



# The Role of Immigration in Ottawa's Historic Growth and Development: A Multi-City Comparative Analysis of Census and Immigration Data

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# Executive Summary

This report was commissioned by the Ottawa Local Immigration Partnership (OLIP) to demonstrate the role of immigration in the growth and development of Ottawa. To provide a broader context, the report compares Ottawa's growth to other mid-size Canadian cities: Québec City, Hamilton, Winnipeg, Calgary and Edmonton.

It is important to note that Ottawa and the surrounding area were first occupied by Aboriginal people. The arrival of Philemon Wright in 1800 marked the start of non-aboriginal settlement. The building of the Rideau Canal and the forestry industry were early draws for immigrants, especially Scottish and Irish immigrants. The designation of Ottawa as the capital accelerated growth. Massive immigration in the late 19<sup>th</sup> Century and early 20<sup>th</sup> century benefited Ottawa; however, the majority of immigrants settled in Western Canada. Ottawa experienced steady growth in first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, as compared with the boom and bust growth of western cities. The presence of government in Ottawa was a consistent draw for immigration to the city.

In 1911, only 7% of Ottawa's population was not British or French, as compared with 17% nationally. The population of Ottawa in 1961 remained predominantly British and French. Much of recent local population growth was due to Canadians moving to Ottawa, rather than large-scale immigration from outside of the country. Only 19% of the population in Ottawa was foreign-born, as compared to 30% in Edmonton.

In the last 35 years, Ottawa has grown faster than Winnipeg, Québec City and Hamilton but much slower than Calgary and Edmonton. Following the changes to Immigration Regulations in 1962 and 1967, to eliminate discrimination, Ottawa became far more diverse, with visible minorities representing 19.4% of its population in 2006. The major visible minority groups in Ottawa are Black, Chinese, South-Asian and Arab but recent years have seen strong growth in the Filipino, Latin American and Korean communities. The rate of growth of the visible minority population is slower due to less immigration to Ottawa, as compared to major Prairie cities, especially in the last five or six years. Alberta and Manitoba have developed proactive immigration policies and are making good use of the Provincial Nominee Program.

Whereas Ottawa is doing well in attracting French-speaking immigrants, the city's profile as a destination for immigrants is low and marketing of Ottawa is inconsistent. The lack of ability for most immigrants to obtain employment with the Federal government is also a strong disincentive. The report concludes that Ottawa must increase efforts to attract and retain immigrants if it wishes to continue its demographic and economic growth and maintain its admirable quality of life.

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# I. Introduction

This report was commissioned by the Ottawa Local Immigration Partnership (OLIP), with the purpose of supporting a common understanding of the role of immigration in Ottawa’s historic growth and development. OLIP also wanted to know how Ottawa was faring in comparison to other Canadian cities of a similar size.

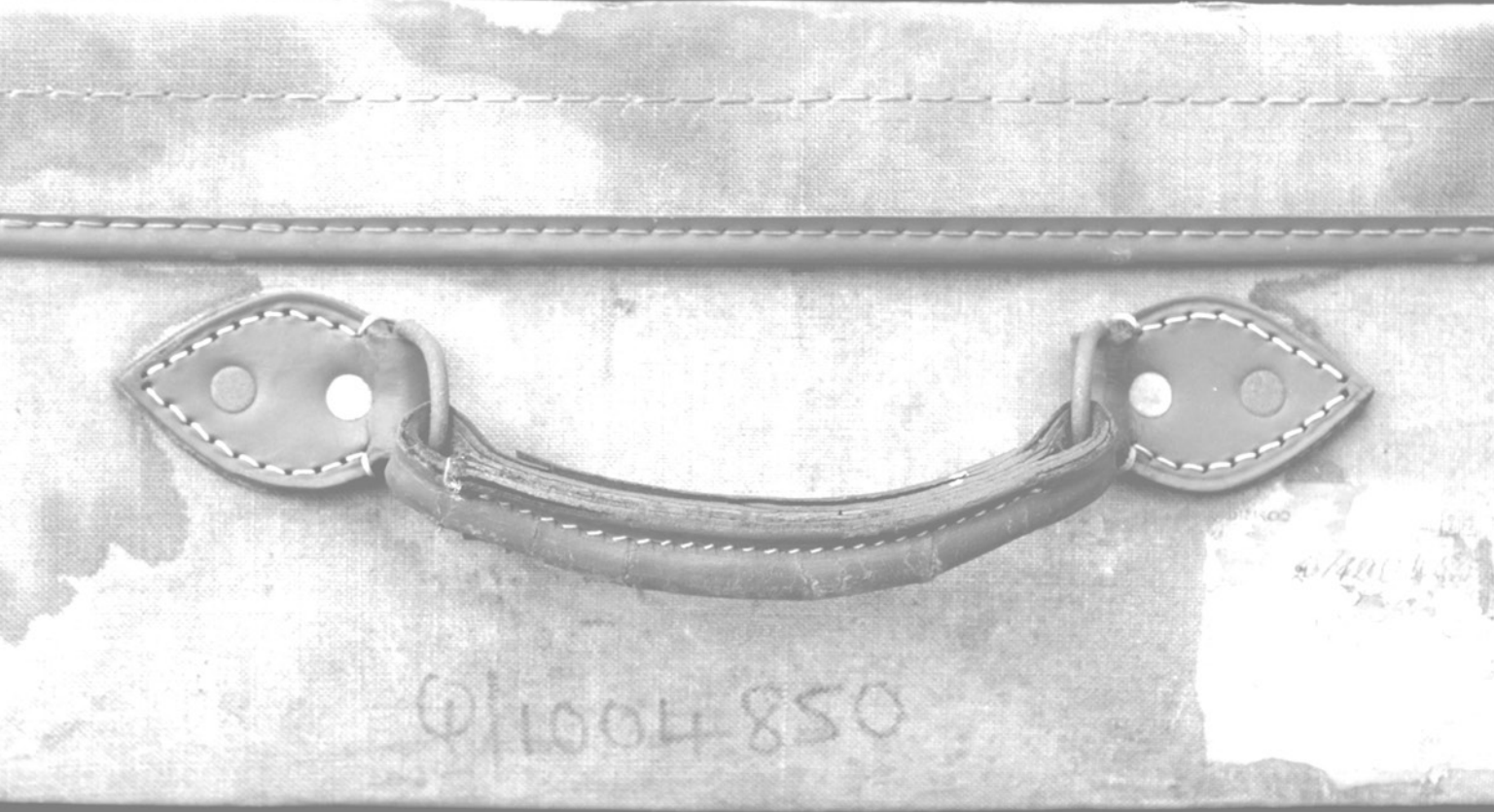
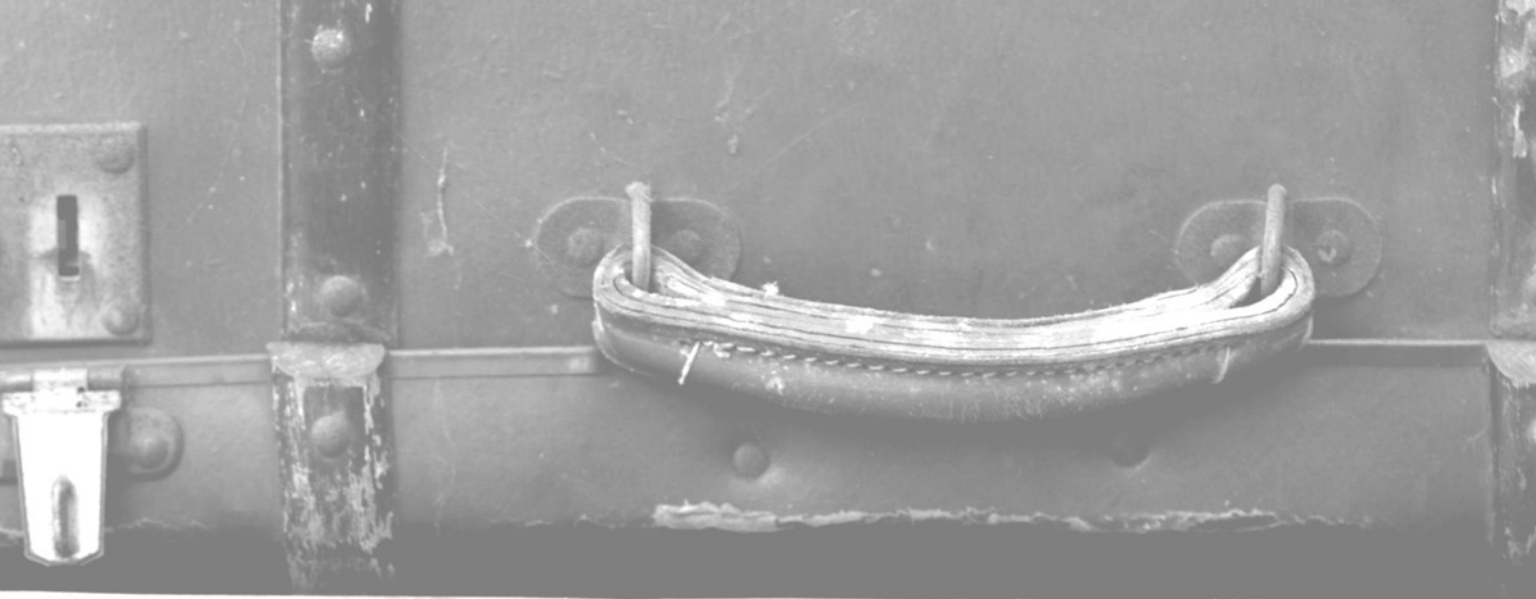
This report was developed to meet these requirements and to provide both an historical perspective of immigration to Ottawa and comparative data for other mid-size Canadian cities. This report focuses on Ottawa, Québec City, Hamilton, Winnipeg, Calgary and Edmonton. All are cities that have grown, at different paces and over ranges of time, through immigration. In 1976, the population of these cities ranged from 470,000 to 580,000, a variance of 110,000. By 2009,

this 110,000 variance had spread to 490,000 and the smallest city in 1976 – Calgary – was now the largest of the six. Ottawa has remained in the middle range.

To the extent possible, data on Ottawa has been restricted to the Ontario portion of the Ottawa-Gatineau census metropolitan area (CMA). The combined Ottawa-Gatineau CMA, in 2009, had an estimated population of 1,220,674 – almost identical to that of Calgary. Given that immigration practices vary from province to province, especially in Québec, this report will focus on Ottawa.

The majority of the source material for this report is from primary sources: a range of censuses of Canada and immigration data from Citizenship and Immigration Canada.

“This report focuses on Ottawa, Québec City, Hamilton, Winnipeg, Calgary and Edmonton. All are cities that have grown, at different paces and over ranges of time, through immigration.”





## II. Early Settlement and Growth: 1800-1900

In June 1613, the explorer Samuel de Champlain wrote, in his *Voyages*, the first description of the site of what would become the City of Ottawa. It was a notable location because a portage was required around what the Algonquin people, guiding Champlain, called the Asticou. This was the swirling water at the base of what we know as the Chaudière Falls. Both asticou and chaudière mean the same thing: boiler. For centuries, the First Nations inhabitants, explorers, and fur traders passed by this location on their way west along the chain of rivers and lakes linking Montréal with the western plains. The Ottawa Valley had been the home of the Algonquin peoples for centuries and, perhaps, millennia, before the arrival of Europeans.

