Why Do Recent Immigrants Leave Atlantic Canada?

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Abstract (100 words):

Since the 1990s, Canada has turned to immigration to offset demographic loss and boost its economy. Despite an increase in the number of new immigrants to the country, their settlement has clustered primarily around three large urban centres: Vancouver, Toronto and Montreal. Poorer and less populous regions, such as Atlantic Canada, have received few immigrants, and of those migrating to these regions, many move away. Using data from the first two waves of the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants in Canada, this paper offers a preliminary descriptive sketch of the factors associated with the outmigration of recent immigrants from Atlantic Canada.

Keywords/Mots-clefs: Atlantic Canada, immigration, emigration, immigrant*, Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada.

In Canada, immigration is now seen as a remedy for declining fertility, aging populations, outmigration and economic stagnation,[i] as evidenced by high rates of immigration to the country over the last 20 years sparked by federal policy. However, interest in immigration is not limited to the national agenda, and in recent years, many provinces have developed their own immigration strategies to attract newcomers. Yet many recent immigrants cluster in major urban centers, and of those who do migrate to less populous regions, many leave. This is particularly pronounced in Atlantic Canada, which has seen a large share of its recent immigrants move to other provinces or leave the country altogether. As a result, the primary aim of this paper is to explore the question *why do recent immigrants leave Atlantic Canada?*

During the 1990s, Canadian immigration policies changed in an attempt to attract a "large and steady flow" (Green and Green 2004: 131) of immigrants to offset the country's declining population and generate economic growth (cf. Aydemir and Robinson 2006: 5). One of the regions most struck by population loss and slow economic development is Atlantic Canada. For decades, migration researchers and policy makers have tracked outmigration from this region to Ontario and, more recently, to Alberta (Ostrovsky, Hou and Picot, 2008; Minister of Industry Canada, 2002; Newfoundland 2006; Prince Edward Island, 2008; Nova Scotia, 2006; New Brunswick Population Growth Secretariat, 2007). As a response to this outmigration, not to mention increasingly aging populations and slower growing economies, all of the Atlantic provinces have turned to immigration.

Evidence of the region's interest in immigration can be seen in the generation of Provincial Nominee Programs (PNPs), starting with New Brunswick and Newfoundland and Labrador in 1999, then Prince Edward Island in 2001, and finally Nova Scotia in 2002 (Everden 2008: 13). Each province signed an agreement with the federal government to gain the ability to

screen and nominate immigrants who match its needs (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2009). In a review of Atlantic Canadian immigration, Everden (2008: 15) argued that provincial government interest in immigration has also led to the development and publication of immigration strategies, foremost among them being the importance of immigration to alleviate demographic and economic obstacles. For example, Nova Scotia's strategy identifies the need for immigration to be a means to "…meet our long-term population, economic, and labour force needs" (Nova Scotia 2005: 1).

The appeal of attracting immigrants is recognized not only at the level of government but also more broadly among individual Atlantic Canadians. A poll by the Centre for Research and Information on Canada (CRIC) found that 38% of Atlantic Canadian residents felt "that support for immigrants should be increased" (Quell 2005: 3), which was the highest level of endorsement across Canada. The same spirit can be found in policies geared to generating "welcoming communities," as seen in Newfoundland and Labrador and Nova Scotia (Newfoundland and Labrador 2009; Nova Scotia 2009). According to the same CRIC poll, Atlantic Canadians also believe that newcomers quickly identify with the region, perhaps also signalling their openness to in-migration "from away."[ii] Ironically, however, as Quell (2005: 2) showed, newcomers find the region the second most difficult in Canada to adopt as a new home. As a result, there is a disjuncture between the desire to attract migrants and their actual experiences.

As it pertains to immigration, the disjuncture contributes to at least two trends: 1) a concentration of immigrants in large urban centres, and 2) secondary migration of immigrants who originally settle outside these centres. Numerous researchers and policy makers have shown that new immigrants overwhelmingly settle in the country's three major cities: Vancouver, Toronto and Montreal (what some refer to as VTM) at the expense of rural communities and less

developed regions like the Prairies and Atlantic Canada (Derwing and Krahn 2008; Boyd, 2005; Metropolis 2003; Green and Green 2004; Houle 2007; McDonald 2004). For example, using 2001 Census data, Radford (2007: 47) showed that 74% of immigrants arriving during the 1990s settled in VTM, and Houle (2007: 16) found that only 23% of immigrants settled outside the seven largest urban centres. Of the small number of immigrants who do migrate outside of VTM, especially those moving to less populated and less economically developed regions, many do not stay, which leads to high rates of onward or secondary migration. This occurs when migrants arriving at a given destination move again to another, commonly seen in Atlantic Canada, leading some to argue that it suffers from "chronic" outmigration.

