

Romanian Immigrants to Canada: A Statistical Portrait

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Abstract. The paper provides a descriptive portrait of Romanian immigrants to Canada using statistical and historical data. It outlines the transformations of the Canadian immigration policy over a century and a half, and shows how it interacted with the migration regime in Romania to produce three main waves of Romanian immigration to Canada. Alongside migration flow data, it gives specific information on generation status, level of education, occupation categories, and income for the first generation post-communist immigrants, and for the total population of Romanian ethnic origin in Canada, using data from the 2006 and 2016 Canadian Censuses of Population.

Keywords: Romanian immigrants, Canada, Canadian immigration policy, census of population, first generation immigrants

1. Introduction

The aim of this paper is to give a descriptive account of the Romanian immigration to Canada in historical context. The mystique associated with Canada as an immigration country has been a constant of the period following the fall of the communist regime in 1989. Through its active program of selecting immigrants, Canada was offering Romanians a fast-route to achieving a version of the “American Dream”. One hundred years before that, at the turn of the twentieth century, Canada also lured tens of thousands of Romanians to its vast prairies, through its policy of giving out land in exchange of breaking and settling on it. Using official documents and census data that have not been investigated before, I record the immigration of Romanians to Canada across centuries, and bring forth their profile. This paper’s main goal is to provide statistical and historical data on this particular stream of overseas migration, that may serve as a case in comparative immigration policy analysis.

There are two types of works devoted to Romanian immigrants in Canada. The first consist of overviews of the Romanian population in Canada. The second examine specific aspects of settlers' life, case studies that are employed to make theoretical points about issues like migration, transnationalism, the state, language acquisition, or structure of the labour market. Patterson (1977, 1999) are notable illustrations of the first. They offer descriptions of the historic Romanian communities in Canada, as dedicated entries in reference works on Canadian multiculturalism. Another valuable volume belongs to journalist Ion Longin Popescu. In the summer of 1983, he travelled to Canada at the invitation of one of the Romanian cultural associations. The life and accomplishments of a vanishing pioneer generation of immigrants, whose descendants have long since become hyphenated Canadians, are paid tribute in his memoir of the trip (Popescu 1986). There is a small number of other studies that give outlines of the Romanian community in Canada. Albu (2010) provides a brief account and a personal view of the formation of the Romanian community in Canada and transcribes nine life-story interviews with Romanian immigrants. This endeavour is part of a two-volume collection reporting the experiences of Central Europeans who settled in Canada. Bujea (2009) is a peculiar text that sieves through various publications produced especially by local Romanian Orthodox parishes, such as yearly books, parish bulletins, anniversary volumes, pamphlets and local history booklets. It includes a number of alphabetical survey lists of historical local communities of Romanians in Canada, of Romanian priests, of histories of Romanian parishes, and of personalities of Romanian origin. Culic (2012a, 2012b) identifies the successive waves of Romanian migration to Canada over a century, their particular characteristics and modes of integration, and the respective relations between them. Finally, Bobango (1979) narrates the fractured story of the institutionalisation of Romanian Orthodox faith in North America by giving a well-documented, detailed history of the first fifty years of the Romanian Orthodox Episcopate of America.

The second type of studies address various aspects of Romanians' lives in Canada. Of these, several are graduate papers by Romanian-origin Canadian students. Cervatiuc (2008) investigates the way Romanian newcomers gain proficiency in the English language. Culic (2010) shows how the Canadian immigration policy produces specific immigrant subjectivities in relationship with the Canadian state as an object of imagination. Nedelcu (2012) looks at the effect of electronic media of communication on forms of cross-generational transnationalism at Romanian Canadians. Paraschivescu (2011) compares the way Romanians in Canada and the United Kingdom live the

transnational experience. Using autobiography, auto-ethnography, and interview data with mothers of immigrants to Canada, Petrica (2018) brings a feminist critique to the Federal Skilled Worker program, by highlighting the role of women-mothers in the social reproduction that feeds the category of highly-skilled immigrants. Raileanu (2017) looks at the forms of wisdom produced by geographical dislocation using the case of Romanians in Ontario. Trandafir (2009) investigates how Romanians in Québec fare on the labour market. In a book that explores the online cultural and political expressions of Romanian immigrants, Trandafoiu (2013) dedicates one chapter to the distinct experience of Romanian Canadians, alongside immigrant communities in Western Europe. Tudoroiu (2007) discusses post-communist Romanian migration to Canada, and the changing structures of opportunities that back their struggles against professional and social status decline.

