

Internal Migration Dynamics of a Canadian Immigrant Gateway: Toronto as an Origin, Way-Station and Destination between 1991 and 2001*

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Introduction¹

Immigration in Canada is an increasingly urban trend: of immigrants arriving between 1991 and 2001, 94 % resided in a Census Metropolitan Area (CMA) as compared to 59 % of the Canadian-born population (Schellenberg 2004). These new immigrant arrivals predominately concentrate in the metropolitan gateway cities of Toronto, Vancouver and Montreal. In 2002, 49 % of newly arrived immigrants settled in Toronto, followed by Montreal and Vancouver respectively, with 14 and 13 % (CIC 2003). While Toronto has traditionally been a major immigrant gateway into Canada, the proportion of immigrants residing in Toronto has increased, with 37.3 % of all immigrants living in Toronto in 2001, compared to just 29.7 % in 1981 (Hou 2005) and aided by the addition of more than 445,000 immigrants between 1996 and 2001 alone (McIssac 2003).

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1. Although drawing on different perspectives, this paper is complementary to Newbold and Cicchino, "Inter-Regional Return and Onwards Migration in Canada: Evidence Based on a Micro-Regional Analysis", which appears elsewhere in this issue. Both papers consider migration at the CMA scale, with the current paper focusing on immigrants, and the paper by Newbold and Cicchino considering domestic migration.

With 43.7 % of its population foreign-born, Toronto has the largest immigrant concentration in Canada and one of the largest in the world (McIssac 2003). In comparison, metropolitan areas in the United States such as Miami (40 %), Los Angeles (31 %) and New York (24 %), and worldwide, such as Sydney (31 %) have smaller foreign-born concentrations (McIssac 2003). The immigrant phenomenon in Toronto is not only limited to first generation immigrants, with 22 % of Toronto's population in 2001 being second generation immigrants, defined as individuals with at least one parent born outside Canada (Schellenberg 2004).

As Canada faces an aging population coupled with low fertility rates, immigrants have increasingly been tapped as a source of labour force growth. With proportionately fewer immigrants settling in regions outside of the three main reception centres, smaller regions face difficulties filling their labour demands (see, for example, Derwing et al 2006; Cook and Preugger 2002; Goss Gilroy Inc. 2005). The need for the dispersion of immigrants to other regions in Canada has garnered growing academic attention as well as the attention of both federal and provincial levels of government, with Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) recently implementing measures in their Sustainable Development Strategy to encourage a more equitable distribution of immigrants across Canada (CIC 2006).

While Toronto's role as an immigrant magnet is well known, its inter-relationship with other areas through the exchange of immigrants is less known and understood. What was the previous place of residence of immigrants who make an internal migration to Toronto? Where do immigrants migrate to after leaving Toronto? That is, what role does Toronto play as a centre of immigrant exchange as a way-station (or intermediary), origin, and destination? These questions are particularly important in light of the government's attempt to redistribute the immigrant population (CIC 2006). In many ways, the success or failure of these new policies will hinge on the role and attraction of Toronto among new arrivals.

What is therefore missing in the literature is an examination of the internal migration dynamics of Toronto as a way-station (or intermediary), destination, and origin. Recognizing the dynamic nature of migration and immigration, the purpose of this paper is therefore to evaluate this missing aspect of internal migration of Canada's immigrant population in Toronto. In doing so, the paper considers inter-regional migration at the CMA scale, rather than the more typical provincial scale, and takes advantage of the one- and five-year migration data found within the Canadian Census thereby adding a greater 'temporal dimension' to the analysis. In this research, "immigrants" are used interchangeably with "foreign-born" and define them as all individuals born outside of Canada.

Using data drawn from the 1996 and 2001 Canadian Census Master Files, the objectives of this paper are threefold. First, the paper describes the internal migration flows of Canadian immigrants who use Toronto as a centre of immigrant exchange. Three types of internal migration flows are examined: four-year (migrations over a four-year period), one-year (migrations over a one-year period), and onward way-station migrations (migrations with an intermediary destination). Constructed for a finer grain of analysis of internal migration dynamics, disaggregated flows allow internal migration to be differentiated by varying time

frames and number of movements. Second, the paper investigates changes in the internal migration dynamics between the 1996 and 2001 census periods. Third, the paper examines the characteristics of immigrants who undertake internal four-year, one-year, and onward way-station migrations.

Toronto Settlement and Internal Migration

The spatial distribution of immigrants is often examined as a process of integration into the host society (see, for example, Alba and Long 1991; Alba et al 2000; Bartel and Koch 1991; Ley and Tutchener 2001; Murdie 2002; Owusu 1999). That is, the literature has typically assumed that immigrants first settle in areas of immigrant concentration, and then gradually disperse outward through the process of integration and acculturation into the host society, although this generalized process has been questioned in recent years given the settlement of immigrants directly in suburban locations, including Toronto's (Fong and Wilkes 1999; Lo and Wang 1997; Ray 1999).

In fact, immigrant settlement and spatial adjustments within Toronto has been well documented (see, for example, Darden and Sameh 2000; Dion 2001). However, there has been relatively little research on the movement of immigrants into and out of Toronto and other Canadian cities, although this literature is well advanced in the United States (see, for example, Frey 1998, 2002). One exception is Hou and Bourne (2004), who found that Toronto gained visible minority immigrants and immigrants with a university education, while it lost immigrants with less than a university education, as well as Anglophones and non-visible minority immigrants in the 1980s and 1990s. Between 1991 and 2001, Toronto had a net loss of 12,980 long-term immigrants (those who resided in Canada for at least five years), while Vancouver gained 10,210 and Montreal lost 15,540 (Hou and Bourne 2004). While the volume of migration in and out of these three immigrant gateway cities has been studied, there is no information on the origins and destinations of these migrants as well as their personal characteristics.