Despite the need for research on immigration outside of VTM (Radford 2007: 47), much of the existing literature, especially large-scale quantitative analyses, overlooks Atlantic Canada, partly because of the small number of recent immigrants settling there. According to Citizenship and Immigration Canada (2007), the Atlantic provinces received just 2.4% of immigrants landing in 2007. The figure is in line with immigration trends over the previous decade and makes the population difficult to enumerate; this, in turn, leads to problems associated with small sample size, resulting in limited power in multivariate analysis and violation of Statistics Canada's confidentiality compliance policies. As a result, much of the existing literature on Atlantic Canadian immigration has tended to be qualitative, focusing on the narratives and experiences of immigrants.[iii] Notable exceptions are, for example, the research of Akbari (2008; 2005) or Akbari and Dar (2005), who look at rates of outmigration using quantitative methods; however, they do not explicitly examine the factors associated with it. Others also have looked at interprovincial migration of immigrants and/or foreign-born Canadians in general (Edmonston 2002; Day and Winer 2006; Finnie 2004; 1999; 2001; Newbold 1996; 1999; 2006) but tended to

focus on region as just one of many covariates in larger models rather than investigating the question of what factors specifically relate to the experiences of outmigration from Atlantic Canada.

In addition to the small number of immigrants to the region, data access has also been an issue limiting quantitative research on Atlantic Canada. Much research on immigrant outmigration and secondary migration has used Census data (cf. Akbari and Dar 2005; Edmonston 2002; Everden 2008; Liaw and Qi 2004; McDonald 2004; Newbold 1996, 1999; Newbold and Bell 2001; Ram and Shin 2007). Data are easily attainable through the Census Public Use Micro File (PUMF) or through the Research Data Centre (RDC) program. However, this data set poses at least two obstacles to studying the interprovincial outmigration of Atlantic Canadian immigrants. First, as noted above, the small number of immigrants to the region makes analysis difficult, especially for multivariate analysis. Second, the Census contains questions on place of residence one and five years previously but is structured cross-sectionally, making analysis of repeat migration difficult and limiting the ability to research migration over time because at best, only quasi-cohorts can be created. A number of researchers have already commented on problems associated with this; a good review of them can be found in Aydemir and Robinson (2006). Others have looked to alternate data sources to overcome these limitations, including the Longitudinal Immigration Database (also known as: IMDB) and other taxation and/or landing record-based data. However, such data are not easily available to non-governmental researchers because they are not distributed in PUMF format or the RDC program. This has meant that much of the analysis is limited to government documents and is conducted by Citizenship and Immigration or Statistics Canada employees or researchers who gain access to those data through contracts with various federal government agencies (cf. Everden 2008;

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Aydemir and Robinson 2006; Finnie 2004; 1999; Ostrovsky et al. 2008; Day and Winer 2006). Much of these data, unfortunately, do not contain measures of broader social and cultural factors that might be associated with migration, leading most analysis to focus on economic or human capital causes of migration. Thus, the recent release of the Longitudinal Study of Immigrants to Canada (LSIC) is very exciting, offering data that can be accessed through the RDC program, which is longitudinal and contains a wide range of economic, social and cultural measures that allow for a broader engagement with factors affecting Canadian immigration and, potentially, outmigration of immigrants from Atlantic Canada.

Using the first wave of the LSIC, Newbold (2006) has already examined the secondary migration of immigrants, showing the potential of this data set. However, his analysis focused on differences between intended settlement destinations and migration occurring within the first six months of arrival in Canada. He also looked at short moves but did not disaggregate them from larger interprovincial moves. Houle (2007) extended the analysis using all three waves of the LSIC to examine interprovincial migration; however, his focus was on all immigrants and did not pay special attention to those in Atlantic Canada. As a result, the primary goal of this paper is to use the LSIC to provide a preliminary descriptive sketch of economic, social and cultural, health and demographic factors associated with the outmigration of recent immigrants to Atlantic Canada. The secondary goal of our research is to assess the data set's potential for researchers interested in the immigration trends in this region.