While this is not an exhaustive list of studies on Romanians in Canada, it is representative for the work produced so far. My paper contributes to the first type of scholarship, by bringing a detailed statistical depiction of the Romanian population in Canada. In the first part I provide a brief overview of the history of immigration of Romanians to Canada, at the confluence of specific migration regimes in the origin countries, and at destination. I reconstitute the successive flows and types of Romanian immigration to Canada primarily from governmental publications and secondary literature. I compile data extracted from reports by Statistics Canada – Canada’s national statistics agency, and by Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC) – the department of the Government of Canada responsible for immigrants, refugees and settlers (and its predecessors). I identify the most important characteristics of these waves of migration in terms of what enabled them, how they unfolded, and what was their outcome.

In the second part I focus on the wave of emigration triggered by the fall of the communist regime in Romania in 1989. I emphasize the distinct characteristics of the population of Romanian immigrants landed in Canada between 1990-2006, directly shaped by the specific provisions of Canada’s immigration policy (Culic 2010). The statistical representation of the post-1989 Romanian immigrants to Canada is obtained by processing data from the Individuals Public Use Microdata File (PUMF) for the 2006 Census of Population (Statistics Canada 2010). This database contains 844,476 records representing 2.7% of the Canadian population, and were drawn from a sample of one-fifth of the Canadian population. PUMF is the most recent and only existing source providing representative data collected at individual level, by ethnic origin, and by immigration status, where Romanians are recorded as a separate category.

In the last part of the paper I give a general description of the current population of Romanian origin in Canada using the most recent available data from the 2016 Census of Population. The data presented here refer to all the persons who declared at least one of their ancestors as Romanian. The PUMF released by Statistics Canada in February 2019 for the 2016 Census did not include Romanians as a separate ethnic origin category this time. Therefore, the analyses conducted in the previous section, for first generation immigrants only, cannot be updated. The figures are obtained from aggregate estimations based on a 25% Sample of the 2016 Census. They are extracted from selected tables where Romanian ethnic origin and Romania as country of birth represent distinct categories of the associated variables. From the population of Romanian ethnic origin, 41.4% are first generation immigrants, and 23.5% are second generation Romanian Canadians. The rest are third generation and more. In order to provide a raw frame to understand how Romanians fare in Canada, I also calculated the corresponding figures for the whole population of Canada.

2. Immigration of Romanians to Canada: a brief historical overview

In 1897, Minister of Interior Clifford Sifton had visited Bukovina and Galicia, on a mission to encourage suitable immigrants to come to Canada and settle Canada's West. According to Dominion Lands Act from 1872, agriculturalist immigrants were offered 160 acres of land in exchange for building a home, breaking thirty acres of land, and cultivating crops, while residing on the homestead. The Immigration Act of 1869, the first immigration legislation in Canada, put few restrictions on newcomers. It aimed primarily at ensuring the safety of immigrants during their passage to Canada, and preventing their exploitation upon arrival. The authorities favoured immigrants from so called "preferred" countries - Scotland, England, the United States of America, the Netherlands, and the Scandinavian countries - who were deemed easy to assimilate. Sifton, however, campaigned forcefully for Eastern European immigrants, which he considered the best settlers for the Prairies due to their agricultural experience, rural lifestyle, and resilience in the face of harsh conditions. "When I speak of quality I have in mind, I think, something that is quite different from what is in the mind of the average writer or speaker upon the question of Immigration. I think a stalwart peasant in a sheep-skin coat, born on the soil, whose forefathers have been farmers for ten generations, with a stout wife and a half-dozen children, is good quality" (Sifton 1922: 32).

The 1906 Immigration Act introduced a selective immigration policy. It broadened the categories of ineligible immigrants, established the deportation process, and gave government discretionary powers to decide conditions of passage and arrival, admission, and deportation. The promotion of Continental immigration, particularly from Eastern Europe, ceased to be encouraged, based on a growing concern over immigrants' state of indigence, capacity of assimilation, lack of familiarity with Anglo-Saxon norms and moral values, and negative effect over labour (Kelley and Trebilcock 2010: 113-166, Woodsworth 1972). Even more concern raised the "Oriental" immigration – Chinese and East Indians – leading to a number of orders-in-council with the effect of prohibiting their landing. These included the provision requiring the continuous-journey from their native or citizenship country to Canada, almost impossible to meet with the transportation means of the time, and the landing-money requirement. The 1910 Immigration Act formalized the increased powers of the Cabinet over immigration, to regulate the numbers, ethnic origin, and profession of immigrants. Despite these measures and concerns, the numbers of immigrants increased steadily in the first decade of the twentieth century, from 41,681 in 1900 to a peak of 400,870 in 1913.

