefly). In terms of world region of origin the immigrant populations in Canada and Norway are not that different. In table 8.1 we have listed world region of origin for immigrants in the two countries. Immigrants from Asia comprise nearly half of all immigrants in Canada and more than a third of the immigrants in Norway. But as we have shown in previous chapters, the majority of Asian immigrants in Canada come from East and South East Asia, whereas the majority of Asian immigrants in Norway come from the Western part of Asia and the Middle East.

Immigrants from Europe comprise the largest group of immigrants in Norway (45 percent) and the second largest in Canada (27 percent). The European immigrants in Norway (naturally) have a higher share from the Northern part and from the southern Balkans compared to Canada. From Africa, more than half of the immigrants in Norway come from the eastern part, especially Africa's Horn whereas in Canada the African immigrants are more evenly dispersed with background from all parts of the continent.

Furthermore we see a higher number of immigrants from Latin America in Canada, Norway has relatively few immigrants from Central and South America compared to Canada.

Table 6.1. Immigrants in Canada and Norway aged 25-54 by region of birth. 2006.

	Canada		Norway	
Immigrants total	3 098 930	100	212 865	100
Latin-America	410 830	13	9 067	4
Europe	845 805	27	94 963	45
Africa	224 780	7	24 351	11
Asia (incl Turkey)	1 471 925	47	79 457	37
Other	145 590	5	5 635	3

Source: Canadian Census 2006, Population Statistics, Statistics Norway (2006)

Different reason for immigrating to the two countries

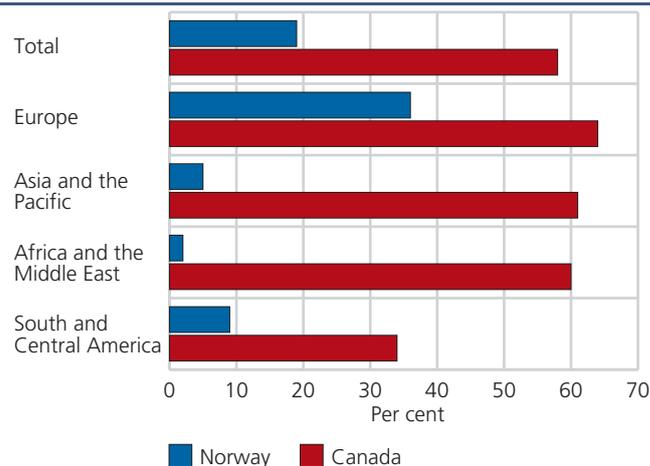
Information about reason for immigration or immigration class is only available for the most recent years. In figure 6.1 and 6.2 we show immigration data for 1997-2006 by region of birth. Figure 6.1 shows the share of immigrants who are labour or economic immigrants and table 6.2 shows the share of refugees for the same period.

Overall, Canada has a far higher share of economic/labour migrants than Norway. Close to 60 percent of the immigrants who came to Canada from 1997-2006 were economic migrants whereas less than 20 percent of the immigrants who came to Norway in the same period were labour migrants. The differences are most visible

among immigrants from Asia and Africa where six out of ten immigrants in Canada were economic/labour migrants compared to 2-3 percent in Norway. Conversely, the share of refugees (among all immigrants) is higher in Norway than in Canada (figure 8.2). From 1997-2006 around a quarter of the immigrants coming to Norway were refugees compared to 12 percent in Canada. The differences are most visible for immigrants from Africa and the Middle East where close to half of the immigrants from this area were refugees, whereas the corresponding share for Canada was around 20 percent.

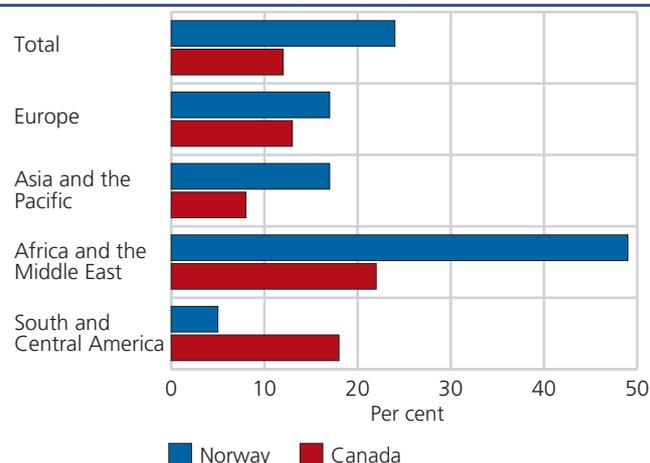
Summed up, compared to Norway, Canada has a higher share of economic migrants and a lower share of refugees and these differences in immigration class are most evident for immigrants from Asia and Africa and the Middle East.