The following section considers the different factors associated with secondary migration of immigrants and their operationalization., followed first by a presentation of a descriptive analysis of the LSIC data to understand the relationship among different correlates of outmigration and then by a discussion and conclusion..

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Why do immigrants leave?

Let us first introduce the LSIC and how we define outmigration. The survey was first administered by Statistics Canada in 2001 and has results for three waves of data - six months, two years and four years after immigrants arrived in Canada (Statistics Canada 2009: 5). It offers unique insight into the transitions immigrants experience after migrating and, unlike the census, is longitudinal. Further, unlike the IMDB or other tax/landing record databases, it contains a wider range of information and is reasonably easy to access. Unfortunately, however, the LSIC still faces obstacles related to small sample size when it comes to studying recent immigrants in the Atlantic region. The attrition rate in Wave 1, six months after arrival, was 41; another 13 % were lost from the survey in Wave 2, two years after arrival (Statistics Canada, 2004). Further reduction in sample size due to attrition also occurred in Wave 3. For this reason, our analysis focuses on Waves 1 and 2 alone and reports basic descriptive statistics and tables.[iv] Recent immigrants who moved out of the Atlantic region are analyzed by our examining changes in the province of residence between the first six months and two years after arrival (responses in wave 1 versus wave 2 of the survey). Research by Houle (2007: 21) suggests that most recent immigrants who move do so during this period. The sample analyzed in this paper includes only immigrants who lived in one of the four Atlantic provinces in Wave 1 of the LSIC.[v]

Previous researchers studying immigrant moves (secondary, onward, or outmigration) operationalized them in various ways. Some engaged the simple question of whether immigrants settle permanently or make subsequent moves within a city or province. Such analysis defines secondary migration in a very broad sense, looking at any move, whether local, interprovincial or international. Newbold's (2006: 12) research, based on the first wave of the LSIC, shows that many of the secondary moves of recent immigrants occur in the early months after arrival in

Canada and are local, often from temporary arrangements to more permanent housing. Such a broad operationalization of secondary migration mixes divergent trends but does look at migration as a process. Others examine larger moves. Much of this research defines secondary migration in terms of moves among CMAs, provinces or even outside the country. Of those that examine secondary migration at this level, moving is largely defined as movement within a time frame proximate to the cross section of the survey (seen among researchers using Censuses) or based on a change in postal code, CMA, province or country for those using longitudinal data (like the IMDB or LSIC). Our research follows the design of longitudinal studies and looks at recent immigrants who settled in an Atlantic province in wave 1 of the LSIC but then moved out of the region to provinces in other regions in wave 2; this was used to generate the variable *Atlantic movers.*[vi] Interestingly, of those who made interprovincial moves during this period, all moved to a province outside Atlantic Canada. As a result, the moves captured in our analysis are substantial in terms of the costs of relocation and directly engage our primary research question.

Previous scholarship on interprovincial migration has focused on economic and human capital factors that contribute to moving, largely looking at those of employment, income, education, and economic performance of different regions or other structural factors. To account for the potential impact of these factors, we examine four variables. Previous scholarship has shown that high rates of unemployment act as a push factor contributing to outmigration; simply put, being unable to make a decent living or provide for his/her family increases the likelihood of moving. This is analyzed by looking at whether recent immigrants are *currently employed*[vii] in wave 1 of the LSIC. We also examine family income as a possible contributor to secondary migration. As many researchers have shown, employment is one issue, but underemployment is equally important. A number of scholars have shown that lack of recognition of immigrants'

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credentials has led many to work in underpaid job sectors (cf. Alboim et al. 2005; Li 2001; Reitz 2005). This, too, may act as a push factor from a given region if immigrants cannot find employment that offers a fair return on their education – evidence of potential underemployment, which is analyzed by looking at family *employment income*[viii] in wave 1. Related to this is the role of education. Previous research on interprovincial immigration has shown that highly skilled and educated workers with high levels of human capital are more mobile and more likely to pursue opportunities in other regions if the labour market cannot reward their experience (cf. Ram and Shin 2007). To examine this, we looked at the highest level of education obtained outside Canada in wave 1 of the LSIC. Because of both the small sample of recent immigrants in the Atlantic region and RDC release requirements that ask to report tables with cell counts that are 10 or greater, we were forced to aggregate these data into a measure of *university and professional education*:[ix] those we considered to have the most potential mobility. We examined economic and human capital factors further by also considering whether recent immigrants or a member of their family had received *social assistance*[x] income in the previous year at wave 2 of the LSIC. Existing scholarship is split on how this might affect secondary migration. Some argue it has no impact on migration (cf. Lin 1995), while others consider it a push factor related to employment and income (cf. Finnie 2000).[xi] Given the overall high level of human capital of recent immigrants, we expect the latter to be true.