Settlement choice and internal migration is strongly influenced by the existing immigrant geography (see, for example, Bartel 1989; Newbold 1996; Zavondy 2000; Wright et al 1997), with the current distribution of immigrants affecting settlement decisions of new arrivals (Moore and Rosenberg 1995; McDonald 2004). Hyndman and Schuurman (2004) found immigrants continued to settle in regions with existing immigrant populations, as recent arrivals are attracted to the regions for the same reasons: economic opportunity, population composition and region specific amenities. The importance of existing immigrant geography implies government interventions to encourage immigrants to settle outside of these immigrant areas may be ineffective. This is likely particularly strong for refugees, as they may be the most susceptible for post-arrival secondary migrations to areas where there are ethnic communities that may be of assistance to their transition (Simich et al 2002). As immigrants may rely on assistance from co-ethnics, the presence of ethnic enclaves may keep immigrants from leaving, however, Hou (2005) found the relative size of the pre-existing immigrant

community has little significance on the residential choices of most immigrant groups in Canada, with the exception of immigrants from the United States and the United Kingdom. Immigrants have settled into particular gateways, and have continued to do so due to a variety of pressures, this will affect the potential for future internal migration (see, for example, Nogle 1994). Even if post-immigration internal migration occurs, immigrants are not necessarily moving away from immigrant concentrations, instead potentially moving to different immigrant concentrations.

Although the existing immigrant settlement system undoubtedly has a central role in the choice to migrate or stay, migration decisions of immigrants are not based solely on the distribution of the immigrant population. Lin (1990), for instance, found immigrants' choice to out-migrate was less dependent on the relative economic situation between provinces than the native-born in Canada. At the same time, foreign- and native- born internal migration patterns are similar in three ways: migration tends to be out of the Atlantic and Prairie provinces and into Ontario, British Columbia, and Alberta; migration tends to be from less to more populated provinces; and foreign- and native-born migration appear to respond to differences in unemployment, wage rates, and labour force size differences in the same manner (Edmonston 2002). In the United States, the foreign-born are attracted to destinations with high employment growth rates, high income levels, and a similar cultural makeup, and they are dissuaded by distance, coldness and high unemployment (Newbold 1996). Despite differences in the spatial patterns of migration among the foreign-born, they generally react in a similar fashion to opportunities as native-born migrants.

Research on the internal migration of Canada's immigrant population is primarily based on inter-provincial migration, with little research at the CMA level which would enable a better understanding of the internal dynamics of immigrant relocation. In addition, research generally covers only two points in time (i.e., beginning and end of the census period), as the majority of internal migration research uses public use census data. With few datasets that follow immigrants longitudinally, little is known about way-station (or intermediate) destinations where immigrants temporarily reside before moving onwards to a third or subsequent destination. With much attention on the concentration of immigrants living Toronto, relatively little is known about the internal migration dynamics which leads immigrants to migrate to or from Toronto. This paper therefore examines how Toronto facilitates the exchange of immigrants within Canada as an origin, way-station, and destination and how its role as a centre of immigrant exchange has changed between 1991 and 2001.

Data and Methods

The following analysis uses data drawn from the 1996 and 2001 Canadian Census Master Files (20 % sample), which provides greater detailed geographical information than the Canadian Census Public Use Microdata Files (PUMFs). Specifically, the data includes the CMA of residence at three points in time: 5-

years prior to the census (1991/1996), 1-year prior to the census (1995/2000), and census day in 1996/2001.² The current analysis includes individuals aged 5 and older at the time of the Census, resident in Canada between 1991(1996) and 1996(2001), and who entered Canada 1990(1995) or earlier and are therefore able to report a place of residence in Canada five years prior to each census. Individuals who are institutionalized were excluded from the sample, as were residents of the three northern territories.

Three types of internal migrants are identified: Four-year, One-year, and Way-station. *Four-year migrants* are defined as individuals who have changed their place of residence between 1991(1996) - 1995(2000), or within the first four years of the census interval. *One-year migrants* are defined as individuals who have changed their place of residence between 1995(2000) - 1996(2001), or the final year of the census interval. *Way-station migrants* are defined as individuals who resided in three different regions in 1991(1996), 1995(2000) and 1996(2001). Consequently, way-station migrants are onward migrants who have moved onwards twice, first between 1991(1996) and 1995(2000), and second between 1995(2000) and 1996(2001). In essence, therefore, a way-station is the intermediate destination (recorded in 1995 (2000)) between the 1991(1996) origin and the observed destination in 1996(2001). Given this definition, we are likely only capturing a small proportion of onward way-station migrants, as this definition precludes those who changed regions between the 1991(1996) and 1995(2000). For example using the 2001 Census, if an individual migrated in 1997 and 1999, this would not be counted as a way-station migration.

The paper proceeds by identifying four-year, one-year and way-station flows and pathways. That is, what are the origins, way-stations, destinations, and volume of migration flows? The internal migration pathways of four-year, one-year and way-station migrations are examined at the sub-provincial scale. In addition to the twenty-seven CMAs defined by Statistics Canada in 2001, ten provincial regions are created to cover the residual areas (Figure 1). For example, the province of British Columbia contains three CMAs (Abbotsford, Vancouver and Victoria), with the 'Rest of British Columbia' created containing all other areas in the province outside of these three CMAs. This process is continued for the other nine provinces (excepting Prince Edward Island which does not have a CMA), to create residual provincial regions.