Figure 6.1. Share of immigrants who are economic/labour migrants by region of birth 1997-2006¹



¹ The Norwegian numbers do not include Nordic citizens as they do not need a permit to settle in Norway. The Middle East is grouped together with Africa in this table, for definition see chapter two.
Source: Statistics Canada, Census 2006 and Population statistics, Statistics Norway

Figure 6.2. Share of immigrants who are refugees by region of birth 1997-2006¹



¹ See note 7. For more on refugees see the latter part of this chapter.
Source: Statistics Canada, Census 2006 and Population statistics, Statistics Norway

Higher employment rates among immigrants in Canada than in Norway

In the total population Norway has a somewhat higher employment rate than Canada with 83 percent employment, whereas in Canada 81 percent is employed.¹⁰ Internationally compared, both countries have high employment rates, among the highest within the OECD-area (OECD 2007b). The Canadian employment level for men is equal to the Norwegian level, but Norway has a higher female employment of 80 vs. 76 percent. The fact that the two countries have more or less equal

¹⁰ As in previous chapters all comparisons are based on the core working age group 25-54 years. See description in chapter 2-4.

employment rates for the population as a whole makes a study of the differences in outcome for immigrants and refugees all the more interesting.

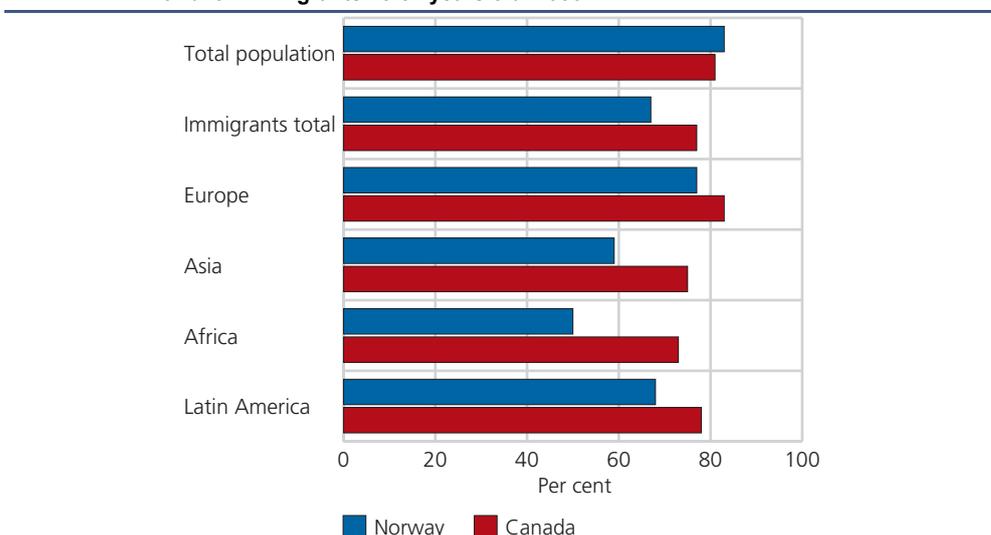
Among immigrants 25-54 years old 67 percent were employed in Norway compared to 78 percent in Canada, a difference of 11 percentage points. Immigrant men in Canada have 12 percentage points higher employment, while immigrant women have 10 percentage points higher employment. At the same time the unemployment rates for immigrants are slightly higher in Canada than in Norway, five and four percent respectively.

These overall differences in employment rates are not as striking given the underlying compositional differences between immigrants in the two countries. Although immigrants in Canada have higher employment rates, the differences are smaller than expected, especially given the observed differences in composition by reason for migration and education level.