Although many have focused on economic influences of migration, these alone do not explain why people move. Literature over the last decade has therefore begun considering non-economic determinants. Much scholarship, for instance, has begun to assess the role of social capital and networks that support immigrants (cf. Couton *In Press;* Aizlewood and Pendakur 2005; Reitz and Banerjee 2007;). Others have also looked at the role of family ties and familial

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support (cf. Deshaw 2006; Telegdi 2006); yet others have considered the role of "welcoming communities." We account for this by looking at three factors: the number of different types of *groups or organizations* that recent immigrants are involved with; whether immigrants have *extended family* living in Canada; and whether recent immigrants *experienced discrimination* since arriving.[xii] With the exception of the number of different types of groups or organizations, these are measured at wave 2. We anticipate that the fewer the types of organizations recent immigrants are involved with and the more discrimination they face will lead to increased outmigration from Atlantic Canada. We are ambivalent to the role family ties will play because it may influence immigrants both staying in the region or moving to another, depending on where their extended family lives.

We also consider health as a possible determinant of outmigration from the region. Health is often overlooked in the analysis of secondary or interprovincial migration; however, poor health, we argue, is a proxy for poor living conditions and potentially a manifestation of stress or an unwelcoming community. Yet conversely, poor health may be an obstacle to migration. We consider this by looking at how recent immigrants self-assessed their *health*[xiii] in wave 1 of the LSIC. Respondents ranked their health on a five-point scale, where 1= excellent health and 5 =poor health. We are neutral in our expectations of how health is associated with outmigration from the region and are instead interested in seeing whether any discernible patterns are associated with it.

We lastly consider two demographic factors that may be linked to migration: *age* and *sex*.[xiv] Existing scholarship has shown that age is inversely related to migration (cf. Finnie 2006). As people age, they are less likely to move. We thus expect to find the same trend among recent immigrants to Atlantic Canada. Research on the region has found that sex is strongly related to

outmigration. Corbett (2007), for instance, found that women are more likely to move than men. He examined native-born Canadians in rural Nova Scotia and hypothesized that this is because of women's higher levels of education and lower employment or career opportunities in the region. Most of the moves he tracked were within the region to larger urban centres. We anticipate that this may also be the case with recent immigrants' interprovincial outmigration. Both variables are examined from the first wave of the LSIC. We tried to also consider marital status, visible minority status and official language abilities; however, there were too few cases to allow release of the data from the RDC and thus are not reported.

As a result, we analyzed economic, social and cultural, health and demographic factors associated with interprovincial outmigration of recent immigrants from the Atlantic region. Rather than testing hypotheses, our research offers a preliminary sketch of trends using the LSIC.

What do the data show?

We begin by examining overall trends of interprovincial migration in Canada. As the literature suggests, the Atlantic region faces a high rate of outmigration relative to other provinces. In fact, as seen in Table 1, 29% of recent immigrants moved out of Atlantic Canada between six months and two years after arrival.

[INSERT TABLE 1: INTERPROVINCIAL MOVERS AND STAYERS]

This figure is in line with that given by Houle (2007: 21), who estimated moving at all levels, but diverges widely from that given by Akbari (2008), who used different data and methods to calculate outmigration from the region. By contrast, the provinces where VTM are located have much higher retention rates, as well as Alberta, which was experiencing an economic boom

during the period of analysis. These findings suggest that Atlantic Canada may indeed suffer from chronic outmigration – but why?

We tried to understand by further examining the association of economic factors with outmigration from Atlantic Canada. We first examined a series of economic and human capital variables, focusing only on immigrants who were in this region at Wave 1. Table 2 examines the relationship between the moving and current employment and shows slightly more employed people move than those who are unemployed.