The First World War brought a slump in the numbers of immigrants. Post-war measures were set to bring under even more government control the immigration. The 1919 Act to Amend the Immigration Act enabled the executive to prohibit or limit the number of immigrants of any race or nationality, by any economic or other temporarily existing condition in Canada. The cautious opening of the doors discriminated among categories of immigrants: British subjects and American citizens were granted free entry provided they had means to support themselves and were not black; citizens of "preferred" countries of Northern Europe and Scandinavia could enter provided they had valid passports, belonged to an occupation in need, or were sponsored by a relative; citizens of the non-preferred countries of Eastern and Southern Europe, who were required special permits; and immigrants from Africa and Asia, who were practically excluded. The 1923 Chinese Immigration Act denied entry to persons who were identified as Chinese, and required Chinese immigrants in Canada to register, while prohibiting them bring in family members. The 1931 order-in-council restricted immigration to just a few categories: agriculturalists with financial resources, wives and children of Canadian residents, and British subjects and American citizens who could support themselves.

The numbers of immigrants fell significantly during the difficult Depression years of the 1930s, with a low of 11,277 in 1935. They decreased further during the Second World War to a low of 7,576 in 1942. During the 1940s, approximately 70,000 war brides and their children arrived in Canada. The 1952 Immigration Act strengthened the discriminatory practices and reasserted the discretionary powers of the government over the selection, admission, and deportation of immigrants. The Cabinet was authorized to bar immigrants based on their nationality, ethnicity, occupation, peculiar customs, capacity to adapt to the climate, and capacity to assimilate.

The racist and discriminatory immigration policy will only last for ten more years. In 1962, new immigration regulations will be tabled to eliminate all discrimination based on race, ethnicity, religion, and nationality. In the following, I will give an account of the Romanian immigration to Canada that took place during this period, which was dependent on exit conditions in the origin country.

As in all founding stories, there is an established legend about the first Romanians who settled in Canada. Although individuals or small groups have arrived since the second part of the nineteenth century, they did not enter the mythical story of Romanian settlement to Canada, either because they were lonely travellers, or because they were not actually “Romanians”. Most of those few who arrived before the start of the twentieth century were Jews from Bukovina in the Austrian-Hungarian empire, Bessarabia in the Russian empire, or from the province of Moldova in Romania. The first Romanians who settled in Canada, as a result of Canada’s immigration policy, came in 1898, from the village of Boian, in Bukovina.¹ In a few years, by January 1901, around one hundred Romanian families lived in the district of Boian, Alberta, named after their home place (Popescu 1986, Zawadiuk et al. 1998). They were soon followed by other Romanians from Bukovina, who settled in small communities in Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba. According to the 1921 Census, 29,056 Romanians settled and were born in Canada’s Prairies (Patterson 1999).

These numbers should be indicative of the scale, only. The 1921 Census recorded the place of birth of the person, and of their mother and father; the citizenship country where, when not Canadian, naturalized or born, individuals declared the country to which they owed allegiance; the racial or tribal origin (ethnicity); the religion; and the language spoken, other than

¹ The history of Boian is well documented by local cultural and official sources. A moving collection is found in the Romanian Pioneer Museum at Boian, Alberta, including 91 family stories. See also <http://boianalbertamuseum.com>.

English or French. Based on tens of entries for Romanian born, Romanian race, or Romanian speaking individuals I have consulted from the 1921 Census digitized forms, there is variation in how data was declared and documented. Romanian ethnics can appear as Austrians or Russians, while Szeklers or German ethnics may be recorded as Romanians. While ethnicity is a fluid, relational concept that congeals through boundary-making processes and momentous events, there are significant differences in the way it has been officially recorded across space and time for statistical reasons. The meaning of Romanian for the purposes of this study is a statistical one, as resulted from the sources consulted.

According to Patterson (1999), the majority of about 85% of (those who considered themselves to be ethnic) Romanian immigrants were from Transylvania, Bukovina, and the Banat; 5% from the Old Kingdom of Romania; and the remainder from Macedonia, Greece, Thrace, Serbia, and Bulgaria. Those who embarked to Canada were usually peasants who lived in multi-ethnic borderland areas, closely connected to town life through their skill and trade (Barton 1975; Bobango 1979). They were seduced by the offer to own so much land, but they also fled Magyarisation, conscription, or were looking for adventure and fortune. Their decision was shaped by the advertising and mobilisation done by Canadian state officials, bank representatives, and agents of steamship companies and the Canadian Pacific Railway, who facilitated the passage of families through loans, travel schemes, and settlement packages. The experience of the first pioneer generation, who settled in the prairies, was generally one of hardships, marked by arduous work, adverse weather, and loneliness. The high cost of travel and the breakout of the First World War prevented their return to Romania, so that the dislocation became permanent. A series of natural disasters like drought and pest, and the economic depression of the 1930s determined a second dislocation, as they moved to the cities, both in the prairie provinces, as well as in Ontario and Québec. The generation of their children was for the most part socially and geographically mobile, and assimilated easily in the urban trades and professions.