We saw in chapter four that the differences in employment rates between immigrants from different world regions were small in Canada, especially for the established immigrant groups. This is not the case in Norway. When we look at the employment rates for immigrants from specific regions the differences between Norway and Canada are more apparent. Among immigrants from Asia 75 percent are employed in Canada compared to 59 percent in Norway, a difference of 16 percentage points. Among African immigrants 73 percent are employed in Canada compared with 50 percent in Norway, a difference of 23 percentage points.

For the other regions of the world the differences are smaller, among immigrants from Latin-America it is 11 percentage points and among European immigrants only 5 percentage points.

Figure 6.3. Employment rates in Canada and Norway by immigrant category and country/region of birth. Immigrants 25-54 years old. 2006



Source: Statistics Canada, Census 2006 and Labour market statistics, Statistics Norway

Earlier we showed that years of residence influence the employment rates for immigrants in both countries. No clear pattern, in the differences in employment rates emerges when we factor in years of residence in this comparison, although the overall differences increase somewhat over time. While the differences increase among African immigrants, they decrease somewhat for Asian and Latin-American immigrants.

Table 6.2. Difference in employment rates (percentage points) between Canada and Norway for immigrants by region of birth and years of residence. 2006

	Employment rate difference			
	Total	Very recent (0-4 years)	Recent (5-9 years)	Established (10 years and more)
Immigrants total	11	7	8	11
Europe	5	3	4	3
Asia	16	19	14	15
Africa	24	20	23	25
Latin-America	11	11	7	9

Source: Statistics Canada, Census 2006 and Labour market statistics, Statistics Norway

Table 6.3. Difference in employment rates (percentage points) between Canada and Norway for immigrants by region of birth and sex. 2006

	Employment rate difference		
	Total	Men	Women
Immigrants total	11	12	10
Europe	5	7	4
Asia	16	17	15
Africa	24	24	25
Latin-America	11	9	11

Source: Statistics Canada, Census 2006 and Labour market statistics, Statistics Norway

Among all immigrants the differences in employment rate between Norway and Canada are a little smaller for women than for men, but the overall picture is that the differences do not vary much between men and women.

We showed in chapter four and chapter seven that among immigrants from the Middle East and parts of Africa there were huge differences in employment rates between men and women, both in Norway and in Canada. The employment level for immigrants from this region is higher in Canada than in Norway but the differences between men and women are around 20-30 percentage points among immigrants from this region in both countries.

Immigrants from Pakistan

Being among the largest and most established immigrant groups in both Norway and Canada immigrants from Pakistan makes a compelling study. The first immigrants from Pakistan came to Norway as labour migrants in the early 1970s working mostly in non skilled manual labour. From 1975 the vast majority of immigrants coming to Norway from Pakistan have been family class migrants. This is quite different in Canada where two out of three Pakistanis have arrived after 1996 and more than half of the immigrants from Pakistan have been economic class immigrants.

Immigrants from Pakistan have a higher employment rate in Canada than in Norway. In Canada, the employment rate of immigrants from Pakistan was 64 percent. The comparable rate in Norway was 52 percent, a difference of 12 percentage points.

Among women immigrated from Pakistan, 41 percent are employed in Canada, a level significantly lower than the level of other immigrant women, and by far the lowest female employment rate among any of the larger immigrant groups. The employment rate of Pakistani women in Norway was 31 percent, a difference of 10 percentage points when compared with the Canadian estimate. In both Norway and Canada, the gender differences are striking as Pakistani men have a level of employment higher than the average of immigrant men in both countries.

However there seem to be a shift in employment rate among the younger women who came from Pakistan in both countries. They fared better in employment. In Canada, the employment rate of Pakistani women who landed in the 1970s and 1980s and were aged 25 to 44 by 2006 was 70 percent. These women immigrated when they were relatively young, and therefore had the benefit of growing up in the host country. Their employment levels are close to other immigrant women, and the gender gap is less significant. In Norway we see the same tendency, but at

a lower employment level, 50 percent of the Pakistani women in the same age group and immigration cohort were employed.

Lower employment rates among Norwegian immigrants, but a different immigrant population

The differences in employment rates between immigrants in Canada and Norway seem to be the highest among the established immigrants (10 years of residence or more). While established immigrants in Canada have an employment rate almost at the same level as the total population, the comparable estimate in Norway was 12 percentage points behind the total population in Norway.