[INSERT TABLE 2: ATLANTIC CANADIAN IMMIGRANT MOVERS AND STAYERS BY CURRENTLY EMPLOYED AT WAVE 1]

Although only about a two percent difference, this result is somewhat surprising, given that employment is usually considered a factor that attracts migrants rather than one contributing to outmigration. This is explored further by considering average income between movers and stayers. We found that the average household income of recent immigrants was over $10,000 higher for stayers ($29,102) than for movers ($18,958). As result, apparently employment is not necessarily the issue contributing to outmigration but rather underemployment associated with lower wages. This is even more apparent when human capital is considered. Table 3 shows that immigrants with university or professional education are more likely to move out of the region; of immigrants with such education, 33% left, while only 23% of those without it moved.

[INSERT TABLE 3: ATLANTIC CANADIAN IMMIGRANT MOVERS AND STAYERS BY HIGHEST LEVEL OF FOREIGN EDUCATION AT WAVE 1]

This finding is in line with existing research that found a correlation between higher education and outmigration. Clearly the region is losing some of its most talented immigrants, which

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should concern academics and policy makers alike. One last economic measure is analyzed: whether recent immigrants or their family members received social assistance benefits during the previous year.

[INSERT TABLE 4: ATLANTIC CANADIAN IMMIGRANT MOVERS AND STAYERS BY SOCIAL ASSISTANCE AT WAVE 2]

It is worth noting that most recent immigrants in the region do not receive social assistance; in fact, only about 14% did. However, Table 4 shows that 60% of those recipients moved compared to 26% of non-recipients. As noted above, we were uncertain what relationship we would find; however, it appears that it is in line with the other measures of economic determinants of outmigration, and likely poor economic integration is associated with moving.

Economic factors, however, are not the sole impetus for outmigration. It is also important to consider social and cultural influences. We first examined recent immigrants' social capital, more specifically, the average number of different types of groups and/or organizations they belong to in wave 1. Overall, the recent immigrants to the region are not likely to be very involved in different groups or organizations six months after their arrival to Canada. Movers participated in roughly half as many different types of groups or organizations (0.45) compared to stayers (0.81), a finding that hints at the potentially important role of social incorporation and networks. As one would expect, those who moved were less involved in organizations. We explore social ties further in Table 5 by looking at whether recent immigrants to Atlantic Canada had extended family members living in the country.

[INSERT TABLE 5: ATLANTIC CANADIAN IMMIGRANT MOVERS AND STAYERS BY EXTENDED FAMILY AT WAVE 2]

Interestingly, almost double the proportion (42%) of people with extended family living in Canada moved compared to those without (24%). In considering these data, however, some caution is worth taking; unlike other measures, we could not look at this association in wave 1, and the finding may reflect a pull factor contributing to their outmigration. Movers may have decided to leave to join family already living in other provinces, so further analysis is surely warranted. The last social/cultural measure we analyzed is whether recent immigrants to Atlantic Canada had experienced discrimination since arrival.

[TABLE 6: ATLANTIC CANADIAN IMMIGRANT MOVERS AND STAYERS BY EXPERIENCE OF DISCRIMINATION AT WAVE 2]

A large share of recent immigrants to the region (29%) had experienced discrimination. This rather high rate contradicts emphasis on generating "welcoming communities," not to mention reported openness to people "from away." This figure should interest researchers and policy makers and therefore demands further investigation. Table 6 shows the role discrimination plays in outmigration, and as one might expect, those who experienced it were 5% more likely to leave than those who had not.

Perceptions of health are also considered in our analysis. We examined the average self-assessment of recent immigrants' health on a five-point scale, where one is considered excellent health, and found little difference in the perceived health of movers and stayers, with 1.95 and 1.80 out of 5, on average, reported, respectively. Both movers and stayers thus report fairly "good" health. Despite economic and social obstacles recent immigrants face, they apparently do not report signs of poor physical or mental health. This could also be explained by the fact

that recent immigrants tend to be relatively young and at their life stage experience fewer health problems.

The last two factors analyzed are demographic: age and sex. As one might expect, recent immigrants to Atlantic Canada are relatively young, with movers on average being 36 years old and stayers about 37. This is hardly a large difference and may signal that age plays a subtle role in migration. In terms of sex, the differences are more apparent.