Descriptive statistics are utilized to characterize these three types of internal migrants, giving an indication of the socioeconomic and sociodemographic selectivity. A set of socioeconomic and sociodemographic variables are selected from the 1996 and 2001 Canadian Census Master Files for analysis. Socioeconomic variables selected for inclusion include total income (\$0-\$19,999, \$20,000-\$39,999, \$40,000-\$59,999, \$60,000-\$79,999, \$80,000-\$99,999, \$100,000 or greater), household language (English, English and other, French, English and

2. Typically, the 3% PUMF only includes the CMA of residence as of Census Day. Previous residential locations are constrained to the provincial scale.



FIGURE 1 2001 Census Metropolitan Areas

French, All Other), Work Status (Full-time, Part-time, Not Applicable), and education (None, High School, Trades or Other Non-university, Bachelor's Degree, Above Bachelor's, Not Applicable).

Sociodemographic variables include age group (5-19, 20-29, 30-39, 40-49, 50-59, and 60 or greater), gender, ethnicity (British Isles, East and Southeast Asian, South Asian, British Isles plus one other; All Other), number of children (One, Two Three, Four, Five Or Greater, None, Not Applicable), and marital status (Divorced, Separated, Widowed (DSW), Married, Single). Finally, immigrant specific variables include year of immigration to Canada (Before 1955, 1956-1960, 1961-1965, 1966-1970, 1971-1975, 1976-1980, 1981-1985, 1986-1990, 1991 - 1995), country of birth (United Kingdom, United States, Germany, Vietnam, India, South Korea, Hong Kong, Poland, China and All Others), and citizenship (Naturalized Citizen, Naturalized Plus One Other Citizenship, Other Citizenship).

TABLE 1 Total Number of Migrants by Type

Migration Type	Census year	
	1996	2001
	Number and Percentage of Migrants	
One-year	40,255 (17.1%)	42,345 (16.9%)
Four-year	186,525 (79.3%)	200,300 (80.0%)
Way-station	8,415 (3.6%)	7,785 (3/1%)
Total	235,195	250,430

Results

Table 1 provides an overview of four-year, one-year, and way-station migrations in the 1991-95-96 and 1996-2000-2001 intervals. In 1991-1995, there were 186,525 four-year migrants (individuals who changed their place of residence between 1991-1995). In comparison, there were 200,300 four-year migrants in 1996-2000. There were 40,255 one-year migrants in 1995-1996 and 42,345 in 2000-2001 (individuals who changed their place of residence between 1995(2000) and 1996(2001)). In the 1996 Census, 8,415 onward way-station migrants (individuals who resided in three different regions in 1991, 1995, and 1996), were observed. Of these, 3,365 (40.0 %) involved Toronto as an origin, way-station (or intermediary), or destination in comparison to a total of 7,785 in the 2001 census, with 3,335 (42.8 %).

Overall, these numbers suggest Toronto's role as a major centre of immigrant exchange within Canada, simultaneously acting as origin, destination and way-station. Given Toronto's apparent role, the following discussion examines the internal migration flows and pathways of immigrants using three types of internal migration: way-station, four-year and one-year.

Toronto as an Origin

Way-Station Migrations

In 1991, Toronto was the origin for 1,140 (13.5 %) way-station migrations compared to 1,120 (14.4 %) in 1996 (Figure 2). The most readily used way-station pathway originating in Toronto in 1991 way-stationed in Vancouver in 1995 before moving onwards to the Rest of British Columbia in 1996 with 65, or 5.7 % of all way-station migrations originating from Toronto in the 1996 census period. However, in the 2001 census period, the largest way-station pathway was Toronto (1996) to Rest of Ontario (2000) and onwards to Oshawa by 2001, with 65 migrations or 5.8 % of all Toronto originating way-station migrations. While the estimated number of way-station migrations are low due to the restrictive nature of the definition of way-station migrations, this suggests that immigrants may make multiple post-arrival moves, and that these moves may involve relatively

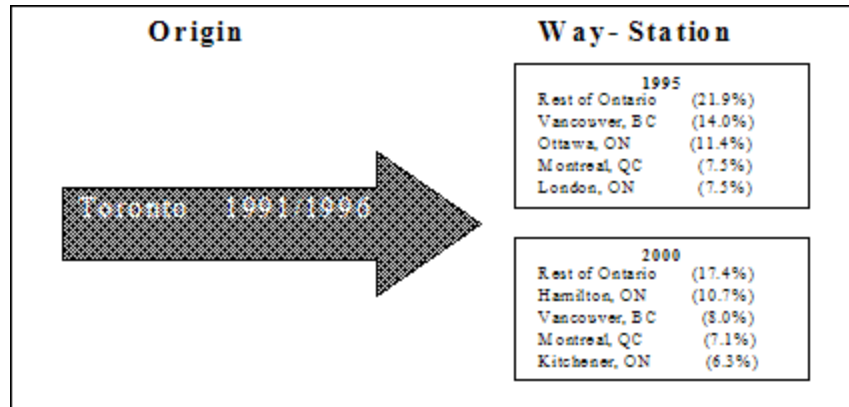


FIGURE 2 Way-Station Migrations with Toronto as an Origin (1991/1996)

Note: N = 1,140 in 1996 and N=1,130 in 2001

long distances within Canada. In both 1995 and 2000, the Rest of Ontario was the most frequently used way-station, potentially indicating that smaller regions are unable to retain immigrants as it is only a temporary destination before immigrants moved onward. Out-migrants from Toronto used similar way-stations in both periods, primarily using Montreal and Vancouver, as well as CMAs in Southern Ontario.