And while the difference between very recent arrivals in Canada and Norway is only 7 percentage points, the difference is 11 percentage points for established immigrants. So both compared with the total population and as a cross-comparison established immigrants fare better in Canada than in Norway.

We have pointed out some considerable differences in reason for migration between the two countries as Canada has a significant higher share of economic immigrants than Norway. Especially among immigrants from Asia and Africa these differences are significant. As we saw in figure 6.2 around 60 percent of the immigrants from Asia and Africa coming to Canada have been economic migrants, whereas in Norway only a very small fraction, four and two percent respectively, of the Asian and African immigrants coming to Norway over the last two decades have been economic/labour migrants.

Higher education level among immigrants in Canada

According to the LSIC-data immigrants reported that lack of recognition of foreign qualifications and language barriers were the most serious problems reported finding employment in Canada (LSIC 2005). We do not know enough about the education that refugees bring with them in Norway. Canada has a system of obtaining these data, both from LSIC and from questions asked by the CIC, although it is not possible to link these data directly to the Census data.

More than half of the immigrants from Africa and Asia have higher education (more than 13 years of schooling) upon arrival in Canada. As education level is an important part of the 'points system', high levels of immigrants coming to Canada have higher education. It is not easy to find the equivalent figures for Norwegian immigrants but according to the survey 'Living conditions among Immigrants in Norway' 24 percent had higher education upon arrival in Norway (Blom 2008 and Henriksen). Although we do not have figures that are directly comparable, these figures indicate that immigrants in Canada have a significantly higher education level than immigrants coming to Norway.

From the survey 'Living conditions among Immigrants in Norway' we also know that immigrants with higher education on average have a 10-15 percentage points higher employment rate in Norway than the group with 0-9 years of schooling. For some nationals the differences in employment level between immigrants with little or no education compared to immigrants with higher education are even more apparent. Added together, the observed higher level of education among immigrants in Canada compared to Norway plays some part in explaining the higher employment level found in Canada.

Many refugees know English or French upon arrival in Canada

Language proficiency data is not easily linked to the Census data. However, when comparing outcome on the labour market in Norway and Canada, one should take into account that 57 percent of the refugees knew one or both of the official languages upon arrival in Canada (CIC 2007). Furthermore, according to LSIC 64 percent of refugees reported knowledge of one of the two languages and by four

years in Canada the proportion of refugees with knowledge of English and French increased to 85 percent.

For Norway (although we don't have the data to support it) we can assume that close to none of the refugees coming to Norway knew the Norwegian language in advance. These differences matter and have to be taken into account when comparing the outcome on the labour market for both immigrants and refugees in the two countries.

Furthermore, both in Canada and Norway the economic migrants have significantly higher employment rates than other migrants, but in Canada they constitute a larger share of the immigrant labour force. Especially among immigrants from Asia and Africa we find the largest differences in labour market outcome. It is also among immigrants from these regions we find the highest shares of refugees, which leads us to the next section.

6.1. Refugees

Since 1980 more than 750 000 refugees have been granted permanent residence in Canada. In the same period Norway has granted around 110 000 refugees residence. On a per capita basis Canada and Norway's share of refugees are more or less equal. In both countries refugees comprise around 2.5 per cent of the total population. However as a part of the foreign born population refugees in Canada comprise around 15 percent whereas refugees constitute 37 percent of the foreign-born population in Norway.

Can we compare data on refugees?

As we have described earlier in the report the variable 'immigrant admission category' is not included in the Census-files in Canada so it is not possible to directly identify refugees in the Census data. The Census however, is the only source of country specific data of outcome in the labour market. The LSIC-survey can give some overall estimates on labour market outcome for refugees but these numbers cannot be broken down on a country specific level. The approach followed in this report has been to identify the countries with the highest share of refugees and examine how immigrants from these countries perform on the Canadian labour market.

The Norwegian data rely solely on administrative registers, and linking of employment files and immigration files. Thus the Norwegian data gives a more exact number on how refugees from specific countries fare on the labour market, whereas the outcome for refugees in Canada is estimated indirectly. As a consequence we can't give exact figures on how Colombian refugees fare in Canada, only show that half of the Colombian immigrants living in Canada are refugees, and that 67 percent of all Colombian immigrants are employed.