For almost two centuries, Europeans merely passed through these Algonquin lands. It was not until 1800 that Philemon Wright, of Woburn, Massachusetts, built a home for himself at the foot of the portage, on the Québec side of the river. The town he founded, originally called Wrightville, was renamed Hull and became, more recently, the centre of the city of Gatineau. A significant amount of time passed before any of the European travelers found it worthwhile to settle on the heights of the great cliffs on the south side of the river. Around 1820, Nicholas Sparks moved across the river and cleared a farm in what is now the heart of Ottawa.

Seven years later Colonel John By, of the Royal Engineers, was sent out to build a canal from a point below the Chaudière Falls to Kingston on Lake Ontario. The canal, completed at a cost of \$2,500,000, was a brilliant engineering feat. It was a military initiative designed to provide a safe route from Montréal to western Canada avoiding the US border along the St. Lawrence River. The building of the canal required a large workforce, mostly of Scottish stonemasons, and they created a fair sized settlement at the Ottawa River end of the Canal, which came to be known as Bytown.<sup>1</sup>

The threat to Canada posed by the United States, during the War of 1812, made the British realize that a loyal population needed to be established to occupy and, if necessary, defend the area. At the end of the war, in 1815, immigration of Scottish settlers to the area along the Rideau River was encouraged as was the settlement of British soldiers who had been stationed in Canada during the War of 1812. The Ottawa Valley was blessed with seemingly endless forests of red and white pine and an abundance of water power to harness for sawmills, which contributed to the rapid development of the lumber trade. Bytown rapidly increased in wealth and importance and attracted labourers to the area, mostly French Canadians and Irish immigrants.

At this time, separate communities were established and developed in the area, often near waterfalls or rapids that could be used to power mills. The three Burritt brothers settled along the Rideau River, in 1793, at what came to be known as Burritt's Rapids. Around 1795, William Merrick settled by another set of rapids and founded Merrickville. In 1811, Ira Honeywell established a farm in the area now known as Britannia, and Braddish Billings settled by the Rideau River at a location that came to be known

The Ottawa Valley was blessed with seemingly endless forests of red and white pine and an abundance of water power to harness for sawmills, which contributed to the rapid development of the lumber trade.

as Billings Bridge. In 1823, approximately 600 Irish farmers were brought to the Rideau Valley. This was the beginning of a huge movement of Irish to Canada that peaked in the 1840s, during the potato famines.

By 1851, the population of Bytown had increased to around 7,800 and approximately 40,000 people lived in the area, on both sides of the river. In recognition of this growth, in 1854, Bytown was incorporated as a city and renamed of Ottawa, more fitting the growing industrial centre. Four years later, on the recommendation of the Governor General, Queen Victoria selected Ottawa as the capital of the Province of Canada. By the 1861 Census, the population of Ottawa had grown to almost 15,000 and the settlers in the surrounding area numbered over 50,000.<sup>2</sup>

The choice of Ottawa, as the capital of the Province of Canada in 1858 and, as the capital of the Dominion of Canada when Nova Scotia and New Brunswick joined in Confederation in 1867, prompted a new wave of migration of politicians and bureaucrats. Government

officials that had previously worked in Québec City, Montréal, Kingston and Toronto, all had to move to the new capital. The city remained industrial and, consequently, quite polluted for many years but the transformation to a dignified capital had started and the massive new Parliament Buildings rose to dominate the Ottawa skyline.<sup>3</sup>

The new Dominion of Canada, in its early days, was predominantly rural. Only 19% of the population lived in communities of 1,000 people or more. The largest city in the nation was Montréal. Ottawa, which had grown to 24,141 by the 1871 Census, was the seventh largest city in Canada. The six other largest cities were:

1.	<b>Montréal:</b>	115,000
2.	<b>Québec City:</b>	59,699
3.	<b>Toronto:</b>	59,000
4.	<b>Saint John NB:</b>	41,325
5.	<b>Halifax:</b>	29,582
6.	<b>Hamilton:</b>	26,880

The four old eastern port cities dominated the urban landscape. Only the new capital and the growing industrial centres of Toronto and Hamilton had significant populations at the time. Winnipeg, the capital of the newly acquired Manitoba and of the Northwest Territories, had a population of 241.<sup>4</sup>

The acquisition of Rupert's Land and the North West Territory, from the Hudson Bay Company created a vast hinterland for the new country and physically linked it with the colony of British Columbia on the Pacific Coast. British Columbia joined Canada, which promised to link it to the east with a transcontinental railway. The Canadian Pacific Railway was completed in 1885 and, shortly thereafter, the largest migration in Canada's history began and ended only with the outbreak of the First World War.

Ottawa's growth continued to be driven by the presence of the timber industry and government. By the turn of the new century, Ottawa reached a population of 60,000 and became the fourth largest city in Canada; however, the population growth was more

pronounced in the west. The tiny hamlet of Winnipeg had grown into a city of over 42,000 people in a span of thirty years. In 1901, the largest cities in Canada were:

1.	<b>Montréal:</b>	267,730
2.	<b>Toronto:</b>	208,040
3.	<b>Québec City:</b>	68,840
4.	<b>Ottawa:</b>	59,928
5.	<b>Hamilton:</b>	52,634
6.	<b>Winnipeg:</b>	42,340

Vancouver had a population of 27,000. The new Prairie towns of Calgary and Edmonton had populations of 4,000 and 2,600 respectively. Though still overwhelmingly rural, 37% of Canada's population now lived in communities of 1,000 people or more.<sup>5</sup>

The following decade would see still greater growth, as people from all over Europe and the United States, whose free land in the west was by now completely occupied, flocked to settle the "Last Best West."

The new Dominion of Canada, in its early days, was predominantly rural. Only 19% of the population lived in communities of 1,000 people or more



### III. Comparative Population Growth in Selected Canadian Cities

#### Population Snapshots

Although eastern cities also benefited and grew rapidly through immigration, the bulk of early twentieth century immigration was concentrated in the west and the new western cities experienced a marked increase in population. The populations of both Winnipeg and Vancouver surpassed Ottawa; however, the populations of Ottawa and Hamilton both surpassed that of Québec City. The biggest cities in Canada in 1911 were:

1.	<b>Montréal:</b>	470,480
2.	<b>Toronto:</b>	376,538
3.	<b>Winnipeg:</b>	136,035
4.	<b>Vancouver:</b>	100,401
5.	<b>Ottawa:</b>	87,062
6.	<b>Hamilton:</b>	81,969
7.	<b>Québec City:</b>	78,710

Additionally, Edmonton and Calgary each grew ten-fold over the last decade. Calgary, with a population of 43,704, became Canada’s 10<sup>th</sup> largest city and Edmonton, with a population of 24,900, became the 14<sup>th</sup> largest city. Forty-five per cent (45%) of Canada’s population of 7,200,000 now lived in communities of 1,000 or more.<sup>6</sup> A large majority of immigrants were coming to Canada from the United Kingdom (including Ireland), northern and central Europe, and the United States. The impact of immigration on Ottawa was significant, but not nearly as significant as on Canada as a whole. Seven per cent (7%) of Ottawa’s population claimed origins other than British or French in 1911, as compared with 17% in Canada as a whole. In Manitoba, 30% of the population had origins other than English or French. In Ottawa, only three non-British or non-French communities numbered over 500: Germans, Jews and Italians. There were only 25 Black people in Ottawa in 1911. Chart 1 and Table 1 illustrate these figures.

Early in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the impact of immigration to Ottawa was significant, but not nearly as significant as on Canada as a whole. Only 7% of Ottawa’s population claimed origins other than British or French in 1911, compared to 17% in Canada. The bulk of early 20th century immigration was concentrated in Canada’s western cities.

Chart 1:  
Origins of Population in 1911<sup>7</sup>

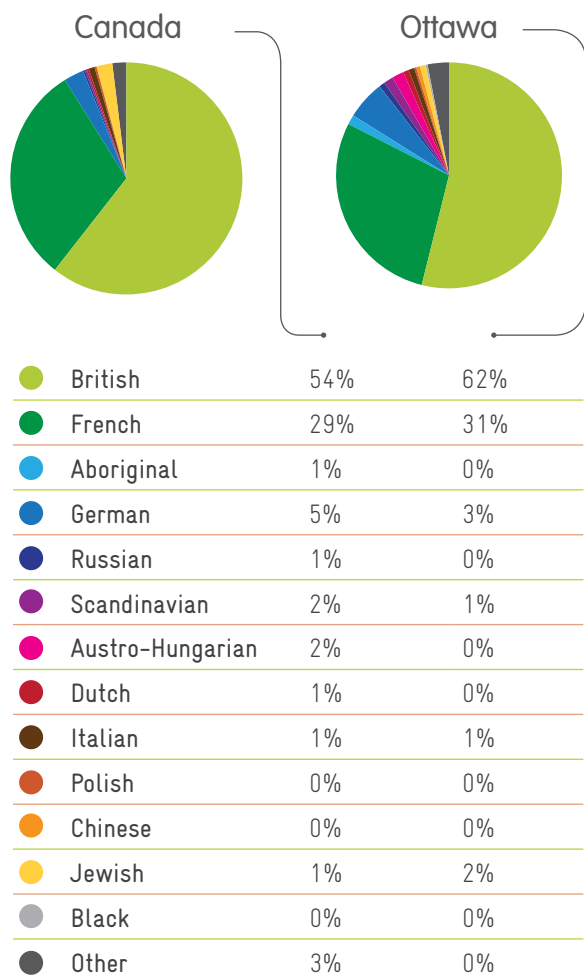


Table 1:  
Origins of Population in 1911<sup>8</sup>

Origin	Canada	Ottawa
British	3,896,985	52,734
French	2,054,890	26,732
Aboriginal	105,492	17
German	393,320	2,379
Russian	58,639	131
Scandinavian	107,535	314
Austro-Hungarian	129,103	121
Dutch	54,986	157
Italian	45,411	643
Polish	33,365	256
Chinese	27,774	168
Jewish	75,681	1,776
Black	16,877	25
Other	206,585	1,609

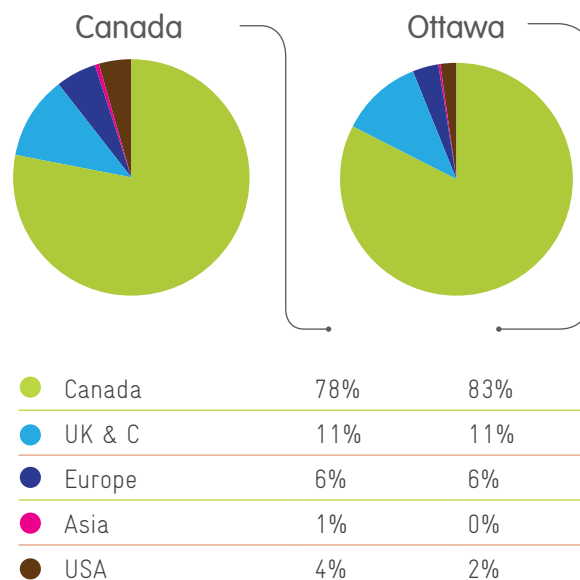


If we look at where Ottawa's population was born, a slightly different picture emerges. In Ottawa, 17% of the population was foreign born and over two-thirds of the immigrants were born in Britain or the British Empire; however, in Canada as a whole only half of the 22% of the population that was foreign born were born in Britain. The Asian population in Ottawa numbered only 233. Chart 2 and Table 2 illustrate these figures.