After the first substantial wave of Romanian immigrants who arrived in Canada up until the introduction of the 1910 Immigration Act, the ensuing migration consisted mostly of women and children who joined their husbands and fathers (Patterson 1999). Romanians, as non-preferred nationals, were admitted only as agriculturalists, farm labourers, domestics, and sponsored family members. At the start of First World War, half of the Romanians living in Canada were native born (Bujea 2009: 8). The numbers of Romanian

immigrants did not increase until the end of the Second World War, and stayed low throughout the 1950s, the 1960s, and the 1970s.

As mentioned earlier, new immigration policy regulations were introduced in 1962 (Order-in-Council PC 1962-86), which eliminated overt racial discrimination and expanded sponsored immigration. A 1966 White Paper on Immigration, commissioned by the government, recommended the recruitment of qualified immigrants, while regulating sponsored immigration to control the influx of unskilled and poorly educated immigrants (see Triadafilopoulos 2012, chapter 2, for a critical review). As a result, the new immigration regulations introduced in 1967 (Order-in Council PC 1967-1616) set up a new system for evaluating potential immigrants, that would increase the objectivity and consistency of the selection, and cease discriminating by origin. It comprised a set of factors determining the applicant's capacity to successfully settle in Canada, such as education, occupation, age, or official language proficiency. Each factor was operationalized and ascribed weights through "assessment points". The maximum total was 100. All individuals receiving the cut-off threshold of 50 points or more were granted entry, regardless of their race, ethnicity or nationality.

Canada had been reluctant to accept refugees, and did so on an exceptional basis only. Refugees were considered and selected by economic, ethnic, political, and state of health criteria. Successful episodes of resettlement of refugees, particularly from Hungary (1956-7) and Czechoslovakia (1968-9), contributed to the growing public feeling that Canada should assume refugee resettlement as a permanent commitment and active practice. In 1969, Canada signed the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and the 1967 Protocol.

The Immigration Act of 1976, entered into force in April 1978, set the form of the immigration policy that is still in function today. It was hailed as a momentous piece of legislation. It was the first act to articulate the objectives of the Canadian immigration policy, including family reunion, a commitment to support refugees, and fostering economic development and prosperity. It limited the large discretionary powers of the minister of Manpower and Immigration, and determined the federal government to consult with other levels of government in immigration planning and management. It defined three admission categories of immigrants: (1) the economic class, dominated by the Federal Skilled Worker category; (2) the family class; and (3) the refugees, who appear as a distinct class of immigrants for the first time.

Table 1 shows the figures of Romanian born, Romanian citizens, and Romanian residents who arrived in Canada between 1945-1989. A large group of Romanians came right after the war, as displaced persons, from refugee camps in Europe. They continued to come to Canada from various parts of the world, after temporary stays in several successive countries. A part of the non-resident non-citizen Romanian born immigrants were denationalized Jews who managed to leave Romania for another country or for Israel, from where they submitted an immigration application under the regulations of the time. A large group arrived in Canada in 1948, fleeing the newly installed communist regime.

Table 1. Romanian immigration to Canada, 1946-1989

Romania	Country of Last Residence	Country of Citizenship	Country of Birth
1946-1955	6,049	8,780	13,143
1956-1965	926	782	5,546
1966-1975	1,128	1,146	4,670
1976-1985	6,083	3,978	8,360
1986	858	654	1,002
1987	1,550	1,209	1,692
1988	1,438	1,114	1,511
1989	2,019	1,588	2,213

Sources: Figures computed by author from Manpower and Immigration (1967-1976) and Employment and Immigration Canada (1977-1989).

Very few nationals came from Romania in the period that followed the introduction of the restrictionist, racist, and discriminatory legislation in 1952, equally deterred by the restrictive exit regime in their home country. They arrived in Canada mostly through the Family Sponsorship program and as privately sponsored refugees. Figures remained very low in the decade of 1966-1975, with 4,670 immigrants born in Romania, 1,128 with Romania as last residence, and 1,146 Romanian nationals. A significant number of Romanians resettled in Canada under the East European Self-Exiled Persons designated class, created in 1979. As the communist regime was tightening its grip on citizens' lives and the economic conditions were declining, Romanians increasingly applied to come to Canada. The number of those who landed between 1980-1989 surpassed the total number of immigrants who had come

from Romania since the war. About half of those who came to Canada during this time enjoyed the status of protected persons (refugees); a third of them came under the family class; less than a fifth belonged to the economic class (see Table 2).