One underlying premise in this report is that refugees have a more difficult way into the labour market, and knowing that a third of the Colombian immigrants in Canada are economic migrants we can only assume that the economic migrants have a higher employment. According to data from the IMDB (see chapter 5), economic immigrants fared much better than family and refugee immigrants in income and reached parity with the Canadian average sooner than immigrants from the other admission categories.

Another discussion when comparing immigration data between nations is different definitions and classifications. In Norway family class migrants migrating to a (former) refugee are classified as refugees. While in Canada these migrants are classified as family class migrants. For this specific study this difference in classification will only have minor influence and only have consequences when identifying which of the country groups to include in the Canadian study – if we had used the Norwegian classification some additional country groups could have been added.

Refugees lag behind in the labour market both in Norway and in Canada

In both Norway and Canada, refugees lag behind the employment level of the immigrant population as a whole. Refugees in both Canada and Norway are accepted out of humanitarian not economic grounds. While the key criteria for economic migrants are their ability to contribute in the labour market, refugees are accepted because they need protection. Whether they participate in the labour force or not is of secondary importance. Furthermore the migration process itself and the history behind it separates the refugee experience from the economic migrants, the first being involuntarily the latter voluntarily. As a consequence one would expect lower participation rates among refugees than among the economic migrants.

Different refugee groups in Canada and Norway

The three largest refugee groups arriving in Canada since 1980 come from Vietnam, Poland and Sri Lanka, comprising close to a third of all refugees in Canada, and they all have employment levels close to, or above, the national Canadian average. Interestingly these three groups, who settled in Norway in the same period, are also doing well in the Norwegian labour market, all having employment rates above the immigrant average, and they only trail the employment rate in the total population with a few percentage points.

In Norway, the three largest refugee groups come from Somalia, Iraq and Bosnia-Herzegovina, also comprising close to a third of all refugees, but all these groups are behind the national employment average, although Bosnian refugees are only a few percentage points behind, refugees from Somalia and Iraq are as much as 40 percentage points behind.

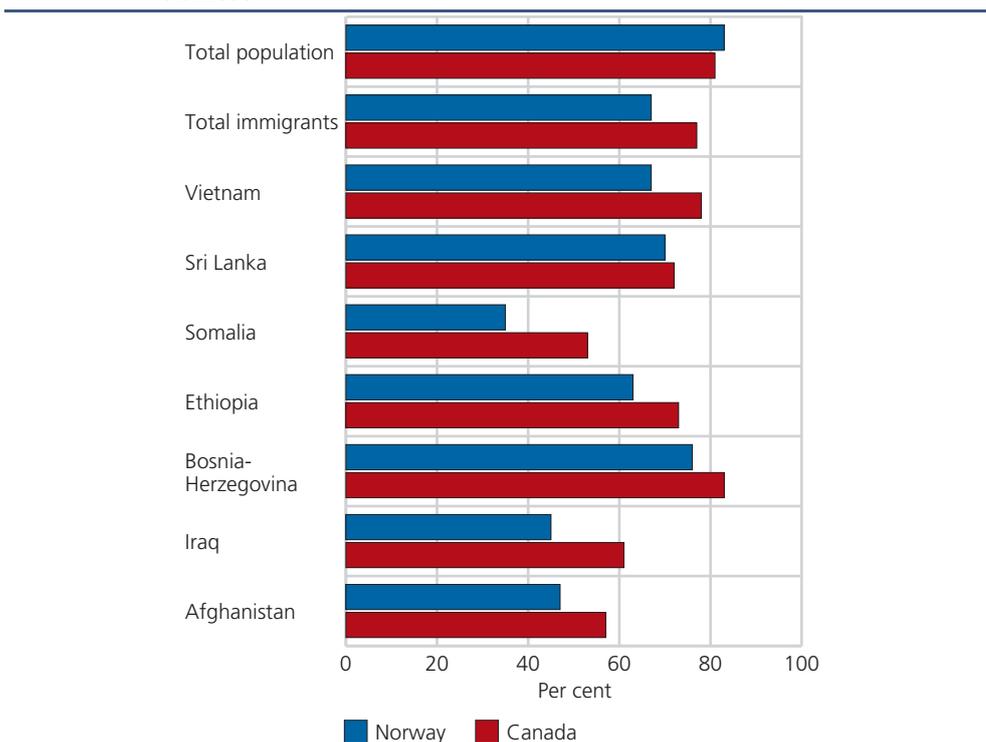
In other words, while in Canada, the largest refugee groups have high employment rates that are close to or above the national average, in Norway they are well behind. It has to be added that there is a significant residence component in this comparisons as the three largest refugee groups in Canada all are established immigrant groups, whereas among the three largest in Norway we find a high share of recent and very recent arrivals.