**Table 2:**  
Canadian and Foreign Born – 1911 Census<sup>10</sup>

Place of Birth	Canada	Ottawa
Canada	5,619,682	71,994
UK & C	813,714	9,816
Europe	404,941	3,064
Asia	40,946	233
USA	303,680	1,920

**Chart 2:**  
Canadian and Foreign Born – 1911 Census<sup>9</sup>

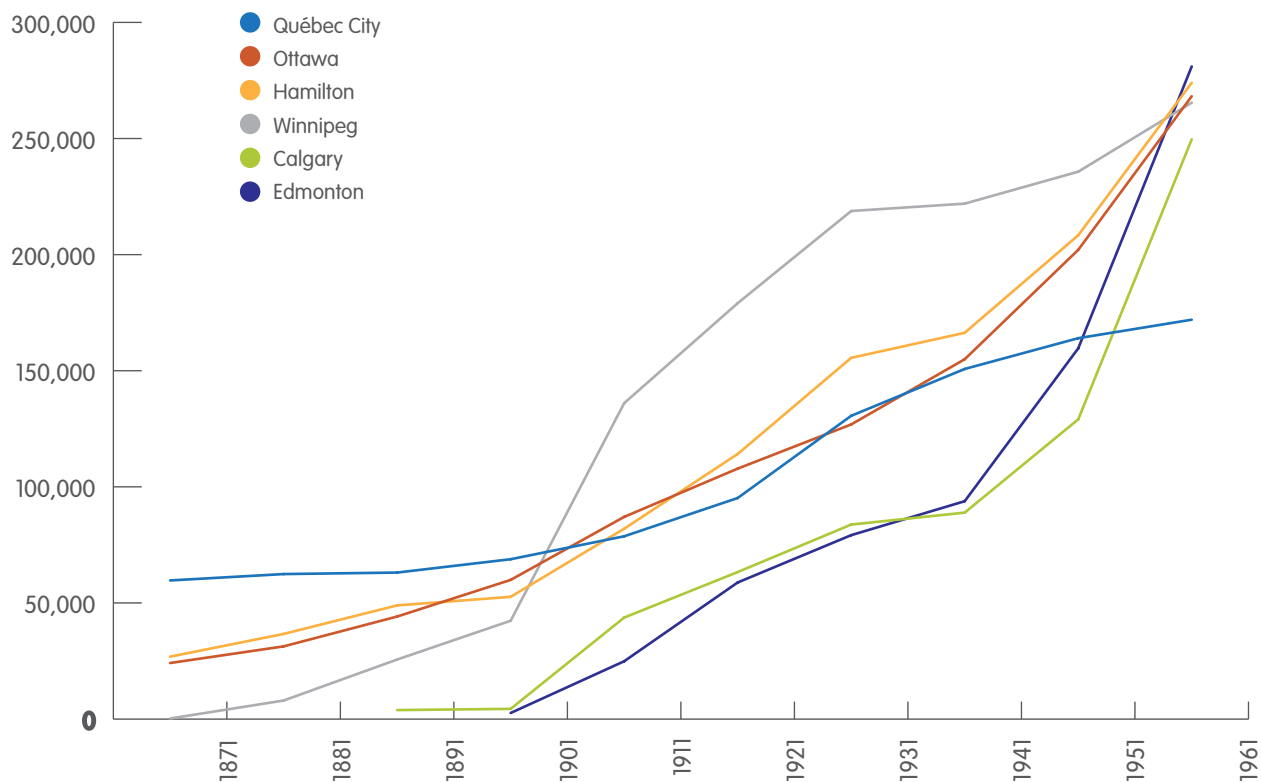


## Comparative Growth: 1871-1961

An examination of the growth of Canada's mid-sized cities over time illustrates the emergence many patterns of growth. Chart 3 and Table 3 indicate the growth of the six cities from 1871 to 1961. In 1961, the Dominion Bureau of Statistics (Statistics Canada) established Census Metropolitan Areas; as such, the data up to 1961 includes information regarding the cities only and not the surrounding areas.

The differing rates of growth for Canada's mid-sized cities illustrate a striking picture. The first city to experience extraordinary growth was Winnipeg, as it became the financial, commercial and industrial hub of the Prairies in the first two decades of the twentieth century. Similarly, Calgary and Edmonton also experienced marked growth as settlement pushed further west. However, the Great Depression halted this growth. Throughout the 1930s, population growth in Winnipeg and Calgary levelled off and growth in Edmonton slowed. Similarly, the Depression had a significant impact on the heavy industry in Hamilton and the city's growth plummeted. The economic impact of the Second World War brought about increased growth to Hamilton, Calgary and Edmonton but did not reverse the fortunes of Winnipeg or Québec City.

**Chart 3:**  
Population Growth 1871-1961 Mid-Size Canadian Cities<sup>1)</sup>



**Table 3:**  
**Population Growth 1871-1961 Mid-Size Canadian Cities<sup>12</sup>**

Year	Québec City	Ottawa	Hamilton	Winnipeg	Calgary	Edmonton
1871	59,699	24,141	26,880			
1881	62,446	31,307	36,661	7,985		
1891	63,090	44,154	48,959	25,639	3,876	
1901	68,840	59,928	52,634	42,340	4,392	2,626
1911	78,710	87,062	81,969	136,035	43,704	24,900
1921	95,193	107,843	114,151	179,087	63,305	58,821
1931	130,594	126,872	155,547	218,785	83,761	79,197
1941	150,757	154,951	166,337	221,960	88,904	93,817
1951	164,016	202,045	208,321	235,710	129,060	159,631
1961	171,979	268,206	273,991	265,429	249,641	281,027

Ottawa’s growth remained the steadiest of all six cities. This was largely due to the stabilizing influence of the government as the major employer. During the Depression, the government expanded as relief and social programs were introduced. During the Second World War, the government expanded at a more pronounced rate in order to manage the war effort. By the end of this period, five of the cities listed above had roughly similar populations. Québec City appears smaller than the others because its large suburb, Ste. Foy, was not included in this data.

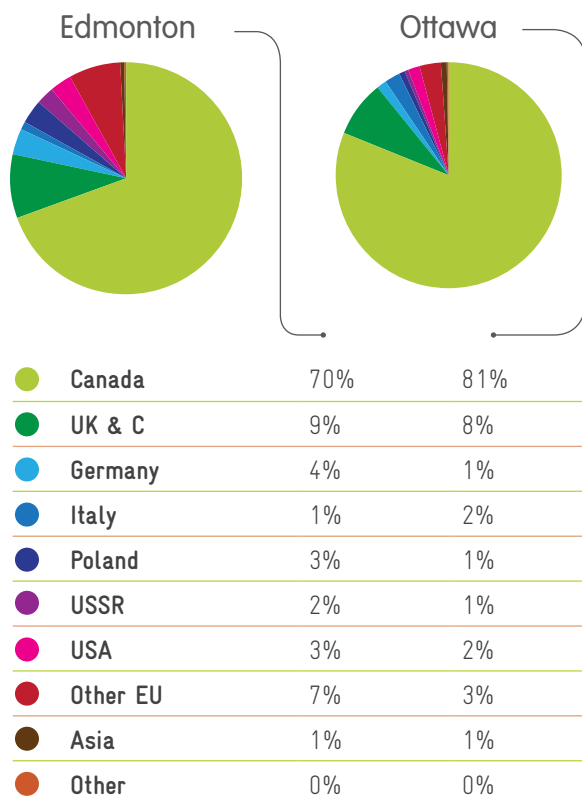
## Ottawa in 1961

In 1961, Ottawa remained a predominantly British and French community. The city’s growth had been driven as much by people moving to Ottawa from other parts of the country as by immigration. The ground-breaking changes to the Immigration Regulations in 1962, and again in 1967, that eliminated all discrimination in Canadian immigration selection had yet to be carried out and those we describe now as visible minorities numbered very few in Ottawa fifty years ago.

Canada experienced rapid population growth due both to the “Baby Boom” and to immigration. The national population surpassed 18 million and was more and more concentrated in urban areas. Only 30% of Canada’s population remained rural. In recognition of the growing cities, the Dominion Bureau of Statistics introduced the concept of the “Census Metropolitan Area” (CMA), as the suburbs around Canada’s cities grew rapidly. The Ottawa-Hull CMA was the fifth largest in the country:

1.	<b>Montréal:</b> 2,109,509	(City:1,191,062)
2.	<b>Toronto:</b> 1,824,481	(City:672,407)
3.	<b>Vancouver:</b> 790,165	(City:384,522)
4.	<b>Winnipeg:</b> 475,989	(City:265,429)
5.	<b>Ottawa:</b> 429,750	(City:268,206)
	(CMA includes QC)	
6.	<b>Hamilton:</b> 395,189	(City:273,991)
7.	<b>Québec City:</b> 357,568	(City:171,979)
8.	<b>Edmonton:</b> 337,568	(City:281,027)
9.	<b>Calgary:</b> 279,062	(City:249,641)

**Chart 4:  
Canadian and Foreign Born in  
Edmonton and Ottawa –  
1961 Census<sup>13</sup>**



It is interesting to compare 1961 figures for Ottawa and Edmonton. Each city had a population of approximately 250,000 within its city limits but the composition of the populations was quite different. Edmonton was a much more diverse city as its growth had been fuelled by immigration, more so than Ottawa. Chart 4 and Table 4, below, show that while only 19% of Ottawans were foreign-born, 30% of Edmontonians were foreign born. Furthermore, in Ottawa British-born immigrants accounted for over 40% of the foreign born population while in Edmonton they accounted for only 30%. The numbers of German, Polish, Russian (former USSR) and Ukrainian and most other European immigrants were far higher in Edmonton than in Ottawa. Only Ottawa's Italian community was larger than that of Edmonton.

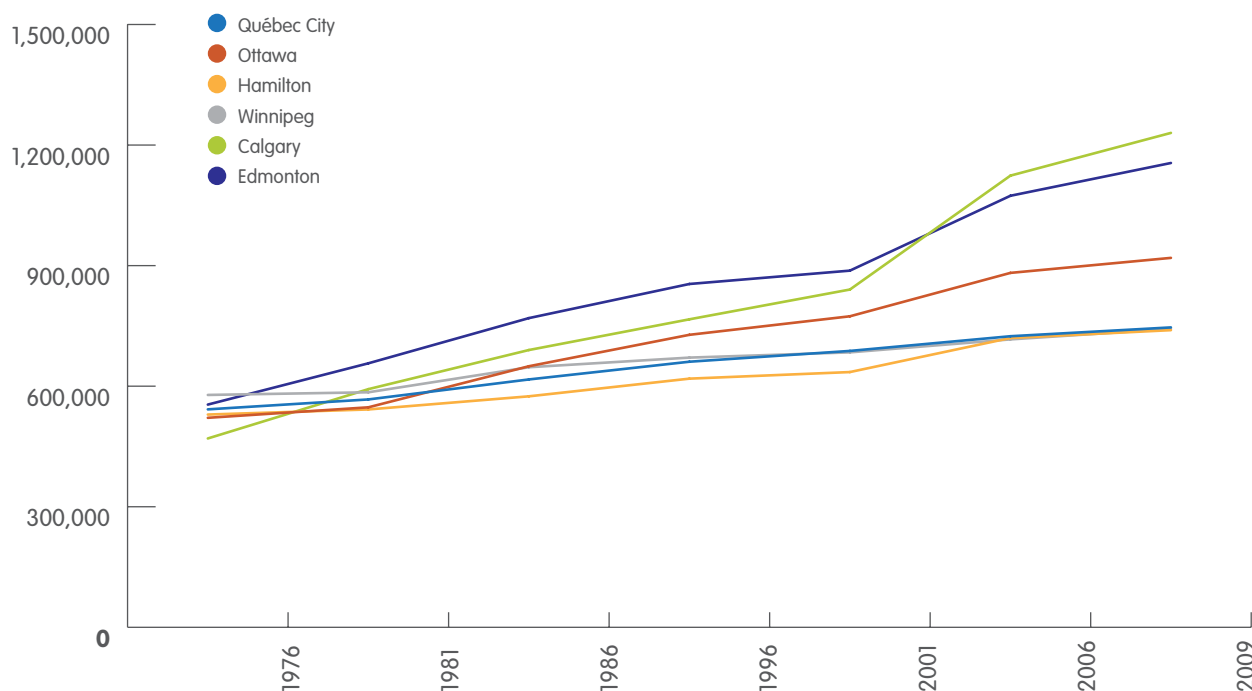
**Table 4:  
Canadian and Foreign Born in  
Edmonton and Ottawa –  
1961 Census<sup>14</sup>**