Four-year Migrations

Toronto was the origin for 38,090 and 40,790 four-year migrations (approximately 20.4 %) in 1991 and 1996. For four-year migrants originating in Toronto, seven of the top ten destinations included destinations elsewhere in Southern Ontario (i.e., the CMAs of Hamilton, Oshawa, Kitchener, and London), as well as Vancouver and Montreal, a pattern that was consistent in both the 1996 and 2001 census intervals (Table 2). While exchanges between Toronto and Vancouver or Toronto and Montreal are important, Vancouver's share of Toronto's four-year migrations declined from 15.0 % to 9.7 % between 1995 and 2000, which is somewhat surprising as Vancouver's economy improved over the course of the late 1990s. Therefore, the draw of existing immigrant settlements in Vancouver may not have as much importance for those originating from Toronto. While Montreal's share remained largely unchanged, Hamilton importance as a destination for Toronto's four-year migrants grew from 8.5 % to 13.4 % from 1995 to 2000, a finding which is not unexpected given Hamilton's proximity to Toronto, coupled with increasing housing costs in Toronto.

TABLE 2 Four-year Migrations with Toronto as an Origin (1991/1996)

Destination in 1995	Percentage	Destination in 2000	Percentage
Rest of Ontario	29.2	Rest of Ontario	31.0
Vancouver, BC	15.0	Hamilton, ON	13.4
Oshawa, ON	9.3	Vancouver, BC	9.7
Hamilton, ON	8.5	Oshawa, ON	9.3
Ottawa, ON	4.8	Ottawa, ON	5.5
Kitchener, ON	4.8	Kitchener, ON	5.2
Montreal, QC	3.7	St. Catharines-Niagara, ON	3.7
Rest of BC	3.3	London, ON	3.7
St. Catharines-Niagara, ON	2.8	Montreal, QC	3.6
London, ON	2.8	Calgary, AB	3.4
N	38,090		40,790

TABLE 3 One-year Migrations with Toronto as an Origin (1995/2000)

Destination in 1996	Percentage	Destination in 2001	Percentage
Rest of Ontario	32.7	Rest of Ontario	29.9
Vancouver, BC	11.2	Hamilton, ON	15.4
Oshawa, ON	9.6	Oshawa, ON	12.3
Hamilton, ON	8.8	Vancouver, BC	6.6
Kitchener, ON	5.5	Kitchener, ON	6.3
Ottawa, ON	4.5	Ottawa, ON	5.5
Montreal, QC	4.0	Montreal, QC	4.9
London, ON	3.9	London, ON	3.6
St. Catharines-Niagara, ON	2.8	St. Catharines-Niagara, ON	3.5
Rest of BC	2.7	Windsor, ON	3.3
N	8,875		9,965

One-year Migrations

Of the total one-year migrations in Canada, greater than one-fifth originated in Toronto in 1996 and 2001 (8,875 (22.1 %) and 9,965 (23.5 %) between 1991-96 and 1996-2001, respectively). For these out-migrants, the major destination in both census periods was the Rest of Ontario, which captured 2,900 (32.7 %) in 1996, and 2,975 (29.9 %) in 2001. Nine of the ten destinations are the same in 1996 and 2001, with the exception of Rest of British Columbia in 1996 and Windsor in 2001 (Table 3). Once again, Vancouver declined in importance as a destination from 11.2 % in 1996 to 6.6 % in 2001. However, Montreal had a slight gain from 4.0 to 4.9 %. Both Hamilton and Oshawa grew in importance, from 8.8 and 9.6 % in 1996, to 15.4 and 12.3 % in 2001, respectively. This increase can likely be explained by their geographic proximity to Toronto, which provides access to

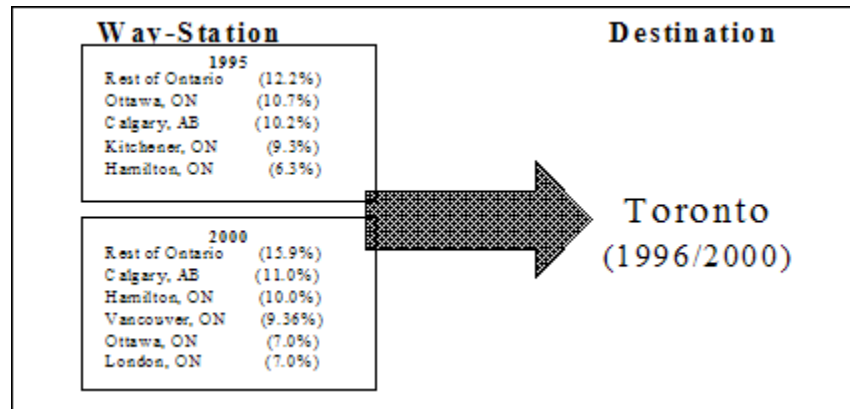


FIGURE 3 Way-Station Migrations with Toronto as a Destination (1996/2001)

Note: N= 1,025 in 1996 and N=1,135 in 2001

communities without propinquity (Zelinsky and Lee 1998), and likely reflects movement out of the Toronto CMA in search of lower costs of living in neighbouring areas. The importance of other Southern Ontario CMAs as destinations for Toronto's one-year migrations grew slightly during these two periods, with Kitchener, Ottawa-Hull, London and St. Catharines-Niagara total share growing from 16.7 to 18.2 % between 1996 and 2001.