[INSERT TABLE 7: ATLANTIC CANADIAN IMMIGRANT MOVERS AND STAYERS BY SEX]

Table 7 shows that proportionally more men moved out of the Atlantic region than stayed. Roughly 37% of men left the region compared to 24% of women. This trend is different than that found among native-born Atlantic Canadians and may reflect a staggered approach to outmigration that is gendered, with men leaving to be followed by women and their families.

To summarize, we found that poor economic performance and underemployment are associated with outmigration, as are low levels of non-familial social capital. Ties to extended family in Canada and the experience of discrimination also led to outmigration. Age showed no discernible pattern, and men appear proportionally more likely to leave the region than women.

Discussion and conclusion

Overall, our preliminary analysis met our two primary goals. It offered general insight into the correlates of outmigration of recent immigrants from the Atlantic region, allowing us to identify some potential avenues for further examination. It also explored the LSIC as a potential data source to explore issues of immigration to the region.

When economic factors are assessed in relation to interprovincial outmigration from the Atlantic region, we find that *under*employment, in addition to unemployment, needs to be engaged by provincial policy makers. Although immigrants as a whole face harsh employment prospects in the region, an analysis of income and education suggests that of those who did find work, many are not earning high levels of income, and on average, both the lowest earners and the most educated leave the province. This should be of major concern to provincial policy makers, who look to immigration as a way to boost the economy and see it as a potential long-term solution to population decline. Given that the Canadian immigration point system attracts highly educated and skilled workers and Provincial Nominee Programs aim to attract wealthy, highly skilled investors, it is important to creatively examine how these patterns can be reversed. For this reason, we suggest that further investigation among economic outcomes and human capital is needed so that the Atlantic provinces not only attract, but also successfully integrate, immigrants for the *longue durée*.

Although economic concerns are important to address, we also found evidence for the need to investigate social and cultural disjunctures. As much scholarship predicts, immigrants least involved in groups and/or organization were those most likely to move out of the region. This was not a surprise; however, we were struck by the relationship between extended family and outmigration. It appears that immigrants who have relatives in Canada, perhaps in other regions, were more likely to leave than those who did not. This may also have a gendered component, as seen by the disproportionate number of men who left the province compared to women. This suggests that it is important for policy makers to consider both broader conceptions of family ties that extend beyond the nuclear family and also linking immigrants to broader family networks. It may also prove fruitful to consider policies aimed at attracting families rather

than individual migrants. Also surprising was evidence of a disjuncture between Atlantic Canadians' stated openness to those "from away" and the high level of perceived discrimination by immigrants. This is a difficult issue to address because if it is not perceived as a problem by the dominant society, little change may occur, and many may therefore silently leave the region. We believe that provinces in Atlantic Canada recognize the need to develop "welcoming communities" and that it is a good first step; however, we also believe it will be important for provincial policy makers to maintain their vigilance on this front and monitor whether such an atmosphere is indeed created and maintained.

To properly engage these Atlantic Canadian findings requires multivariate analysis; however, to conduct it requires access to adequate data. The exciting new LSIC data set has much potential for analyzing interprovincial migration but still suffers from undersampling of smaller and poorer regions. As noted above, census analysis can provide some insight but lacks the methodological sophistication of truly longitudinal data. Moreover, taxation or landing record-based data still remain difficult for non-governmental researchers to access. It is thus important for the Atlantic provinces to pursue data collection on their region that pays special attention to their concerns. This will be necessary to monitor migration patterns and break the VTM concentration of immigration to Canada.

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Table 1: Interprovincial Movers and Stayers by Atlantic Region and Other Provinces (%)

Province	Movers	Stayers
Atlantic provinces	29.23	70.77
Quebec	2.21	97.79
Ontario	2.43	97.57
Manitoba	4.95	95.05
Saskatchewan	26.08	73.92
Alberta	2.62	97.38
British Columbia	3.24	96.76
Total	2.91	97.09

Source: Statistics Canada LSIC

Table 2: Atlantic Canadian Immigrant Movers and Stayers by Employment Status at Wave 1 (%)

Atlantic Canadian Immigrants	Movers	Stayers
Employed	30.41	69.59
Unemployed	28.30	71.70
Total	29.23	70.77

Source: Statistics Canada LSIC

Table 3: Atlantic Canadian Immigrant Movers and Stayers by Highest Level of Foreign Education at Wave 1 (%)