Birthplace	Edmonton	Ottawa
Canada	59,699	180,375
UK&C	62,446	17,938
Germany	63,090	3,166
Italy	68,840	4,976
Poland	78,710	1,611
USSR	95,193	1,641
USA	130,594	3,378
Other Europe	150,757	7,048
Asia	164,016	1,700
Other	171,979	296

## Recent Growth: 1976-2009

Thirty-five years ago, the CMAs of the six mid-size cities were remarkably similar in size.\* Calgary, with a population of 470,000, was the smallest and Winnipeg, at 578,000, was the largest, a difference of only 108,000 or about 20% of the population of the smaller city. However, if we examine the figures for 2009, we can observe dramatic differences. The population of Calgary has become the largest and Winnipeg one of the smallest. Additionally, the difference between the populations has increased to 490,000 or about 66% of the population of the smaller city. Ottawa has experienced steady moderate growth and is alone in the middle of the pack.

Chart 5:  
Population Growth 1976-2009 Mid-Size Canadian Cities (CMA)<sup>15</sup>



\* For the purpose of this report, the Ontario part of the Ottawa-Gatineau CMA is being used.

\* In this report, the Ottawa CMA refers to the Ontario part of the Ottawa-Gatineau CMA only.

**Table 5:**  
**Population Growth 1976-2009 Mid-Size Canadian Cities (CMA)<sup>16</sup>**

Year	Québec City	Ottawa (ON)	Hamilton	Winnipeg	Calgary	Edmonton
1976	542,200	521,300	529,400	578,200	469,900	554,200
1981	567,000	547,400	542,100	584,800	592,600	656,900
1986	616,744	649,598	574,756	647,149	689,959	796,375
1991	660,863	727,806	618,739	671,098	766,365	854,289
1996	687,726	773,905	635,136	684,138	840,482	887,515
2001	701,291	841,233	680,301	695,874	975,227	964,173
2006	724,303	881,902	719,905	716,438	1,123,913	1,073,795
2009	746,252	919,258	739,415	742,408	1,230,248	1,155,383

What has accounted for these changes? There are several explanations that account for the change, which are often city-specific.

## Québec City

In the case of Québec City, two major factors contributed to slow growth. First, following the “Quiet Revolution” in the province of Québec, the birthrate plummeted and, second, Québec City has not been successful in attracting immigrants. Québec City received very few immigrants over the last twenty-five years; the city only attracted over 2,000 immigrants in three years (2004, 2005, 2007).<sup>17</sup> Given that immigration to Québec City has been much lower than to other mid-sized cities, it is not included in the comparative data in the remaining portion of this report.

## Ottawa

Ottawa’s growth has been steady but not spectacular. Immigration has contributed to growth but not to the

extent that it has in Edmonton and Calgary. The government and the high tech industries have attracted people from other parts of the country and this has helped to offset the relatively low rates of international migration.

## Hamilton

In the case of Hamilton, slow growth has largely been due to the reduction in jobs in the heavy industries that dominate Hamilton’s economy and the apparent “decline” of the city has made it more difficult to attract immigrants.

## Winnipeg

In the case of Winnipeg, the province of Manitoba had a largely resource-based economy and there was little growth until the late 1990s and, indeed, a large amount of internal out-migration, in particular, to Alberta. In the last four to five years, increasing international migration and decreasing internal



out-migration has led to the first significant population growth in twenty years. Efforts to diversify the economy and develop Winnipeg as a major distribution centre for central North America have also helped to spur growth.

## Edmonton

Edmonton's growth has been tied to oil and gas and related industries. The high increases in oil and gas prices in the 1970s brought enormous investment into Alberta and people followed. Rates of immigration have been high but not spectacular. However, the rates of internal migration have played a very important role in Edmonton's growth. This growth slowed when oil and gas prices dropped in the 1980s and early 1990s but resumed with the increases post-2001.

## Calgary

Calgary's story is similar to that of Edmonton; however, Calgary has also become a major head office city, offering thousands of high paying professional jobs, as banking, accounting and consulting firms have established a major presence in Calgary to support the oil and gas industry. The city has also emerged as a major transportation and distribution hub. Calgary has developed a "momentum" and a reputation for an excellent quality of life. The city's growth is clearly the fastest of all six cities and is being driven both by high internal migration and high international immigration. Included in the internal migration is significant secondary migration of immigrants who originally lived elsewhere in Canada before moving to Calgary.

“Over the last 35 years, new growth patterns emerged, with greater variations in the pace of growth experienced by different cities.”

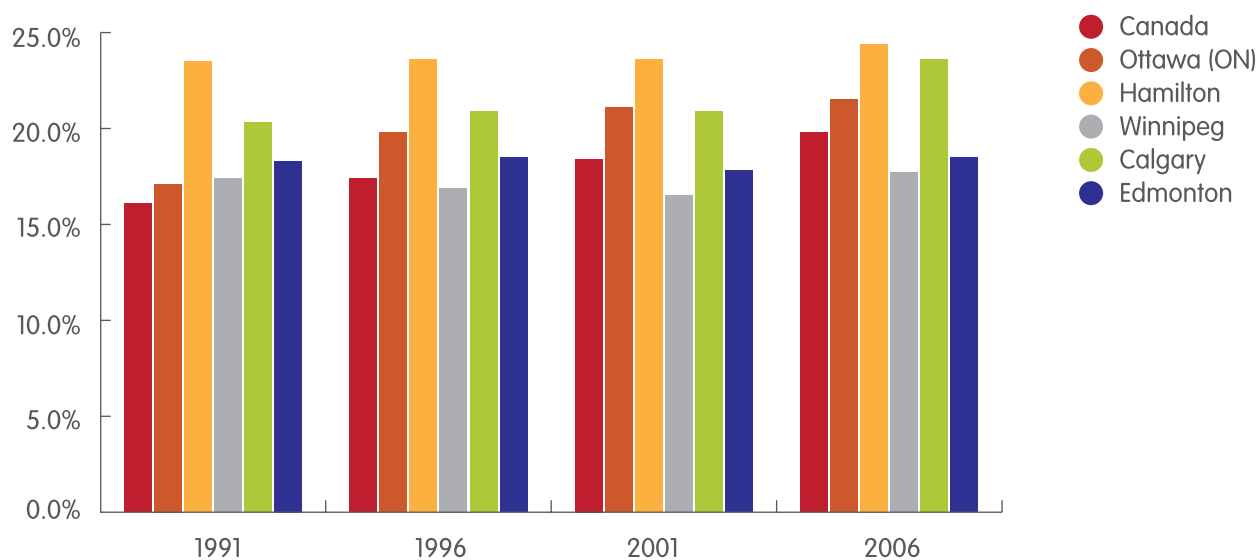


## IV. The Changing Face of Five Canadian Cities: 1991 - Present

### Foreign Born population

A look at the foreign born population of the five mid-size cities (excluding Québec City) reveals a number of surprises, as illustrated in Chart 6 and Table 6, below:

**Chart 6:**  
Recent Growth in Foreign Born Canada and Mid-Size Cities<sup>18</sup>



**Table 6:**  
Recent Growth in Foreign Born Canada and Mid-Size Cities<sup>19</sup>

Year	Canada	Ottawa (ON)	Hamilton	Winnipeg	Calgary	Edmonton
1991	16.1%	17.5%	23.5%	17.4%	20.3%	18.3%
1996	17.4%	19.8%	23.6%	16.9%	20.9%	18.5%
2001	18.4%	21.1%	23.6%	16.5%	20.9%	17.8%
2006	19.8%	21.5%	24.4%	17.7%	23.6%	18.5%

Hamilton has the highest proportion of foreign born of the five cities, despite experiencing relatively low immigration over recent decades, due to a legacy of post war immigration related to the growing number of industrial and manufacturing jobs in Hamilton. However, the proportion of foreign born in Hamilton has only increased by 0.9% in fifteen years. By comparison, the proportion of foreign born in Calgary increased by 3.3% over the same period.

In 1996, all five cities, excluding Winnipeg, had a higher proportion of foreign born than Canada as a whole. The figure for Canada as a whole is quite high due to the very high proportion of foreign born in Vancouver and Toronto. By comparison, in small communities and rural areas the proportions are low.

In 1991, Ottawa had a similar proportion of foreign born to that of Winnipeg and Edmonton. However, the figures for Ottawa increased by 3.8% from 1991 to 2006 while the proportion in Edmonton and Winnipeg changed very little. In the case of Winnipeg, the proportion of foreign born declined until 2001, due to low immigration over the previous 30 years. The figures increased as immigration picked up in the last decade. Edmonton continued to attract reasonable numbers of immigrants; however, due to significant migration of Canadians to Edmonton, the proportion of foreign-born has not increased appreciably.

## Visible Minority Population\*

The federal government passed the Employment Equity Act in 1985 and it came into force on October 24, 1986.<sup>20</sup> The Employment Equity Act defines “visible minority” as:

“members of visible minorities” means persons, other than aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour;<sup>21</sup>

Since the 1991 census, Statistics Canada has used this definition in Census questionnaires.

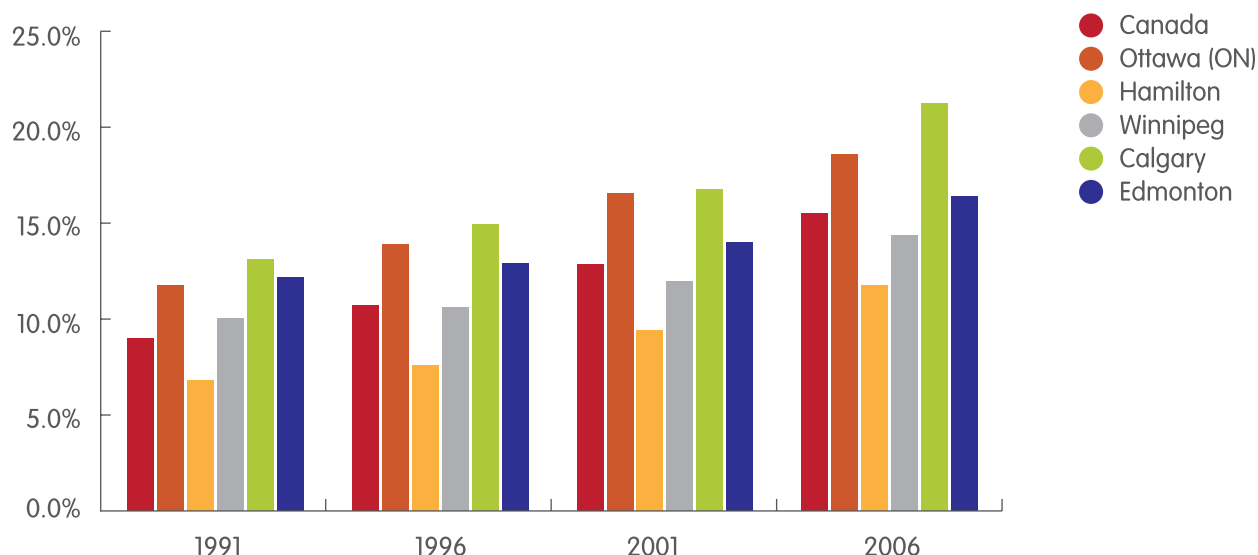
The picture described by the visible minority data is quite different from the foreign born data. Hamilton has the lowest proportion of visible minorities of the five cities, indicating the low level of immigration to the city in recent years. Calgary has consistently had the highest proportion of visible minorities. In 2001 the portion of visible minorities in Ottawa (17.3%) almost matched that of Calgary (17.5%); however, due to rapidly increasing immigration to Calgary over the last decade, by 2006 the portion of visible minorities in Calgary was higher than in Ottawa. It is also noteworthy that the visible minority population has increased in Winnipeg, from 10.5% in 1991 to 15% in 2006, due to marked increases in annual immigration between 1998 and 2006 (see Chart 11: Annual Immigration by City).