Similar to four-year migrations, there were few changes in the CMAs involved in exchanging one-year migrants with Toronto over the two census periods, indicating limited dispersion of Toronto's migrants to other regions in Canada beyond the top ten destinations. It is likely Toronto's large immigrant population and employment opportunities have continued to attract immigrants. Therefore, for migrants originating in Toronto, destination choices are in Southern Ontario, where CMAs such as Oshawa and Hamilton are within a commuting distance, meaning that immigrants may be working in Toronto but live elsewhere.

Toronto as a Destination

Way-Station Migrations

In both 1991-95-96 and 1996-2000-2001, Toronto was the final destination for more than 1,000 way-station migrations (Figure 3), drawing immigrants from other parts of Ontario as well as western Canada from Calgary and Vancouver. The largest migration pathway ending in Toronto by 1996 was from Montreal in 1991, way-stationed in Calgary in 1995, and onwards to Toronto by 1996, with 40 (3.9 %) migrants. In comparison, the largest 1996-2001 pathway originated Montreal (1996), way-stationed in Ottawa-Hull (2000), and moved onwards to Toronto by 2001 (55 migrants or 4.8 %).

TABLE 4 Four-year Migrations with Toronto as a Destination (1995/2000)

Origin in 1991	Percentage	Origin in 1996	Percentage
Rest of Ontario	18.0	Montreal, QC	19.2
Montreal, QC	18.0	Rest of Ontario	16.3
Hamilton, ON	9.9	Vancouver, BC	10.5
Ottawa, ON	6.8	Ottawa, ON	7.7
Vancouver, BC	5.9	Hamilton, ON	7.1
Oshawa, ON	5.8	Kitchener, ON	4.9
London, ON	5.2	Oshawa, ON	4.8
Kitchener, ON	5.0	London, ON	4.5
Winnipeg, MN	3.9	Calgary, AB	2.8
Calgary, AB	2.8	Edmonton, AB	2.6
N	28,535		38,650

Four-year Migrations

Between 1991-1995 and 1996-2000, 28,535 (15.3 %) and 38,650 (19.3) of four-year migrations ended in Toronto. Toronto predominately drew four-year migrants from CMAs in Southern Ontario, along with Vancouver and Montreal (Table 4). Toronto drew a larger proportion of immigrants from Montreal and Vancouver, with its share increasing from 18.0 and 5.9 % respectively in 1995, to 19.2 and 10.5 % in 2000. Proportionally, Toronto drew fewer from Hamilton, 9.9 to 7.1 % while the share of migrations from Ottawa-Hull grew from 6.8 to 7.7 %. As such, it would appear that Toronto draws its in-migrants from two pools: CMAs close to Toronto and other immigrant magnets. Immigrants may choose to move where co-ethnics reside, or where family and friends live, thereby making Toronto attractive for immigrants' post-arrival migration destination.

One-year Migrations

One-year migrations that ended in Toronto increased from 5,810 (14.4 %) in 1995-1996, to 6,470 (15.3 %) in 2000-2001, with major origins including the Rest of Ontario followed by Montreal and CMAs in Southern Ontario (Table 5). Toronto drew fewer one-year migrants from the Rest of Ontario and Montreal in 2000, but was able to draw more heavily from Vancouver, with an increase of 6.5 to 11.1 % between 1995 and 2000.

Immigrant exchange between Toronto and other regions in Canada is limited to the extent of which regions are involved in the exchange with Toronto. Toronto both supplies and draws immigrants to only a few regions in Canada, especially to large CMAs in Southern Ontario, and the two immigrant receiving CMAs of Vancouver and Montreal. Not only is Toronto able to attract newly arrived immi-

TABLE 5 One-year Migrations with Toronto as a Destination (1996/2001)

Origin in 1995	Percentage	Origin in 2000	Percentage
Rest of Ontario	20.7	Rest of Ontario	15.9
Montreal, QC	18.0	Montreal, QC	14.5
Hamilton, ON	7.9	Vancouver, BC	11.1
Ottawa, ON	7.5	Hamilton, ON	10.4
Oshawa, ON	6.8	Ottawa, ON	7.1
Vancouver, BC	6.5	Oshawa, ON	6.3
Kitchener, ON	5.6	Kitchener, ON	5.6
Calgary, AB	3.9	Edmonton, AB	3.8
Winnipeg, MN	3.6	London, ON	3.6
London, ON	2.8	Calgary, AB	3.2
N	5,810		6,470

grants for initial settlement, but it has the ability to draw in immigrants who have settled elsewhere. Toronto's ability to draw immigrants increased over the two census periods for all three types of migrations, four-year, one-year and way-station.

Toronto as a Way-Station³

There were 760 (9.0 % of total way-station migrations) migrations with Toronto as a way-station in 1995, in comparison to 1,080 migrations (13.9 % of total way-station migrants) in 2000 (Figure 4). While the number of way-station migrations are low, these results indicate that there is potentially much intra-provincial migration which is masked by provincial scale studies. The largest way-station migration pathways in 1991-95-96 originated in the Rest of Ontario in 1991, through Toronto in 1995, and onwards to Hamilton in 1996, and Calgary in 1991 through Toronto in 1995 onwards to Vancouver in 1996, each with 35 (4.6 % of total way-station migrations) migrations. In 1996-2000-2001, the largest pathway in originated in Vancouver in 1996 through Toronto in 2000 onwards to Hamilton in 2001, representing 70 (6.5 % of total way-station migrations) migrations. Many of the origins and destinations of migrants who used Toronto as a way-station are the same over the two census periods indicating that there is a continuous exchange of immigrants amongst only a select group of regions in Canada.

3. The concept of way-station is taken from Bell (1995) where a way-station is defined as a temporary, intermediary residential location where migrants reside temporarily before subsequently moving onwards.