Table 2. Romanian immigration to Canada, 1980-1990

Year	Total immigrants	Economic class		Family Class	Protected Persons
		Federal Skilled Worker	Business		
1980	632	178	0	147	307
1981	747	132	5	174	434
1982	988	205	0	306	477
1983	946	131	1	323	490
1984	841	220	2	280	338
1985	852	180	0	337	334
1986	860	154	2	259	443
1987	1,543	214	2	502	825
1988	1,428	242	0	456	730
1989	2,013	361	0	831	820
1990	2,792	475	1	1,296	1,015
Total (%)	13,642 (100%)	2,492 (18.3%)	13 (0.1%)	4,911 (36%)	6,213 (45.6%)

Sources: Compiled by author from electronic immigrant datasets at the University of Toronto Data Centre, and Citizenship and Immigration Canada annual reports.

At the beginning of the 1990s, Canada committed to annual inflows of one percent of its existing population, heeding Minister of Employment and Immigration's concern about sub-replacement fertility, and following its recommendation to strengthen the economic class component. The planned yearly numbers ceased to be related to estimates of the labour market's absorptive capacity. A broader human capital immigration model replaced the occupation-demand micro-management approach. The Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (IRPA), the new immigration law introduced in 2002, changed the structure of the points scheme, so that flexible and transferable skills like language proficiency and work experience were given greater weight. Workers selected by the new scheme would be better prepared to enter and

adapt on the dynamic labour market of a knowledge-based economy (see Table 3).² These changes fitted very well the pool of prospective immigrants from Romania that had started to accumulate during the last decade of communist rule. The possibility to exit and the freedom of movement gained in December 1989, with the fall of the Ceaușescu regime,³ allowed Romanians to apply for landed immigrant status in the economic class directly, as Federal Skilled Workers, or Provincial Nominees, that is, economic immigrants/skilled workers selected by the provinces directly.

Table 3. Evolution of Canada's Points System in time

Selection Factor	1978	1993	1996	2004	2011	2019
Education	12	14	21	25	25	25
Proficiency in the official languages	10	14	21	24	24	28
Specific vocational training	15	16	-	-	-	-
Work experience	8	8	9	21	21	15
Occupational demand	15	10	-	-	-	-
Labour market balance	-	-	10	-	-	-
Age	10	10	13	10	10	12
Pre-arranged employment in Canada	10	10	4	10	10	10
Personal suitability	10	10	17	-	-	-
Adaptability	-	8	-	10	10	10
Relative in Canada	5	-	5	-	-	-
Destination	5	-	-	-	-	-
Maximum points total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Pass Mark	50	67	*	67	67	67

* 52 for Professionals and Skilled Administrators, 47 for Technicians, 45 for Trades.

Sources: CIC <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/immigrate/skilled/apply-factors.asp>; Flynn 2011.

² “Canada focuses on selecting workers with flexible and transferable skills, rather than on specific occupations or professions. The legislation takes into consideration the needs of the Canadian economy and facilitates the selection of technical workers and university graduates. In addition, it attaches great importance to a knowledge of English or French. These characteristics give Canadian businesses access to the pool of skilled workers they need to continue to grow and prosper in a 21st century economy.” (CIC 2004: 9)

³ In 1991 Canada discontinued the designated class of East European Self-Exiled Persons.

As the number of immigrants and asylum seekers from Romania continued to grow in the 1990s, Western European countries started to build a fortress immigration regime for Romanians, by introducing admission visas, toughening the requirements for getting one, and externalising restrictive controls to the Romanian authorities.⁴ In this context, the status of landed immigrant in Canada, which brought vast rights at settlement, became a strong option to consider. The number of permanent residence applications filed at the Canadian Embassy grew constantly during the 1990s and early 2000s. Immigrant arrivals from Romania were capped only by the limited processing capacity of the Canadian immigration authorities.⁵

By mid 2000s, Romania figured among the top ten source countries of permanent immigrants, second to United Kingdom as a European country, and before France.⁶ Immigrants from Romania were sought by the Québécois authorities, who organized sustained information sessions in Bucharest and other places in Romania to encourage applicants for the *Certificat de sélection du Québec* (skilled workers selected by the province of Québec). Québec had a separate agreement with the federal government, granting the province control over its immigration policy.⁷ Romanian immigrants' language and cultural affinity with the French made them fine candidates to settle in Québec.