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\* In its reports, OLIP uses the term “racialized”, which, unlike the term “visible minorities”, recognizes that “race” is a social construct. “Racialization” refers to the process through which certain groups are identified as different and may thus be treated differently. However, this report draws on census data, which uses the term “visible minorities”.

Unless Ottawa increases its levels of immigration, the growth of diversity in Ottawa will fall behind that of other mid-sized cities in the Prairies.

**Chart 7:  
Recent Growth in Visible Minorities Canada and Mid-Size Cities<sup>22</sup>**



**Table 7:  
Recent Growth in Visible Minorities Canada and Mid-Size Cities<sup>23</sup>**

Year	Canada	Ottawa (ON)	Hamilton	Winnipeg	Calgary	Edmonton
1991	9.4%	12.3%	7.1%	10.5%	13.7%	12.7%
1996	11.2%	14.5%	7.9%	11.1%	15.6%	13.5%
2001	13.4%	17.3%	9.8%	12.5%	17.5%	14.6%
2006	16.2%	19.4%	12.3%	15.0%	22.2%	17.1%

Notwithstanding the fact that the level of diversity in Ottawa lags behind that of its western counterparts, the growth in the diversity of Ottawa has been impressive. Charts 8, 9 and 10 and Tables 8, 9 and 10 illustrate this growth over the last three censuses.

Chart 8:  
Visible Minority Population  
1996 Census<sup>24</sup>

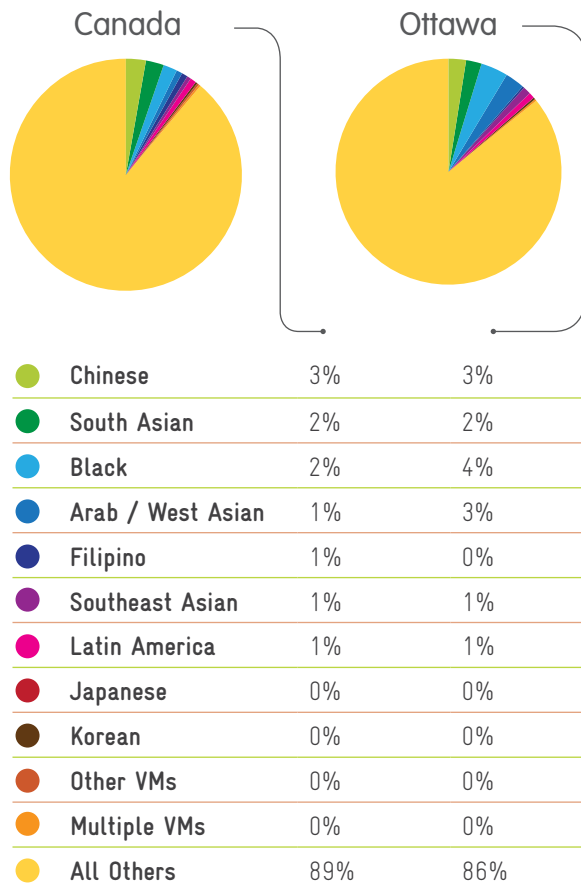


Table 8:  
Visible Minority Population  
1996 Census<sup>25</sup>

Visible Minority	Canada	Ottawa
Chinese	860,150	19,285
South Asian	670,590	17,055
Black	573,860	29,000
Arab/West Asian	244,665	20,950
Filipino	234,195	3,520
Southeast Asian	172,765	8,075
Latin American	176,970	5,525
Japanese	68,135	1,040
Korean	64,835	645
Other VMs	69,745	965
Multiple VM	61,575	1,740
All Others	25,330,645	647,700



Chart 9:  
Visible Minority Population  
2001 Census<sup>26</sup>

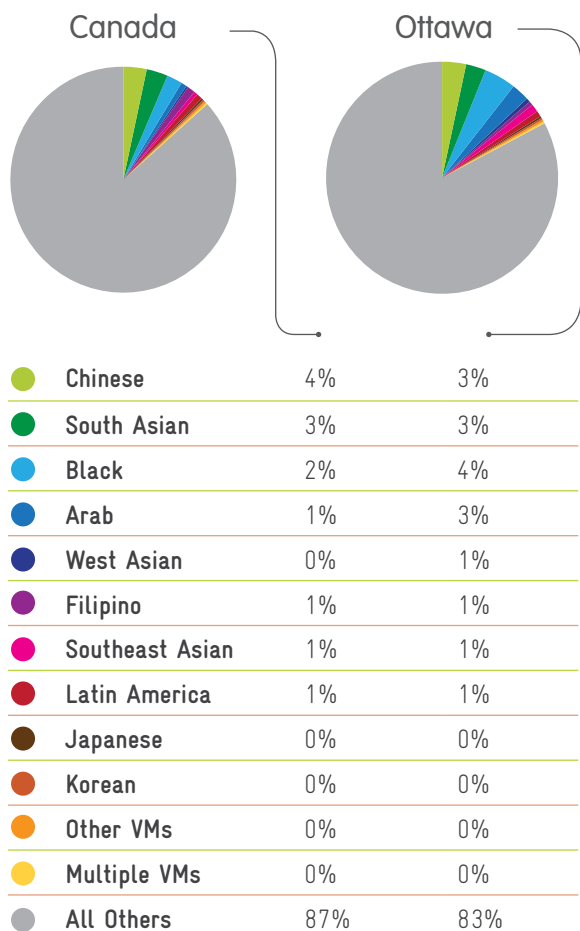


Table 9:  
Visible Minority Population  
2001 Census<sup>27</sup>

Visible Minority	Canada	Ottawa
Chinese	1,029,395	27,775
South Asian	917,075	21,725
Black	662,215	34,875
Arab	194,685	20,395
West Asian	109,285	5,065
Filipino	308,575	4,905
Southeast Asian	198,880	8,680
Latin American	216,980	6,470
Japanese	73,315	1,490
Korean	100,660	1,450
Other VMs	98,915	2,390
Multiple VM	73,875	2,500
All Others	25,655,185	657,535

Chart 10:  
Visible Minority Population  
2006 Census<sup>28</sup>

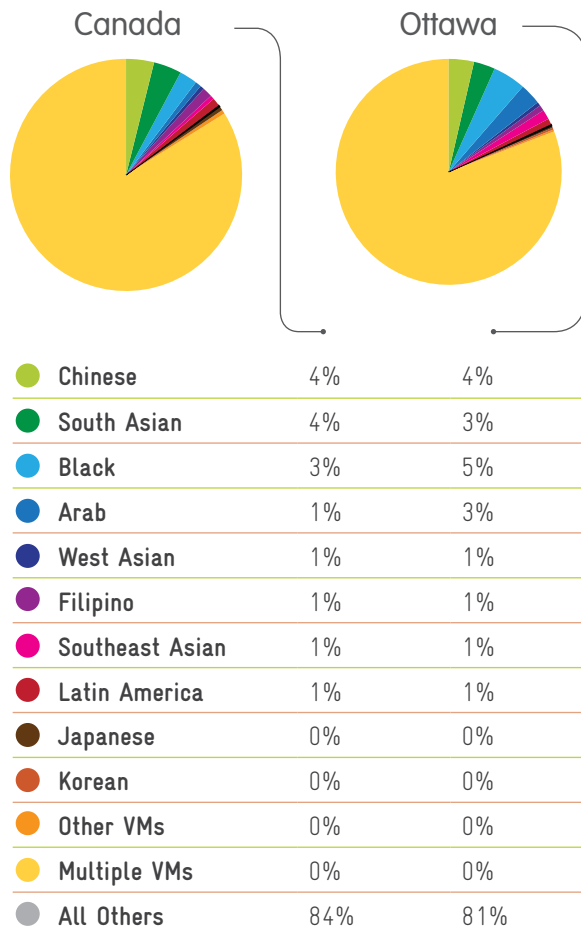


Table 10:  
Visible Minority Population  
2006 Census<sup>29</sup>

Visible Minority	Canada	Ottawa
Chinese	1,216,565	30,845
South Asian	1,262,865	26,640
Black	783,795	39,280
Arab	265,550	24,285
West Asian	156,700	6,070
Filipino	410,695	7,130
Southeast Asian	239,935	10,415
Latin American	304,245	8,090
Japanese	81,300	1,685
Korean	141,890	2,115
Other VMs	71,420	1,615
Multiple VM	133,120	4,220
All Others	26,172,935	673,065

From 1996 to 2006, the proportion of visible minorities increased from 14.5% to 19.4%. By comparison, the proportion of visible minorities in Canada as a whole increased from 11.2% to 16.2%. The predominant visible minority population in Ottawa in 1996 was Black, followed by the Arab/West Asian population. The high Arab population was largely due to the strong presence of the Lebanese community that established itself in Ottawa in the 1960s and 70s and continued to grow. From the 2001 Census on, Arab and West Asian populations are reported separately. The large Southeast Asian population had its origins in the “Boat-People” refugee movement in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Ottawa’s “Project 4000”, conceived by then Mayor Marion Dewar, led to over 4,000 sponsorships of “boat people” and the establishment of

a thriving Southeast Asian community in Ottawa. The Chinese and South Asian populations in Ottawa were roughly proportional to those in Canada as a whole.

By 2006, some interesting changes in the composition of Ottawa's visible minority population had taken place. The Black population remained the largest visible minority group, followed by Chinese, South Asian and Arab populations but there has also been strong growth in Filipino, Latin American and Korean communities.