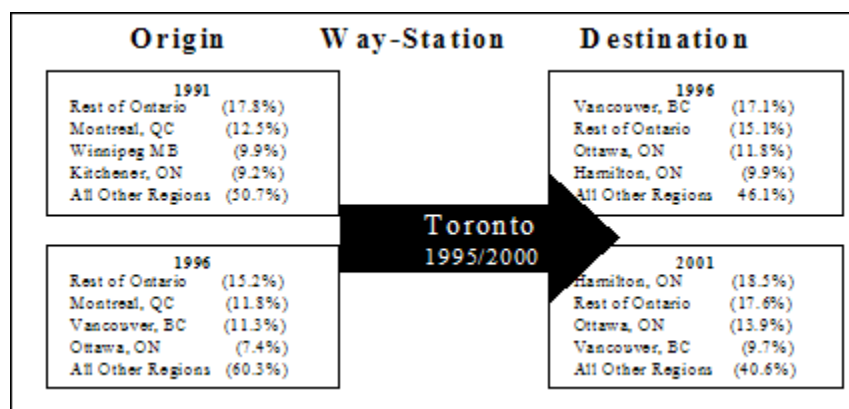


FIGURE 4 Toronto as a Way-Station 1995/2000

Note: N= 760 in 1996 and N=1,080 in 2001

Characteristics of Four-year, One-year and Way-Station Migrants

Using data from the 2001 Census, the characteristics of migrants who undertake four-year, one-year and onward way-station migrations are examined in Tables 6 and 7. The majority of differences between these three migrant types were significant at the one percent level using the test of proportions with varying significance across migration type and characteristic. Way-station migrants have the youngest distribution of migrants amongst the three types, with the largest proportion aged of 30 to 39 (28.8 %), while the largest proportion of one-year migrants are 60 years and older (22.6 %). Approximately 64 % of way-station migrants are under the age of 39 as opposed to approximately 45 % of both four-year and one-year migrants. Way-station migrants may be younger than either four- or one-year migrants as they undertake multiple moves and younger individuals are likely to make multiple migrations than their older counterparts.

Turning to other demographic characteristics, there are slightly more females than males who undertake way-station migrations (47.8 % versus 52.2 %) than both one-year (50.7 % versus 49.3 %) and four-year (50.3 % versus 49.7 %) migrants. The majority of migrants have no children with 60.9 % of way-station migrants in comparison to 63.5, and 56.8 % of one-year and four-year migrants. Those without children are more likely to migrate as they have fewer ties to a particular location through children. While the majority are married, way-station migrants are the least likely to be married (53.2 %) in comparison to four-year migrants (62.8 %) and one-year migrants (60.8 %).

Reflecting immigration sources, all three migrant types share similar ethnic backgrounds, with individuals from the British Isles, East Asia, and Southeast Asia representing approximately 15 % each, and South Asians another 9 % of migrants. Place of birth characteristics of migrants are similar as well, with the largest proportion of migrants from the United Kingdom (approximately 20 %), followed by the United States (7 to 8 %). However, these results are somewhat surprising, given that these individuals are from more traditional source countries, and

TABLE 6 Selected Socioeconomic/Demographic Characteristics of Internal Migrations in 2001 (≥ 5 years)

		Test of Proportions					
		Way-Station	One-year	Four-year	Way-Station	Way-Station	One-year
		Migrants	Migrants	Migrants	and	and	and
			%		One-year	Four-year	Four-year
<i>Sample: 5 years and greater</i>							
<i>Age</i>	5 to 19	9.2	6.1	6.9	*	*	*
	20 to 29	25.6	17.4	14.4	*	*	*
	30 to 39	28.8	21.2	24.4	*	*	*
	40 to 49	16.1	16.3	18.3	--	*	*
	50 to 59	10.9	16.4	15.1	*	*	*
	60 or greater	9.3	22.6	20.9	*	*	*
<i>Gender</i>	Female	47.8	50.7	50.3	*	*	
	Male	52.2	49.3	49.7	*	*	
<i># of Children</i>	One	12.0	13.3	15.0	*	*	*
	Two	13.5	12.9	15.6	--	*	*
	Three	4.8	5.1	5.9	--	*	*
	Four	2.1	1.3	1.9	*	--	*
	Five plus	1.2	0.4	0.6	*	*	*
	None	60.9	63.5	56.8	*	*	*
	Not Applicable	5.5	3.5	4.2	*	*	*
<i>Marital Status</i>	Div., Sep., Wid.	13.5	16.3	14.4	*	*	*
	Married	53.2	60.2	62.8	*	*	*
	Single	33.3	23.6	22.8	*	*	*
<i>Ethnicity</i>	British Isles	14.2	15.6	15.7	*	*	
	East & S.East Asians	14.9	14.1	15.6	--	--	*
	South Asians	9.1	8.7	8.9	*	--	--
	British Isles +1 other	7.6	5.9	6.0	*	*	
	Other	54.2	55.7	53.8	*	--	*
<i>Citizenship</i>	Naturalized Canadian	71.0	71.7	72.4		*	*
	Other(s) Citizenship	16.8	15.2	15.2	*	*	--
	Naturalized Canadian Plus Other Citizenship	12.1	11.5	12.4	--	--	*
<i>Home Language</i>	English	54.8	54.2	51.7	*	*	*
	English and Other(s)	22.7	24.5	26.3	*	*	*
	French	2.3	2.8	2.8	*	*	*
	Indo-Iranian	2.6	2.3	2.8	--	--	*
	English and French	3	2.0	2.1	*	*	--
	SinoTibetan-Chin	1.8	3.1	3.5	*	*	*
	Other	12.7	11.2	11.0	*	*	--
<i>Year of Immig.</i>	Before 1955	4.8	10.3	9.3	*	*	*
	1956 to 1960	4.7	7.0	6.5	*	*	*
	1961 to 1965	3.0	4.7	4.7	*	*	--
	1966 to 1970	7.5	10.6	10.1	*	*	*
	1971 to 1975	10.9	10.4	10.5	--	--	--
	1976 to 1980	11.8	10.1	9.8	*	*	--
	1981 to 1985	10.5	9.6	9.1	*	*	*
	1986 to 1990	17.9	16.3	15.2	*	*	*
	1991 to 1995	28.9	21.1	24.8	*	*	*
<i>Place of Birth</i>	United Kingdom	20.4	20.4	19.9	--	--	--
	United States	7.8	6.8	6.7	*	*	--
	Germany	5.8	5.1	4.7	*	*	*
	Vietnam	4.7	3.5	3.6	*	*	--
	India	4.1	4.8	4.7	*	*	--
	South Korea	2.7	1.6	1.8	*	*	*
	Hong Kong	2.5	2.7	3.0	--	*	*
	Poland	2.3	3.9	3.3	*	*	*
	China	2.0	2.9	3.3	*	*	*
	Other	47.7	48.3	49.1	--	*	*
N (5 years and greater)		7,745	42,310	200,295			