Table 6.4. Difference in employment rates (percentage points) between Canada and Norway for immigrants/refugees by country of birth and years of residence. 2006

	Employment rate difference			
	Total	Very recent (0-4 years)	Recent (5-9 years)	Established (10 years and more)
Afghanistan	10	1	6	11
Iraq	16	20	10	22
Bosnia-Herzegovina	7	9	11	6
Somalia	18	14	9	18
Sri Lanka	2	6	9	1
Vietnam	11	21	7	9

Source: Statistics Canada, Census 2006 and Labour market statistics, Statistics Norway

For refugees it is most interesting to focus on the recent and established groups as for Norway's part, many of the newly arrived in the 'very recent' column in table 8.3 are still in introduction schemes and language training provided for by the Government. As the programme lasts for two years in Norway the employment rates for the very recent arrivals are naturally lower. In Canada as a general rule there is one year of support for Government Assisted Refugees.

Figure 6.4 Employment rates in Canada and Norway by country of birth. Immigrants 25-54 years old. 2006

Source: Statistics Canada, Census 2006 and Labour market statistics, Statistics Norway

Some groups do well in both countries..

Among refugees the groups with the highest employment rates in Canada also seem to have high employment rates in Norway. This is true for immigrants/refugees from Sri Lanka, Vietnam, Bosnia-Herzegovina – all having employment rates close to the same level as the non-immigrant population in both Canada and Norway. And though the differences between immigrants from Bosnia and Vietnam are still significant between Canada and Norway the employment rate is on a high level. For immigrants from Sri Lanka there is hardly any difference between Canada and Norway in terms of employment, at least when we examine the established immigrants, the majority of immigrants from Sri Lanka in Norway belong in this group.

..other's do not

At the other end of the spectrum, three refugee groups stand out with low employment rates both in Norway and in Canada; refugees from Somalia, Iraq and Afghanistan. These are all groups recently having fled war-thorn conflicts and refugees from these countries have the common trait of shorter period of residence than the average among refugees. Hence only a small percentage of these refugees are established immigrant groups. Although lagging behind other refugees in Canada, refugees from these three countries seem to do better in Canada than in Norway, with a 15 percentage point higher employment rate.

But while refugees from these three countries comprise 30 percent of refugees in Norway and 10 percent of the immigrant population in Norway they only comprise 10 percent of refugees in Canada and as little as one percent of the immigrant population. The refugee groups with low employment rates (in both countries) have a much more dominant role both among refugees and immigrants in Norway compared to Canada.

If we add this information together we see that refugees in general do better in Canada than in Norway, but that some of these differences can be explained directly from the composition of the refugee population in the two countries. The refugee groups that are successful in both Canada and Norway comprise a higher

share of the population in Canada, whereas the refugee groups that are not as successful in the labour market (again in both countries) are much more dominant in Norway than in Canada.

With the data available it is not possible to precisely calculate the employment level for refugees in Canada, although if we compare country by country, refugees in Canada seem to perform better on the labour market than refugees in Norway. There are some exceptions, but on a general level the employment rate is higher (and for some groups much higher) and there are fewer people outside the labour market.

The case of Somali refugees

In Norwegian contemporary immigration debate there has been special emphasis on the low levels of employment among immigrants and refugees from Somalia. While 52 percent of the Somalis were employed in Canada in 2006, only 35 percent of the Somali refugees were employed in Norway at the same time, a difference of 18 percentage points.

However while almost 40 percent of the Somali refugees in Norway are very recent arrivals (0-4 years of stay) this only applies for 15 percent of the Somalis in Canada. And among very recent and recent arrivals the differences in employment rates are smaller, 14 and 9 percentage points. Again, the numbers for the very recent arrivals for this specific group are influenced by the large share of refugees participating in the introduction programme.