## Immigration

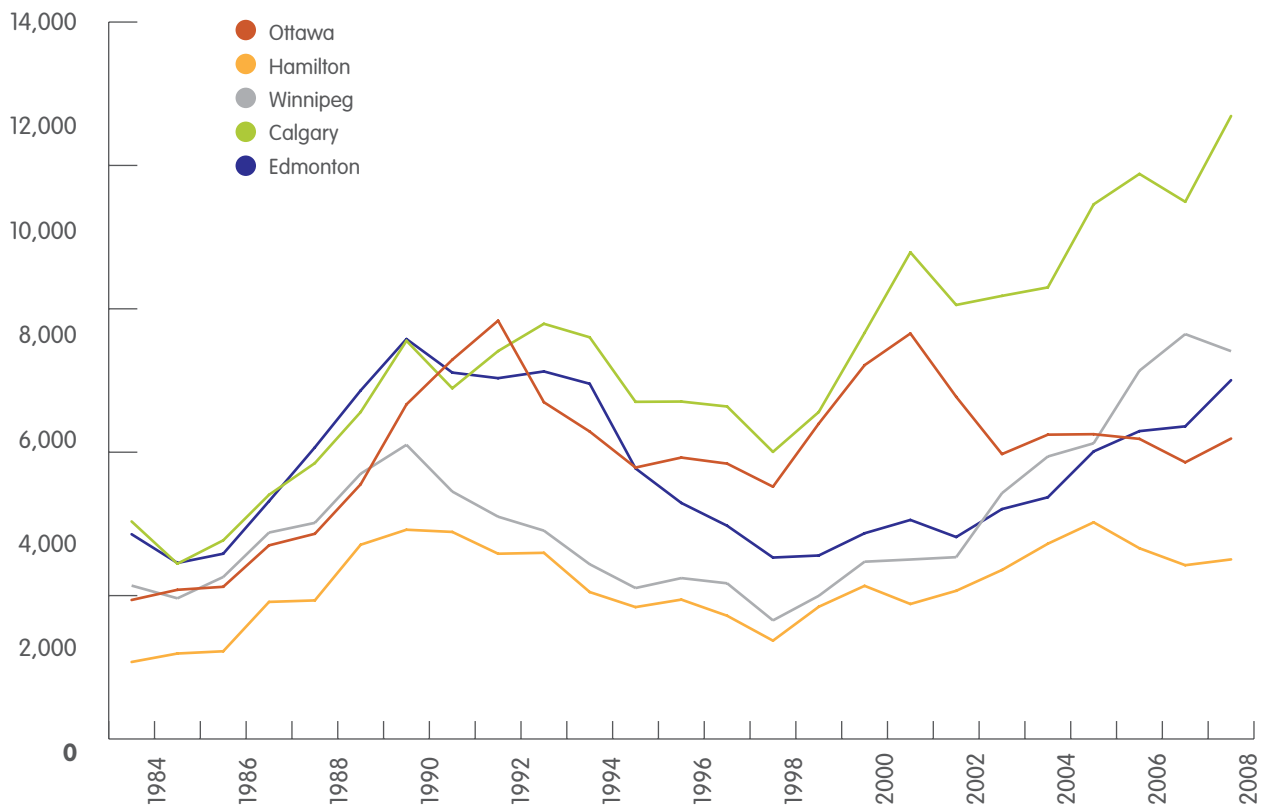
Over a period of roughly twenty-five years, from 1984 to 2008, 149,777 immigrants have immigrated to Ottawa. Without this influx of people, the demographic and economic fabric of the city would be quite different. This is an impressive number but how does it compare to other cities? Edmonton has received almost the same number of immigrants – 141,096. Winnipeg and Hamilton have received fewer immigrants – 115,985 and 80,361 respectively, whereas Calgary has received by far the most – 198,649. The figures appear to indicate that Ottawa is not faring too badly; however, an examination of the trends is telling. Chart 11 and Table 11 indicate changes in annual immigration to each of the five cities.

While all five cities experienced increases in immigration from 1984 to 1990, the growth in Ottawa's immigration continued until it peaked at 8,752 in 1992. At that point Ottawa was receiving more immigrants than the other four cities. Subsequently, immigration fell to less than 6,000 in 1995, increased again briefly in 2001 to over 8,000 and decreased to approximately 6,000 per year over the last six years. Similarly, Hamilton's immigration levels have remained stagnant at about 4,000 per year. By contrast, immigration

to the three Prairie cities has increased dramatically over the last decade. Immigration to Edmonton has almost doubled, from 3,796 in 1998 to 7,507 in 2008. In Calgary, immigration has more than doubled from 6,007 in 1998 to 13,034 in 2008 and Winnipeg's immigration has more than tripled from 2,481 to 8,114. In other words, Ottawa has been steadily losing ground in comparison to the western cities since 2001 and all three Prairie cities now attract more immigrants than Ottawa.

“From 1996 to 2006, the proportion of visible minorities increased from 14.5% to 19.4%.”

Chart 11:  
Annual Immigration by City<sup>30</sup>



By standing still, Ottawa is losing ground. Why are the western cities steadily attracting more immigrants? It could be argued that the strong western economy is the driving force that is attracting immigrants; however, the economies of the Prairie Provinces were strong in the 1970s and the 1990s and yet the immigrant populations of these provinces was well below the proportional share of the national population. The real reason is that the provincial governments decided to actively promote immigration. Led by Manitoba, they lobbied the federal government for tools to attract immigrants to fill regional shortages. This resulted in the development of the Provincial Nominee Program and Manitoba was the first

province to actively take advantage of the program. By 2002, 70% of provincial nominees were going to Manitoba. By 2008, Manitoba was attracting 35% of all provincial nominees. Through aggressive use of the Provincial Nominee Program, Manitoba has increased its immigration from less than 3,000 in 1998 to over 11,000 in 2008 and over two thirds of these immigrants have settled in Winnipeg. This marked increase in immigration was the result of a broad consensus in Manitoba that more immigration was required to drive demographic and economic growth.

**Table 11:  
Annual Immigration By City<sup>31</sup>**

Year	Ottawa (ON)	Hamilton	Winnipeg	Calgary	Edmonton
1984	2,908	1,611	3,209	4,551	4,284
1985	3,121	1,788	2,943	3,667	3,683
1986	3,184	1,835	3,389	4,156	3,876
1987	4,051	2,868	4,319	5,109	4,976
1988	4,293	2,899	4,522	5,771	6,101
1989	5,329	4,064	5,55	6,84	7,292
1990	7,000	4,378	6,155	8,331	8,368
1991	7,935	4,332	5,177	7,337	7,666
1992	8,752	3,876	4,651	8,116	7,549
1993	7,046	3,895	4,359	8,687	7,69
1994	6,432	3,074	3,656	8,404	7,432
1995	5,679	2,759	3,158	7,054	5,661
1996	5,888	2,916	3,366	7,06	4,938
1997	5,761	2,578	3,257	6,956	4,461
1998	5,278	2,057	2,481	6,007	3,796
1999	6,599	2,766	2,995	6,841	3,839
2000	7,821	3,204	3,709	8,497	4,304
2001	8,484	2,824	3,755	10,183	4,583
2002	7,159	3,1	3,804	9,081	4,225
2003	5,961	3,536	5,144	9,271	4,81
2004	6,367	4,085	5,91	9,448	5,057
2005	6,377	4,533	6,186	11,186	6,016
2006	6,279	3,99	7,705	11,823	6,441
2007	5,788	3,636	8,471	11,239	6,541
2008	6,285	3,757	8,114	13,034	7,507

In the case of Winnipeg, as the only major city in the province of Manitoba, it is the major beneficiary of the province's aggressive immigration strategy. In the 2003 budget, the province set a goal to reach 10,000 immigrants by 2006.<sup>32</sup> This goal was reached in 2006 and in 2007 the province doubled the target, aiming for 20,000 immigrants per year by 2016.<sup>33</sup>

Similarly, in 2005 Alberta developed a provincial policy aimed at increasing immigration to the province from approximately 16,500 in 2004 to over 24,000.<sup>34</sup> This target was reached in 2008. These figures may seem small in comparison to the 111,000 immigrants Ontario received in 2008; however, on a per capita basis, Manitoba now receives more immigrants than Ontario and Alberta is not far behind.

Within Alberta, Calgary and Edmonton compete in many sectors, including immigration. Until 1994, immigration to the two cities was roughly comparable; however, subsequently, immigration to Edmonton started to decline whereas immigration to Calgary continued to increase. By 2004, Calgary was receiving almost twice the number of immigrants as Edmonton; this became an election issue, with mayoralty candidate Stephen Mandel promising a civic immigration policy if elected. Mr. Mandel was elected mayor and he tasked two city councillors to develop recommendations for the city council. They consulted with the Prairie Metropolis Centre and, with the assistance of Citizenship and Immigration Canada funding, commissioned a report, *The Attraction and Retention of*

*Immigrants to Edmonton*, prepared in 2005.<sup>35</sup> This resulted in Edmonton City Council adopting a formal policy on Immigration and Settlement Policy. The policy is reproduced in its entirety in Appendix 1. Its policy commits all levels of the civic administration to work to make immigrants more welcome in Edmonton, and to locate more job opportunities within the civic public service. Immigration to Edmonton increased from 5,057 in 2004 to 7,507 in 2008. Calgary's immigration continues to grow due to "pull" factors, such as the availability of high paying professional jobs and the presence of the oil and gas industry; however, Edmonton is now receiving approximately 60% of Calgary's immigration.

It is useful to look at how the composition of the immigration movement has changed in the past decade. Charts 12 and 13 and Tables 12 and 13 indicate that, in 2000, Calgary and Ottawa received more immigrants than the other mid-size cities and the main component was the Federal Economic class of immigration. Winnipeg received only a few hundred more immigrants than Hamilton but several hundred immigrants were in the new Provincial Nominee category. However, by 2008, Ottawa had dropped to fourth place, as both Winnipeg and Edmonton received more immigrants. In the case of Winnipeg, the dramatic change is that over two-thirds of the immigrants to that city are provincial nominees (PNs). The PN category has also become significant in Calgary and Edmonton, but not yet in Ottawa or Hamilton.