Note: 1. * = Significantly different at 1 %

TABLE 7 Selected Socioeconomic/Demographic Characteristics of Internal Migrations in 2001 (≥ 25 years)

	Test of Proportions					
	Way-Station Migrants	One-year Migrants %	Four-year Migrants	Way-Station and One-year	Way-Station and Four-year	One-year and Four-year
<i>Sample: 25 years and greater</i>						
Educational Attainment (Highest Degree)						
None	13.7	22.2	21.6	*	*	*
High School	13.8	10.1	17.2	*	*	*
Trades or Other Non-Univ.	32.5	42.0	32.7	*	--	*
Bachelor	20.6	15.2	15.8	*	*	*
Above Bachelor	19.4	10.4	12.7	*	*	*
Household Income						
Less than \$20,000	42.7	45.4	42.7	*	--	*
\$20,000 to \$39,999	27.9	28.4	28.4	--	--	--
\$40,000 to \$59,999	16.1	14.6	15.3	*	--	*
\$60,000 to \$79,999	7.5	6.1	7.0	*	--	*
\$80,000 to \$99,999	2.2	2.4	3.0	--	*	*
\$100,000 or greater	3.8	3.1	3.7	*	--	*
Work Status						
Full-time	63.2	55.4	56.0	*	*	--
Part-time	10.6	11.7	11.3	*	*	--
Not Applicable	26.2	32.9	32.7	*	*	--
Labour Force Status						
Employed	64.9	54.9	61.1	*	*	*
Unemployed	8.3	6.8	4.5	*	*	*
Not in LF	26.8	38.3	34.4	*	*	*
Occupation (Excluding Not Applicable)						
Management	15.4	14.5	13.7	*	*	*
Business, Fin. & Admin.	13.8	17	15.9	*	--	*
Natural and Applied Sciences	13.6	10	11.6	*	*	*
Health	8.4	6	6.5	*	*	*
Social Sciences, and Gov't	10.9	9.2	8.4	*	*	*
Art, Culture and Recreation	3.9	3.4	3.3	*	*	--
Sales and Services	17.9	20.3	20.4	--	--	--
Trades and Transportation	9.3	10.3	10.7	--	--	--
Primary Industries	2.3	2.3	2.2	--	--	--
Processing, Manuf. & Utilities	4.8	6.9	7.4	*	*	--
N (25 years and greater)	6,260	36,450	175,430			

Note: 1. * = Significantly different at 1 %.

therefore either reflect an ease of mobility within the country and/or their ability to relocate for work or employment opportunities. With the exception of Germany and Poland, other major origin countries include Vietnam, India, South Korea, Hong Kong and China.

Generally, more recent arrivals are more likely to migrate, with 28.9, 21.1, and 24.8 % of 1991-95 arrivals making a way-station, one-year, or four-year migration, respectively. Way-station migrants are more recent arrivals than one-year and four-year migrants, with those arriving between 1986 and 1996

comprising 46.8 % of way-station migrants, in comparison to one-year (37.4 %) and four-year (40.0 %) migrants. In comparison, way-station migrants are less likely to have resided in Canada for a long period with only 4.8 % having arrived prior to 1956 only half of the percentage for one-year and four-year migrants (10.3 and 9.3 %). Way-station migrants are comprised of those who have lived in Canada for the shortest period of residency and are thereby likely have the fewest ties to a particular region and able to make multiple moves.

The majority of migrants speak English only as their home language (54.8, 54.2 and 51.7 % of way-station, one-year and four-year migrants, respectively) including a home language of English plus one other language, the percentage of migrants that use English as a home language increases to approximately 80 % for each of the three migrant types. In addition to English, the other two largest home language categories are Indo-Iranian and SinoTibetan-Chinese, with approximately two to three percent, representative of the largest immigrant groups in Canada. In terms of citizenship, approximately 85 % are naturalized citizens.