In 2008, further changes refocused the economic immigration policy to short-term needs.⁸ Applications under the Federal Skilled Worker category were restricted and fast-tracked to persons who have offers of arranged employment in Canada, or work experience in one of thirty-eight occupations considered in demand, or have been legally residing in Canada for at least one year as a temporary foreign worker or an international student. The Provincial Nominee program diversified, as other provinces developed their own selection scheme. In order to expedite employers' supply of workers for

⁴ For a very good outline of the dynamics of emigration from Romania until its citizens were granted free movement within the Schengen space in 2002, see Diminescu 2003.

⁵ For an account of the immigration of Romanians to Canada in the late 1990s and 2000s see Culic 2010.

⁶ Romania placed eighth in 2004. See CIC (2005: 31).

⁷ The Canada-Québec Accord Relating to Immigration and Temporary Admission of Aliens, come into force on April 1, 1991, grants the province full responsibility for the selection of its economic class immigrants and the acceptance of refugees, and for their linguistic, cultural, and economic integration in the "distinct society" of Québec.

⁸ The changes introduced by the Action Plan for Faster Immigration presented in December 2008 were primarily justified by the need to reduce the huge backlog created during the past years for the Federal Skilled Worker category. In 2005, the average waiting time for the processing of applications was 50 months. In 2009, it was reduced to 26 months, with applications submitted after February 28, 2008 taking between 6-12 months to be processed.

difficult jobs, the Temporary Foreign Worker Program was introduced. Post-Graduation Work Permit Program, another new program, granted international students a 3 year work permit without the need of a job offer. A new fast-track immigration category was created, Canadian Experience Class, to support Canadian experience international graduates and temporary foreign workers settle as permanent residents in Canada. While immigration applications have been thus drastically reduced, the influx of immigrants remained high and increased continually. 247,248 immigrants were admitted in 2008; 252,172 in 2009; and 280,681 in 2010, for an increasing population that passed 30 million in 2008.

Table 4. Romanian immigrants to Canada, and total immigrants to Canada, 1990-2018

Year	Total Immigrants from Romania	Total Immigrants Canada	Year	Total Immigrants from Romania	Total Immigrants Canada
1990	2,792	216,456	2005	5,048	262,241
1991	2,452	232,818	2006	4,468	251,643
1992	3,016	254,818	2007	3,834	236,754
1993	3,370	256,702	2008	2,837	247,243
1994	2,977	224,397	2009	2,076	252,170
1995	3,851	212,873	2010	1,922	280,687
1996	3,670	226,073	2011	1,776	248,747
1997	3,916	216,039	2012	1,588	257,903
1998	2,976	174,198	2013	1,512	259,023
1999	3,467	189,954	2014	1,553	260,404
2000	4,431	227,458	2015	1,185	271,835
2001	5,588	250,639	2016	1,360	296,365
2002	5,688	229,049	2017	980	286,500
2003	5,465	221,348	2018	810	321,060
2004	5,755	235,825	2019	n.a.	n.a.

Sources: Compiled by author from annual reports by CIC and IRCC, and monthly IRCC updates available at <https://open.canada.ca>.

On June 26, 2010, the government amended the procedures “to put even greater emphasis on economic recovery and further reduce the Federal Skilled Worker application backlog” (CIC 2010). It changed and reduced the list of qualifying occupations to twenty nine. It discontinued the foreign worker and international student facilitated applications for permanent residence,

redirecting them to Canadian Experience Class. It limited the number of applications under the occupation list to 20,000 per year and a maximum of 1,000 applications to be considered within a particular occupation. It required submission of all supporting documentation at the moment of the initial application.⁹ Finally, as of November 5, 2011, no new applications to sponsor parents and grandparents were accepted for processing for up to 24 months.

As the size of the application backlog was decreasing, the system was cleared of limitations with regard to family class admissions. It was sharpened as to the types of skilled workers required, which are now streaming into Federal Skilled Worker, Federal Skilled Trades, and Canadian Experience Class, and rounded with a variety of flexible Provincial Nominee admissions. Helping families to reunite in Canada was declared a priority. In 2017, the Immigration Minister introduced a multi-year Immigration Levels Plan, with the ambitious goal of settling one million new immigrants between 2018 and 2020 (O'Doherty, Katem and Turner 2017). In 2018, with 321,060 newcomers, immigration reached a fourth historical high in 150 years of immigration (surpassed only by 1911, 1912, and 1913).¹⁰

While Canada was making rapid strides at reorganizing the whole immigration system to make it more efficient, in 2007 Romania accessed the European Union. Most of EU's national labour markets fully opened to Romanians, as did its social space at large. This political turn did not trigger the announced massive population movement across borders. Many of the Romanians who had wanted to work in the European Union already used the free mobility within the Schengen space, granted in 2002, to find work in the West. It did however bring the regularisation of those who had not managed to use the actions and mechanisms in place to settle their legal situation. At this time, moving to, living and working in European Union countries became a relatively smooth process, simplified administratively, legally, and politically. The mutual recognition of degrees, prepared by the implementation of the

⁹ With the burst of Provincial Nominee programs, there are now around 60 alternative ways to apply for Canadian permanent residence other than Federal Skilled Worker, including Business, and Family Sponsorship immigration.