Chart 12:  
Components of Immigration 2000<sup>36</sup>

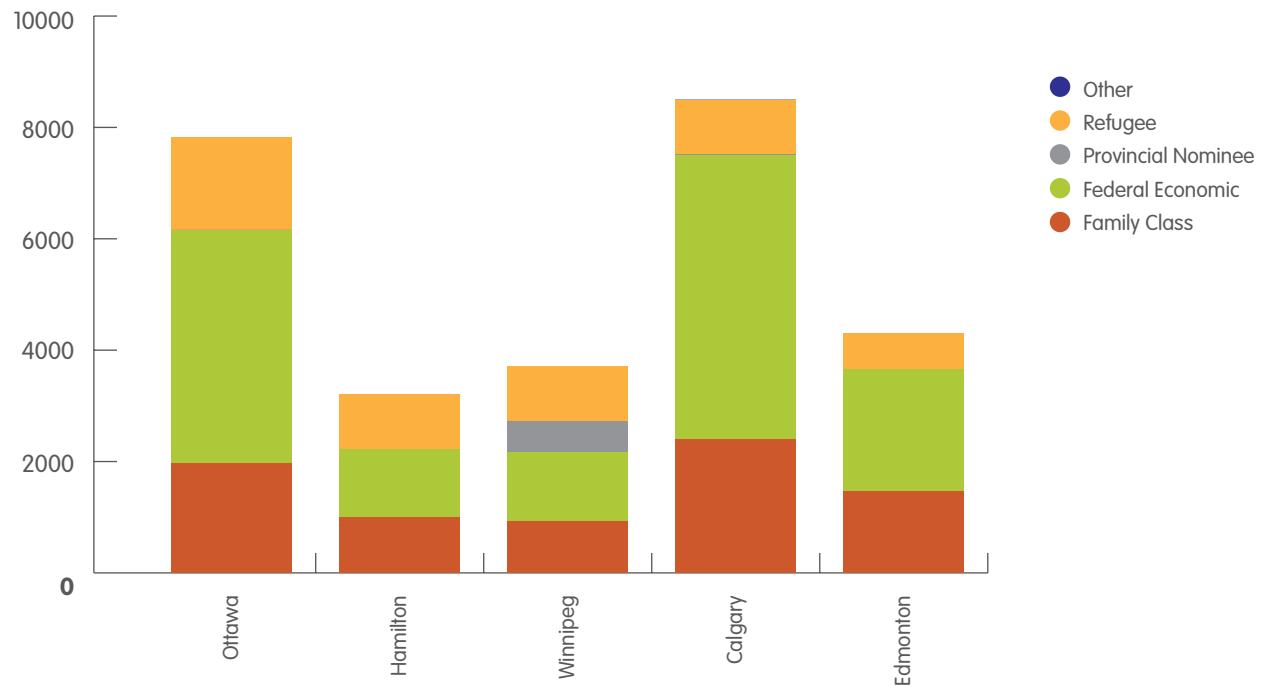
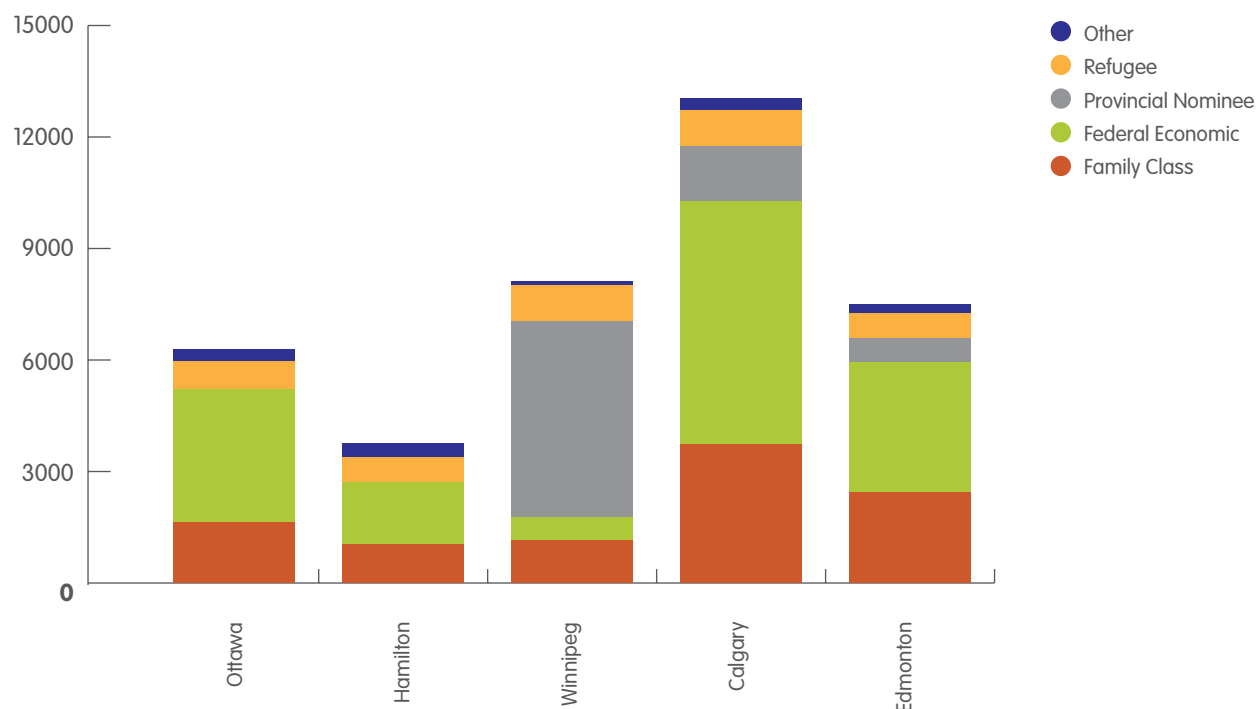


Table 12:  
Components of Immigration 2000<sup>37</sup>

Immigration by Category	Family Class	Federal Economic	Provincial Nominee	Refugee	Other
Ottawa	1960	4201	0	1655	5
Hamilton	990	1228	0	985	1
Winnipeg	927	1242	554	985	1
Calgary	2396	5111	9	978	3
Edmonton	1472	2178	5	647	2

**Chart 13:  
Components of Immigration 2008<sup>38</sup>**



**Table 13:  
Components of Immigration 2008<sup>39</sup>**

Immigration by Category	Family Class	Federal Economic	Provincial Nominee	Refugee	Other
Ottawa	1617	3590	0	771	307
Hamilton	1029	1679	16	670	363
Winnipeg	1134	636	5276	957	111
Calgary	3728	6541	1472	981	312
Edmonton	2431	3521	643	659	253

Another way to look at comparative performance is on a proportional basis; that is, how big is the annual immigration movement as a proportion of the population of the census metropolitan area. Chart 14 and Table 14 indicate that Calgary and Winnipeg have both increased their proportion to over 1% of population, whereas Ottawa's proportional share has decreased from 0.73% in 2004 and 2005 to 0.69% in 2008. This emphasizes the serious shortfall in immigration experienced by Ottawa in recent years.

Chart 14: Proportional Comparison:  
Immigration as a percentage of population<sup>40</sup>

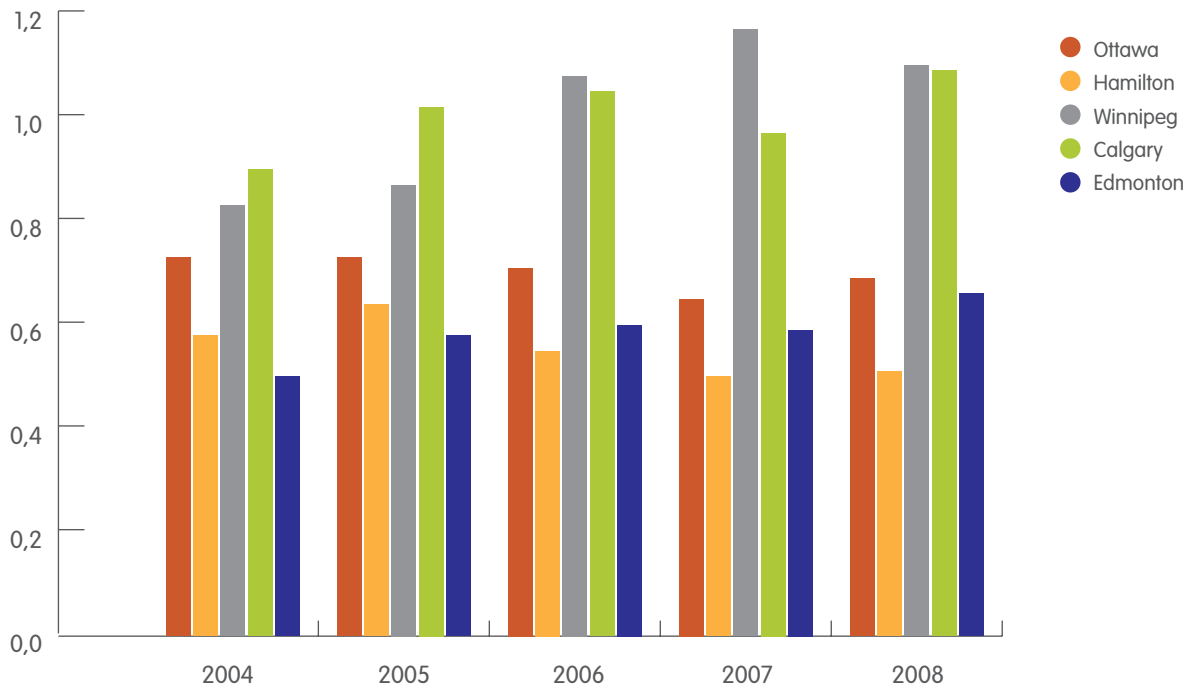


Table 14:  
Proportional Comparison: Immigration as a percentage of population<sup>41</sup>

Year	Ottawa (ON)	Hamilton	Winnipeg	Edmonton	Calgary
2004	0.73	0.58	0.83	0.90	0.50
2005	0.73	0.64	0.87	1.02	0.58
2006	0.71	0.55	1.08	1.05	0.60
2007	0.65	0.50	1.17	0.97	0.59
2008	0.69	0.51	1.10	1.09	0.66

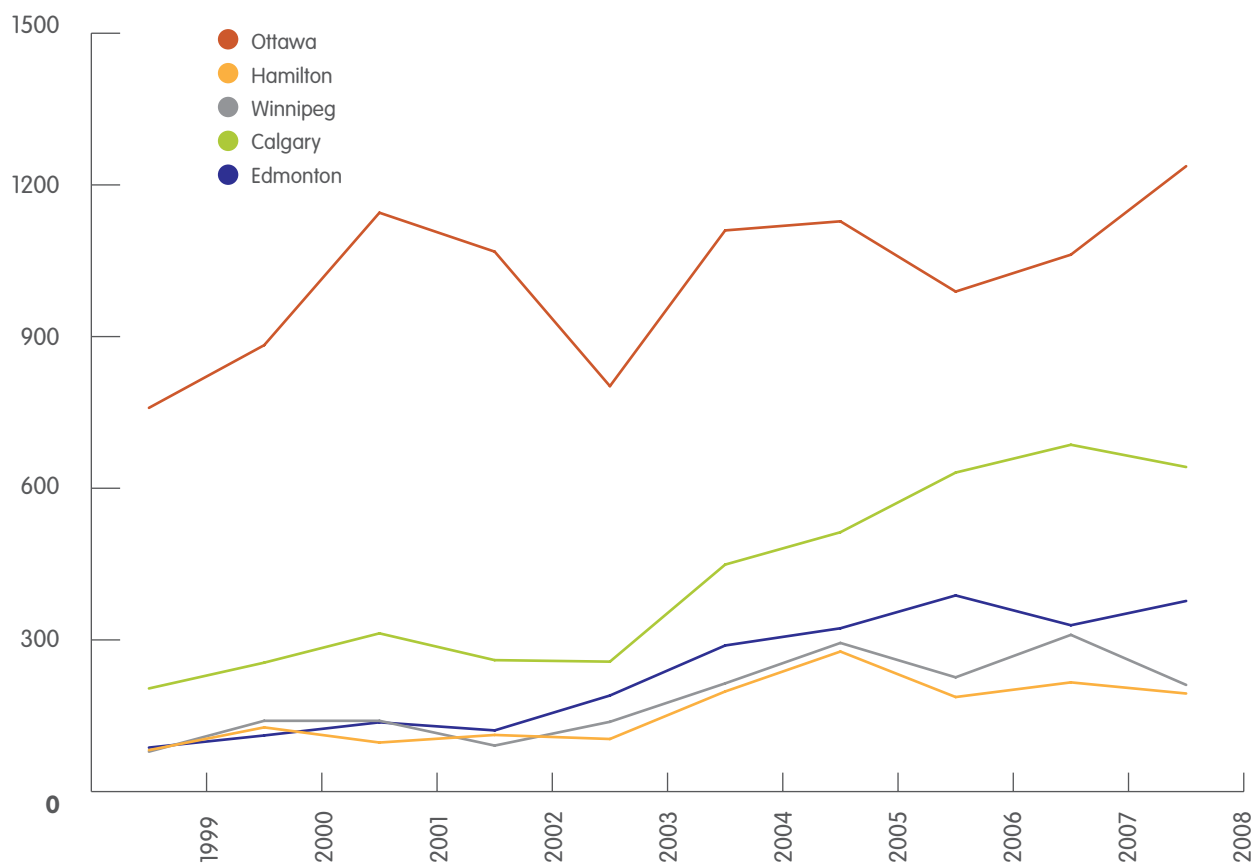
## Francophone Population

There is one area, however, in which Ottawa's immigration performance is far better than other mid-size English Canadian cities and that is in its ability to attract francophone and bilingual immigrants. In 1999, Ottawa received 759 French-speaking or bilingual English/French immigrants; however, by 2008 this number increased to 1,237. By comparison the number of francophone and

bilingual immigrants going to the other mid-sized cities was no more than approximately half of the number coming to Ottawa in 2008 (Hamilton 194, Winnipeg 211, Edmonton 377 and Calgary 642).