Atlantic Canadian Immigrants	Movers	Stayers
All other Education	22.78	77.22
University or Profession	33.21	66.79
Total	29.83	70.17

Source: Statistics Canada LSIC

Table 4: Atlantic Canadian Immigrant Movers and Stayers by Social Assistance at Wave 2 (%)

Atlantic Canadian Immigrants	Movers	Stayers
Recipient	59.97	40.03
Non-Recipient	26.41	73.59
Total	31.04	68.96

Source: Statistics Canada LSIC

**Table 5: Atlantic Canadian Immigrant Movers
and Stayers by Extended Family at Wave 2 (%)**

Atlantic Canadian Immigrants	Movers	Stayers
Family	41.59	58.41
No Family	23.64	76.36
Total	29.23	70.77

Source: Statistics Canada LSIC

**Table 6: Atlantic Canadian Immigrant Movers and Stayers
by Experience of Discrimination at Wave 2 (%)**

Atlantic Canadian Immigrants	Movers	Stayers
Discrimination	33.03	66.97
No Discrimination	27.66	72.34
Total	29.23	70.77

Source: Statistics Canada LSIC

**Table 7: Atlantic Canadian Immigrant Movers
and Stayers by Sex (%)**

Atlantic Canadian Immigrants	Movers	Stayers
Male	36.68	63.32
Female	24.35	75.65
Total	29.23	70.77

Source: Statistics Canada LSIC

[ii] "Come from away" and "from away" are commonly used terms in the region referring to migrants to the region – both native born and immigrant.

[iii] For examples, see Tastsoglou 2008; Tastsoglou and Miedema 2003; Flint 2008; 2009; Gallant 2008; Corbett 2007; 2005; Jabbra 1988; and Ralston 1991; 1988, among others who have all made important contributions to understanding the Atlantic Canadian immigrant experience.

[iv] There were not enough cases to run multilevel analysis using Statistics Canada's recommended bootstrap weights. Models run with them did not converge. Other models run with population weights did converge; however, they are not reported in this paper. For this reason, we decided to report basic summary statistics and tables to offer a preliminary look at Atlantic Canada.

[v] Atlantic Canadian residents, who comprise the sample, were identified by LSIC hh1g007, including values <2.

[vi] The variable was derived from LSIC release variables hh2d001 and hh1d001, which defines provincial movers, and release variables hh2g006 and hh1g006, which define regional movers.

[vii] We look at this by using LSIC release variable em1d320x. Valid skip, don't know, refused, and not stated were set to system missing.

[viii] LSIC release variable in1q003 is used to analyze income. Valid skip, don't know, refused, and not stated were set to system missing.

ix This is a dichotomous variable measuring education at wave 1and is aggregated from ed1q001, measuring the highest level education obtained outside Canada. Valid skip, don't know, refused and not stated were set to system missing. Generally, some university, professional or graduate work and higher were coded as university or professional education. Trades, college, and high school and less were coded as the alternate category. We acknowledge that some immigrants may have received their highest level of education in Canada, which this measure does not capture, and also recognize the crudeness of this aggregate.

x This variable is based on in2q007x. Unfortunately, this question was asked only in wave 2, and for this reason, we looked at it at that time, two years after arrival in Canada. This leaves a six-month gap between responses in wave 1 and wave 2. Given the potential stigma associated with receiving social assistance and that the point system is designed to attract wealthy and highly educated or skilled immigrants, we assume that the number of welfare recipients is lower at wave 1 than at wave 2. Valid skip, don't know, refused and not stated were set to system missing. The question that supports the variable in2q007x asks specifically about social assistance (welfare). Given that other questions ask about receiving EI, child tax benefits or credits, it should be safe to assume that in2q007x solely captures social assistance.

xi For a good review of this literature, see Day and Winer 2006.

xii The number of types of groups or organizations involved with is based on LSIC release variable si1d112; extended family is captured by si2q113, measuring whether respondents have family other than those living with them in Canada; experience of discrimination is measured by si2q261 and accounts for ethnic, cultural, racial, linguistic, or religious discrimination. We were forced to examine the latter two variables from wave 2 because these were not included in the

first wave. Valid skip, don't know, refused and not stated were set to system missing for each of these variables.

xiii Health is examined by using LSIC variable hl1q001 in the first wave of the LSIC.

xiv Age is derived from LSIC release variable lr1d005 and sex from lr1q008.