¹⁰ "Canada is a world leader in managed migration with an immigration program based on non-discriminatory principles [...]. Immigration is a defining feature of Canada: immigrants (meaning people born outside of Canada) currently represent one in five people in Canada. [...] Canada sets an annual target for immigration and selects newcomers who best contribute to the country's economic and social well-being. [...] immigration plays an important role in ensuring that Canada's population and labour force continue to grow. Given that immigrant newcomers are, on average, younger than the Canadian-born population, immigration can help mitigate some of the challenges of an ageing demographic, [...] [including] the decline of Canada's worker-to-retiree ratio." (IRCC 2018: 5)

Bologna process in Romanian universities, contributed to the easy mobility across borders of almost all categories of professionals. These changes balanced out the promises of immigration to Canada. The number of candidates and actual arrivals in Canada diminished drastically in the second part of the 2000s up to the present date. By 2018 Romania fell on the 53rd position as source country of permanent residents. This trend will not reverse as long as there are no major events or transformations that alter the mobility regime of Romanians in Europe. In the following section, I will give a statistical description of Romanians who came and stayed in Canada, after the fall of the communist regime.

3. Post-communist immigrants: a middle class in the making crosses the ocean (1990-2006)

The story of the post-communist Romanian immigrants to Canada appears to be the story of a particular generation. It is also the story of the immigration policy that fulfilled this generation's desire to redefine their lives. This stream of migrants consisting of 90,000 is quite distinct from the majority of an estimated 4 million Romanians who left their country after 1989.¹¹ The presence of Romanian immigrants in the European Union intermittently raised difficult issues of inequality, marginality, and citizenship, as labourers supplying irregular unskilled work and unsightly appearances in the cities, prey for modern slave work in agriculture, victims of international trafficking in women and prostitution, and minor exploitation (Anghel and Horváth 2009, Aradau 2008, 2009, Diminescu 2004, Mai 2010). In contrast, Romanian immigrants to Canada seem to document the accomplishment of this country's active policy of immigrant selection.

If in the late 1980s Romanian immigrants to Canada were mainly refugees (about 45%) and family class (about 36%), by 1992 the economic class represented more than half of the arrivals from Romania. It remained over 70% during the whole period, reaching an average of 81% during the decade 2001-2010.¹² This means that most of the post-communist Romanian immigrants to Canada were selected based on the 100 points-scheme, which evaluated the aptness of the principal applicants as skilled workers, and their family's capacity to integrate in the Canadian society.

¹¹ See Horváth 2012 for a detailed analysis of the international migration of Romanians after 1989.

¹² Statistics Canada, 2016 Census of Population, Catalogue Number 98-400-X2016202.

The characteristics of this stream of migration demonstrates the efficiency of the Canadian policy in producing its population. As an economic and demographic tool, it brings in a highly skilled, motivated, and disciplined external population, easily adaptable in the Canadian society, and contributing greatly to the Canadian economy (Culic 2010).

To give its portrait in numbers, I used data from the Individuals Public Use Microdata File (PUMF) for the 2006 Census of Population (Statistics Canada 2010). From the total of individuals in this sample of the Canadian population, I selected those who declared “Romanian” under the variable “Derived single and selected multiple ethnic origins”, a total of 1,728 persons. From them I extracted the subset of post-communist Romanian immigrants, that is, those who became permanent residents between 1990 and 2006, the date of the Census (variable “Year of immigration”). In order to understand this stream of first generation immigrants, I am looking only at adults, rather than at their dependent children as well. Thus, in order to reach the principal applicants, whose qualities and credentials as skilled workers were evaluated by immigration officers, and their spouses or partners, I further selected Romanian immigrants who were 25 years of age or older at the moment of immigration (variable “Age at immigration”). I obtained a sample of 779 Romanian immigrants arrived between 1990 and 2006, 25 years of age or older at immigration.¹³

As I mentioned above, I consider the story of this particular stream of post-communist Romanian immigrants the story of a generation. Two thirds of them were born in the first 15 years after the pro-natalist Decree 770 of 1966, of which one third in the first 5 years. These oversized cohorts reached maturity in the first part of the 1990s. Underinvestment in housing construction in the 1980s and early 1990s made access to independent living difficult for them (Horváth 2012: 204-5). The structure of work opportunities they had been socialized into changed significantly in a brief period of time. Compounded, these elements generated a sizeable mass of potential labour migrants, who took advantage of the international mobility gained in 1990. When Western Europe turned itself into a fortress migration regime for Romanians at the middle of the 1990s, Canada became a favoured option for the highly educated Romanians who wanted to take up the challenge of a break with their past, in return for better living and rewarding working conditions.