Given Ottawa's existing bilingual character and its role as the national capital of a bilingual country, it is encouraging to observe that a significant share of immigration to Ottawa consists of Francophone and bilingual immigrants.

Chart 15:  
Francophone and Bilingual Immigration<sup>42</sup>



**Table 15:  
Francophone and Bilingual Immigration<sup>43</sup>**

Year	Ottawa (ON)	Hamilton	Winnipeg	Edmonton	Calgary
1999	759	82	79	87	204
2000	883	127	140	111	255
2001	1145	97	140	137	313
2002	1068	112	91	121	260
2003	802	104	138	190	257
2004	1110	198	214	289	449
2005	1128	277	294	323	513
2006	989	187	226	388	631
2007	1062	216	310	329	686
2008	1237	194	211	377	642

## Countries of Last Residence

The final element of immigration to Ottawa that needs to be examined is the countries of last permanent residence of the city's immigrants. Over the past five years, China has been consistently the leading source country but its share has declined from 12.1% in 2004 to 8.2% in 2008. By contrast, the Philippines, which was number seven in 2004 with 3.5%, has jumped into second place with 6.0% in 2008. India remains in third place but the United States has moved from sixth place in 2004 with 3.7% to fourth place with 5.0% in 2008. It is worth noting that Citizenship and Immigration Canada records "Country of Last Permanent Residence", not country of birth, so many people moving to Canada from the United States may have previously been immigrants to the United States. It is important to be aware of the city's major sources of immigrants in order to know where promotion efforts ought to be made.

“Given Ottawa’s existing bilingual character and its role as the national capital of a bilingual country, it is encouraging to observe that a significant share of immigration to Ottawa consists of Francophone and bilingual immigrants.”

**Table 16:**  
**Ottawa - Top 10 Source Countries: Proportion of Overall Immigration<sup>44</sup>**

Country	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
China, People's Republic of	12.1	12.0	9.9	9.6	8.2
Philippines	3.5	3.5	5.0	4.6	6.0
India	5.1	5.9	6.2	5.6	5.1
United States	3.7	4.5	5.4	5.2	5.0
United Arab Emirates	3.9	4.8	4.2	2.5	4.7
United Kingdom	3.2	2.5	3.0	4.2	3.9
Haiti	2.4	3.1	2.0	2.9	3.3
Lebanon	4.1	4.0	5.2	4.4	3.3
Saudi Arabia	2.8	2.3	2.1	1.1	2.6
Morocco	0.7	0.8	0.5	1.1	2.4
Bangladesh	1.7	2.4	2.4	2.1	2.4
Iran	4.0	2.7	3.3	2.6	2.2
Pakistan	2.8	2.5	3.1	1.7	1.9
Congo, Democratic. Republic of	1.9	2.3	2.1	2.2	1.7
<b>Top 10 source countries</b>	<b>45.2</b>	<b>45.4</b>	<b>47.6</b>	<b>43.8</b>	<b>44.5</b>
<b>Other countries</b>	<b>54.9</b>	<b>54.6</b>	<b>52.4</b>	<b>56.2</b>	<b>55.5</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

## V. Conclusion

Throughout its history, the importance of immigration to the population growth, to the economic development and to the culture of Ottawa cannot be underestimated. Evidence of this can be seen throughout the city. The street names tell the story of important immigrant contributions to Ottawa.

**Armstrong Street** – Christopher Armstrong, born in Ireland, immigrated to the area in 1819. He became one of the first Carleton County judges.

**Bronson Avenue** – Henry Franklin Bronson, an American came to Ottawa in 1853 and established a lumber mill at the Chaudière Falls.

**Clarkson Crescent** – Adrienne Clarkson came to Canada as a refugee with her parents and settled in Ottawa in 1942. From 1999 to 2005, she served as Canada's 26<sup>th</sup> Governor General. She was the first immigrant Chinese Canadian to occupy the role.

**Fuller Street** – Thomas Fuller, born in England, moved to Canada in 1857 and was the architect of the Parliament Buildings.

**Gilmour Street** – Allan Gilmour, was a pioneer timber and lumber merchant.

**Herzberg Road** – Gerhard Herzberg fled Nazi Germany in 1935 and later came to work at the National Research Council in Ottawa. He won the Nobel Prize for Chemistry in 1971.

**Karsh Drive** – Yousuf Karsh fled the post World War I turmoil in Armenia at age 14 and two years later came to Canada. Working from his studio in Ottawa, he became the greatest portrait photographer of his time.

**Mackay Street** – Thomas McKay was a Scottish stonemason, contractor and industrialist. His company built the section of the Rideau Canal through what is now Ottawa. He built Rideau Hall for himself and later sold it to the government of Canada as a home for the Governor General.

**Maclaren Street** – James Maclaren, a Scottish immigrant, was a lumber entrepreneur in Ottawa in the 1840s.

**O'Connor Street** – Named after Daniel O'Connor, an Irish immigrant and Bytown Pioneer.

**Sparks Street** – Nicholas Sparks, an immigrant from Ireland, became the first resident of "upper town" about 1820.

The aforementioned individuals represent only a sample of the rich legacy immigrants have left and continue to leave to Ottawa.<sup>45</sup>

Statistics Canada projections conclude that, "International immigration is playing an increasingly important role in Canadian population growth. In Canada, as in many European countries, fertility has been below the replacement level for more than three decades. Thus, population growth cannot be maintained without relatively sustained immigration."<sup>46</sup> This applies to cities as well as countries. It

is clear that Ottawa's future growth will depend on immigration.

It is also widely accepted that diverse communities are more attractive living spaces (see Richard Florida – Cities and the Creative Class) and diverse populations are usually better able to generate competitiveness and growth (see David S. Landes – The Wealth and Poverty of Nations).

Given the increasing importance of immigration to Ottawa's growth and competitiveness, it is important to identify both the "pull" factors Ottawa has in its favour and the barriers to attracting immigrants.

Ottawa is frequently regarded as one of the most liveable cities in Canada and, indeed, in the world. However, many immigrants have likely not heard of Ottawa. They know Montréal, Toronto and, perhaps, Vancouver. Ottawa has to forge a unique identity in order to attract immigrants. In the absence of a civic immigration policy, this is hard to do. An example is the lack of a clear link from the home page of the City of Ottawa's web site ([www.ottawa.ca](http://www.ottawa.ca)) to the Ottawa Immigration page ([ottawa.ca/residents/immigration/index\\_en.html](http://ottawa.ca/residents/immigration/index_en.html)). One needs to know to click on "Residents" and then search down a list of 48 subjects to find "Immigration." If immigration were a priority, "Immigration" would appear prominently on the city's home page. Québec City understands this, perhaps because it receives so few immigrants. It has a direct link to "Immigrants" on its home page ([www.ville.quebec.qc.ca/en/index.aspx](http://www.ville.quebec.qc.ca/en/index.aspx)).

Also striking is the low usage of the Provincial Nominee Program by Ottawa employers.

The inability of immigrants to qualify for federal government jobs is also a major barrier to immigrant employment in Ottawa. The government has a clear commitment to immigration and is spending in the range of one billion dollars on integration programs. Yet a very simple way to assist immigrant integration and increase the attractiveness of Ottawa would be to open most government jobs to immigrants. Due to security requirements, some jobs will have to be restricted to citizens but for the bulk of government

jobs, there is no need for the current obstacles to employment for immigrants. The city and the province also need to do more to actively hire immigrants.

For too long, Ottawa has assumed that the immigrants it needs will come in increasing numbers. That is not the case any more.

## Conclusions and Recommendations

Ottawa, like every community in Canada, needs immigrants to maintain its demographic and economic growth and to maintain its quality of life. However, the data suggests that Ottawa is losing out to more aggressive communities in its peer group (in particular, Calgary, Winnipeg and Edmonton). The people of Ottawa need to develop a consensus in favour of a more aggressive approach to immigration and develop civic policies to implement the consensus. Ottawa should be willing to set an aggressive target and work to achieve it. The city also needs to market itself better, from the point of view of an intending immigrant.



# Appendix 1:

An Example of Municipal  
Immigration Policy: City of  
Edmonton Immigration &  
Settlement Policy

# City of Edmonton Immigration and Settlement Policy<sup>47</sup>



**REFERENCE:**  
New Policy

**PREPARED BY:**  
Corporate Services

**DATE:** 8 May 2007

**TITLE:**  
Immigration and Settlement

**POLICY NUMBER:** C529

**ADOPTED BY:**  
City Council  
22 May 2007

**SUPERSEDES:**  
New

## Policy Statements:

The City of Edmonton is committed to a municipal environment that attracts and retains immigrants, refugees and their families. To this end the City of Edmonton commits to action in seven key policy areas.

### Economic Integration

The City of Edmonton promotes full integration of newcomers within Edmonton's economic mainstream.

### Intergovernmental Relations

The City of Edmonton will engage other orders of government in order to participate in formal discussions and decision-making related to immigration policy and program development that potentially impacts Edmonton.

The City of Edmonton will seek partnerships with other orders of government in order to access funding for projects that address

mutual objectives in the area of immigration and settlement.

### Service Access and Equity

As a support to successful settlement, City of Edmonton programs and services will continue to be made accessible to newcomers.

### Planning and Co-ordination

To ensure corporate coherence, City of Edmonton immigrant policies and programs will be consistent with and contribute to the achievement of Diversity and Inclusion Framework goals. In so doing, the City will support inter-departmental and inter-governmental collaboration

### Communication, Public Awareness and Education

The City of Edmonton will provide public information, effective communication, staff development and research that supports successful settlement and promotes a welcoming and positive municipal and public climate for immigrants.

## Community Building and Inclusion

The City of Edmonton will encourage and support immigrant and refugee communities' participation in all aspects of municipal life.

### Immigrant Women

Given particular vulnerabilities and challenges faced by some immigrant women, City of Edmonton programs and services will be responsive to their issues and needs.

The purpose of this policy is to enable the City, within its mandate as municipal government and service provider, to work with all other orders of government; economic, social and cultural institutions; and immigrants to attract newcomers and provide support to enable immigrants to develop a sense of identity, belonging and full participation in the social, economic, cultural and political life of Edmonton.

# Notes

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1. Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1911 edition, 'Ottawa', University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1911.
2. Bond, Courtney C. J., *The Ottawa Country*, Queen's Printer, Ottawa, 1968, pp. 18-21 passim.
3. Bond, Courtney C. J., *City on the Ottawa*, Queen's Printer, Ottawa, 1961, pp. 9 and 11.
4. 1871 Census of Canada (adapted from, Minister of Trade and Commerce, *Canada Year Book 1912*, King's Printer, Ottawa, p.9).
5. 1901 Census of Canada (adapted from, Minister of Trade and Commerce, *Canada Year Book 1912*, King's Printer, Ottawa, p.9).
6. 1911 Census of Canada (adapted from, Minister of Trade and Commerce, *Canada Year Book 1912*, King's Printer, Ottawa, p.9).
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