Somalis who arrived in Canada early in the 1990s are performing much better than their Norwegian counterparts, and differ significantly in labour participation rates from those who immigrated later. Somalis arriving in Norway and Canada from 1997 and onwards both seem to struggle in the labour market in both countries. For most other groups the employment rate increases radically with years of residence. That is not the case for Somali immigrants in Norway.

Nearly six out of ten Somalis in the core working age group are women in Canada, whereas among Somalis in Norway there are more men than women. Somali women have very low employment rates both in Norway and Canada. 21 percent employed in Norway compared to 39 percent in Canada, among women who are recent arrivals only 33 percent are employed in Canada compared to 21 percent in Norway.

Refugees in Canada - Privately sponsored and Government assisted

The data suggests that refugees in Canada have higher employment rates than refugees in Norway. Among the refugees in Canada the privately sponsored refugees seem to have higher employment rates than the Government sponsored (LSIC 2009). The privately sponsored refugees have been helped by family and NGOs, not the Government. Over the last decade (see chapter 2) fewer privately sponsored refugees have entered Canada, especially compared to the early 1990s. From constituting the majority of the refugees coming to Canada, the last decade they constitute around ten percent. Government sponsored refugees are supported financially during the first year of residence so the immediate need for the Government Assisted Refugees to find employment may be less urgent than for Privately Sponsored Refugees. Privately sponsored refugees are not given any government income support. It is up to their sponsor to provide the necessities of settlement such as help with housing, language training, job search, finding health care services etc. Half of the privately sponsored refugees are sponsored by a relative of family, the other half by an organisation or NGO helping with settlement assistance for the first year. Not being as formalised as the Government system, the PSR might be an incentive to become self-sufficient and independent sooner than government sponsored refugees because they have no guaranteed income the first year encouraging them to find employment after arrival (Tran

2009). Compared to the 1980s and the early 1990s the share of privately sponsored refugees has declined markedly. So although their results seem to be somewhat better than the Government assisted refugees (only a few percentage points) in terms of employment rates the Private sponsor programme does not represent an important part of the current refugee regime in Canada.

Conclusion

There are some significant differences in the mix of immigrants in Canada and Norway.

First, economic migrants massively outnumber refugees in Canada with a ratio 5:1, while in Norway the opposite has been true. Although Norway has attracted a large number of labour migrants in recent years, over the last two decades Norway has accepted more refugees than labour migrants, at a ratio 1.5 : 1. Obviously these differences affect the employment rates among all immigrants in the two countries. Both in Canada and Norway economic/labour migrants have a significant higher employment rates than refugees.

Second, in Norway almost all immigrants from certain countries and regions are refugees (or family reunited with refugees), there seem to be no other open doors for entrance, while in Canada there are interesting exceptions. From the Middle East and Eastern Africa, there are hardly any labour or education migrants in Norway, while in Canada migrants from this area have a more diverse background. Iraq is a compelling example. While in Norway all immigrants from Iraq have come as refugees (or family reunified with refugees), in Canada, nearly 20 percent of the Iraqi immigrants have come as economic migrants, probably having an easier way into the Canadian labour market. If we look at the employment rates 61 percent of the Iraqis in Canada are employed, compared with 45 percent of the Iraqi immigrants in Norway

In total in Canada, of the sending countries with the highest share of refugees, all had economic immigrants as well (with a share up to 20 percent). And among the largest refugee sending countries in absolute numbers the share ranged from 11 to 65 percent, although some applicants were probably in Canada when choosing between economic or humanitarian application.

Canada's managed migration is not country specific, and the points based system has no intended bias towards certain countries or regions. Overall Canada sets a target for a certain number of immigrants every year, roughly equalling one percent of the population. Among these immigrants a certain number are economic, family and humanitarian. These policies have given a mix of immigrants far different from Norway, with a high share of economic migrants coming to Canada from regions where in Norway there are only refugees from the same area. Having skilled migrants coming from the same country probably has a positive effect in the integration process for refugees as well, both in terms of establishing networks for jobs, but is also important in forming the public perception of immigrants from a country or region. Furthermore the system encourages language proficiency as knowledge of one or both official languages gives extra points.