Education, household income, labour force status, work status and occupation are examined only for those 25 years and older. Immigrants undertaking way-station migrations tend to be better educated than those taking a one-year or four-year migration, with a larger proportion of way-station migrants having a BA (40.0 %) compared to 25.6 and 28.5 % of one-year and four-year migrants. Moreover, 19.4 % of way-station migrants possess a degree higher than bachelors, compared to 10.4 and 12.7 % of one-year and four-year migrants, likely an outcome of the increased admission of immigrants into Canada in the 1990's through the points system which favours those with higher education. In terms of household income, the majority of migrants (regardless of migration type) earn less than \$20,000 in 2001 (42.7 % of both way-station and four-year migrants, and 45.4 % of one-year migrants). Over seventy percent of these three migrant types earned less than \$40,000 in 2001 which could be due to either their relative recent arrival or difficulties in the labour market in finding employment corresponding to their educational credentials. Finally, the three migrant types displace similar profiles in terms of work status, labour force status and occupation type, with the majority of migrants working full-time, employed, and engaged in sales and service occupations, however, way-station migrants are more prone to be in the labour force than the other two types.

Conclusions

Toronto has the largest concentration of immigrants in Canada, and one of the largest in the world. While there is research on the settlement of immigrants in Toronto, little is known about Toronto's role as an origin, destination, and way-station in the internal migration of immigrants. As such, this paper has explored the role of Toronto as both a magnet and origin for the internal migration of the foreign-born within Canada, with the analysis based on the 1996 and 2001 Canadian Census Master Files. In addition, the analysis distinguished between 'four-year', 'one-year', and 'way-station' migrations, in recognition of the potential complexity of migration patterns. While the total number of migrants

involved in each of these flows is relatively small, reflecting the limited temporal definitions of migrations employed in this paper, they provide a glimpse as to the complexity of inter-regional migration flows and the mobility of the immigrant population.

Four broad conclusions can be drawn from the analysis. First, considering Toronto as an origin, migrants primarily chose to move to Vancouver, Montreal, and CMAs in Southern Ontario, including Hamilton and Oshawa which are geographically proximate to Toronto. Although there has been a decline in the ability of Vancouver and Montreal to draw immigrants away from Toronto between the two census periods, there has been increasing importance of Southern Ontario CMAs such as St. Catharines-Niagara, Kitchener and London. Overall, there is relatively little evidence of dispersion among Toronto's immigrants to smaller communities in the Prairie or Atlantic provinces. Predominately, immigrants are choosing to move away from Toronto to other large or nearby CMAs. Whether smaller CMAs outside of Southern Ontario can attract immigrants away from Toronto is unknown, but also unlikely given the size and importance of Toronto's immigrant community.

Second, as a destination, Toronto is able to attract immigrants from the other two immigrant magnets, Vancouver and Montreal, and other regions in Ontario. Particularly for one-year and four-year migrations, Toronto was able to draw immigrants from Montreal in both census periods. Toronto has the ability not only to attract newcomers to Canada, but immigrants who have temporarily resided elsewhere as well. The top ten origins and destinations of four-year and one-year migrants show that there is limited exchange between CMAs as at least eight of the ten origins and destinations are the same for both four-year and one-year migrants.

Third, as a way-station, Toronto is a centre of immigrant exchange and temporary residence for both census periods. Moreover, the top origins and destinations of migrants who way-stationed in Toronto are similar over the two census periods, indicating that there is a continuous exchange of immigrants amongst only a select group of regions in Canada. For instance, across the two census periods, the top four destinations of migrants way-stationed in Toronto are the same while Rest of Ontario and Montreal are the top two origins. Migrants who way-stationed in Toronto primarily had origins and destinations from within Ontario in addition to Montreal and Vancouver.

Fourth, echoing the broader migration literature, migrants are relatively young, married, with no children and speak English as their home language. In addition, migrants tend to be well educated and work full time, but earn relatively low incomes. However, onward way-station migrants tend to be better educated, and prone to being in the labour force and full-time employment than one-year or four-year migrants.

The strength of Toronto, as an origin, destination and way-station is unparalleled in Canada and thus the question is whether this can be altered. That is, it would appear that the potential for dispersion is limited, meaning that policy options aiming to achieve a greater geographic dispersion may be few. If economic opportunity is a driving force for internal migration, then regions should be promoting the economic opportunities available to immigrants in their communities and provinces. In particular, programs that match immigrants with

prospective employers, or assist with the search for Canadian employment experience would likely be the most useful.

Another key policy initiative would be programs that would facilitate the migration and retention of immigrants to smaller regions, including more comprehensive immigrant settlement services and programs. For example, region (or city) specific programs should assist with entry into professions through assistance with navigation of complex accreditation process, work internships, apprenticeships, and mentorships. The newly introduced Bill 124, Fair Access to Regulated Professions Act, 2006 in Ontario, could in some way assist regions with these types of programs. In addition, these region (or city) specific employment programs would be the most effective coupled with immigrant settlement programs which include occupation-specific language training, employment search training and other employment seeking programs. More comprehensive immigrant settlement programs may encourage the migration and retention of immigrants to smaller regions and cities.

Overall, therefore, Toronto appears as a re-distributor of immigrants. Migration exchanges are typically either with other immigrant centres such as Vancouver or Montreal, or with neighbouring CMAs that are geographically proximate to Toronto such as Oshawa or Hamilton. Given Toronto's role within Canada's immigrant settlement system, there is relatively little evidence that a net population re-distributing out from the city is occurring to the benefit of smaller centres. While the growth of centres such as Hamilton or Oshawa may be taken as some evidence of dispersion out Toronto, these neighbouring CMAs are geographically proximate to Toronto's immigrant communities and already have substantial immigrant populations. In this way, movement out of Toronto is more or less a suburbanization of immigrants to lower cost metropolitan areas, but which enable on-going linkages to broader communities. Whether Canada will be able to create policies and programs to encourage post-arrival migrations toward smaller centres for a greater geographical balance in the future is unknown.

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