The importance of language has to be emphasized. As we have pointed out earlier a high share of the immigrants coming to Canada know English or French in advance – also among refugees the level of command of one of the two official languages is high. And although we do not have the data to support it we can assume that close to none of the immigrants and refugees coming to Norway know Norwegian in advance.

Networks are an important asset in job-search, and networks are likely to be more efficient for migrants from countries where the population from this country represents a higher share of the total migrant population, but if the only network is to be found among other newly arrived refugees this probably represents a more

difficult way into the labour market than if there was a mix of different backgrounds. Furthermore, having role models in the community that are successful in the labour market probably increases the possibility that newly arrived immigrants follow in their paths. Also as Canada has a longer history of welcoming immigrants, more second-generation immigrants have grown up with education and successful careers than in Norway.

Summed up these factors probably facilitate a more welcoming labour market for immigrants in Canada than in Norway. The high number of economic immigrants, from all over the world might facilitate a more positive climate for refugees, making their way into the labour market easier.

7. Other sources: LFS, LSIC and IMDB

Although not used in this study Statistics Canada has other important data sources on the integration of immigrants in Canada, a brief description of these sources are listed below.

Data from the LFS

In Canada, data from the Labour Force Survey (LFS) has also been used to describe the labour market integration of immigrants (Zietsma 2007). From 2006 questions about immigrant background was included in the LFS. More specifically, questions about country of birth of the respondent, whether or not the respondent was a “landed immigrant”, the month and year of landing, and the country where the respondent received her highest level of education. These questions are comparable to those used in the Census questionnaire. Reason for immigration is not included in the LFS survey and as it is a survey (even though one of the largest in its kind!) the margin of errors of the employment rates for most country backgrounds would be large.

Data from LSIC

Statistics Canada’s Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada (LSIC). The Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada is a comprehensive survey designed to study the process by which new immigrants adapt to or integrate into Canadian society. As part of adapting to life in Canada, many immigrants face challenges such as finding suitable accommodation, learning or becoming more fluent in one or both of Canada’s official languages, participating in the labour market or accessing education and training opportunities. The results of this survey will provide indicators of how immigrants are meeting these challenges and what resources are most helpful to their settlement in Canada. The survey also examines how the socio-economic characteristics of immigrants influence the process by which they integrate into Canadian society. The topics covered by the survey include language proficiency, housing, education, foreign credentials recognition, employment, health, values and attitudes, citizenship, the development and use of social networks, income, and impressions about life in Canada. The questions address respondents’ situation before coming to Canada and since their arrival.

The target population for the survey consists of immigrants

- arrived in Canada between October 1, 2000 and September 30, 2001;
- were age 15 years or older at the time of landing;
- landed from abroad, must have applied through a Canadian Mission Abroad.

The data from the third wave were obtained from 7 700 respondents who had also responded to the first two waves of the survey. The first wave interview took place six months after the immigrants’ arrival in Canada, the second wave interview took place two years after their arrival, and the interview for the third and final wave, four years after their arrival. The LSIC data does not have a large enough sample to produce statistics on single countries.

Data from the IMDB

The Longitudinal Immigration Database (IMDB) links administrative records between landed immigration records and tax information records. The IMDB is a comprehensive source of data on the economic behaviour of the immigrant tax filer population in Canada and is the only source of data that provides a direct link between immigration policy levers and the economic performance of immigrants. The database is managed by Statistics Canada on behalf of a federal-provincial consortium led by Citizenship & Immigration Canada. A person is included in the database if he or she filed at least one tax return after becoming a landed immigrant. The IMDB data is updated each year and goes back to 1980. It contains a variety of variables on the immigrant characteristics at landing such as personal information variables, origin information variables, and program information

variables. The tax information variables such as geographic location, geographic earnings, and source of income allow longitudinal studies of the labour market behaviour of different categories of admissions. IMDB tracks 16 years of tax information starting on the first tax year an immigrant files a tax form.

The IMDB was created to respond to the need for detailed and reliable data on the performance and impact of the Immigration Program. It allows the analysis of relative labour market behaviour of different categories of immigrants over a period long enough to assess the impact of immigrant characteristics, such as education and knowledge of French or English, to their settlement success. It also permits the investigation and measurement of different categories of immigrants on social assistance and allows the measurement and analysis of secondary inter-provincial and inter-urban migration.

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