¹³ This sample is a 2.7% random sample of the total population of Romanian immigrants in Canada, arrived between 1990-2006, who were 25 years of age or older at immigration. Statistics computed on it have a margin of error of 5% for a 99% confidence level.

Post-communist Romanian immigrants to Canada are highly educated and in high demand (see Tables 5 and 6). They were ideologically set to embrace neo-liberalism and an ethics of work that made them disciplined and submissive employees, staunch supporters of the free market as supreme regulator. Taken up by discourses of anti-communism dominating the intellectual public space of Romania after 1989, these people, most of them in their thirties and forties at immigration, tended to rebuff all references to leftist values or labour organisation. They embodied the middle-class notions of well-being and professional achievement, and were offered their promise by the Canadian immigration program (Culic 2010). Romanians selected as Federal Skilled Workers fit precisely the positivist approach of the policy, aimed at micro-economic management of the labour market, and augmenting economic immigration while toning down the non-productive, resource-consuming family immigration. The points system returned immigrants with extremely high education level, according to Census data (see Table 5). An impressive amount of 67.5% of the Romanian immigrants aged 25 years and over at the moment of immigration hold at least a bachelor's degree. Another 11.2% hold two years or more certificates from post-secondary education institutions.¹⁴

¹⁴ At the moment of the 2006 Census, not at the moment of immigration. The data show that 11% of them pursued further studies in Canada.

Table 5. Education: highest certificate, diploma or degree. Romanian immigrants 1990-2006 (at Census date), aged 25 years and over at immigration, compared to the total Canadian population aged 25 years and over. Percentages of valid cases¹⁵

Education: highest certificate, diploma or degree.	Romanians	Total population
None/ Less than high school	2.1	20.7
High school graduation certificate or equivalency certificate	8.3	23.5
Other trades certificate or diploma	4.4	7.8
Registered apprenticeship certificate	2.2	4.4
College, CEGEP ¹⁶ or other non-university certificate or diploma from a program of 3 months to less than 1 year	0.5	2.5
College, CEGEP or other non-university certificate or diploma from a program of 1 year to 2 years	3.9	8.8
College, CEGEP or other non-university certificate or diploma from a program of more than 2 years	4.4	7.3
University certificate or diploma below bachelor level	6.8	4.8
Bachelor's degree	34.7	12.8
University certificate or diploma above bachelor level	11.3	2.1
Degree in medicine, dentistry, veterinary medicine or optometry	1.5	0.5
Master's degree	18.5	4.0
Earned doctorate degree	1.5	0.7
Total	100.0	100.0
N	779	579,396
Not available		2,362

Source: Author's computations based on the Census of Canada, 2006, *Individuals PUMF*. All computations, use and interpretation of these data are entirely those of the author.

¹⁵ For data on working age population, see Statistics Canada, <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/12-581-x/2016000/edu-eng.htm>.

¹⁶ CEGEP is the acronym for Collège d'enseignement général et professionnel, a publicly funded pre-university and technical college in the province of Québec's education system.

Table 6. Major field of study, based on the Classification of Instructional Programs (CIP) Canada 2000. Romanian immigrants 1990-2006 (at Census date), aged 25 years and over at immigration, compared to the total Canadian population aged 25 and over

Major Field of Study	Frequency	Percent
Education	24	3.1
Visual and performing arts, and communications technologies	5	0.6
Humanities	28	3.6
Social and behavioural sciences and law	66	8.5
Business, management and public administration	83	10.7
Physical and life sciences and technologies	41	5.3
Mathematics, computer and information sciences	50	6.4
Architecture, engineering, and related technologies	313	40.2
Agriculture, natural resources and conservation	9	1.2
Health, parks, recreation and fitness	57	7.3
Personal, protective and transportation services	22	2.8
No postsecondary certificate, diploma or degree	81	10.4
Total	779	100.0

Source: Author's computations based on the Census of Canada, 2006, *Individuals PUMF*.

Employment figures by industry (Table 7) reflect the structure of higher education in Romania during the last decade of communist rule, dominated by polytechnic institutes, and the system of secondary education, which had included, since 1983, a component of compulsory vocational training. About a fifth of Romanian immigrants aged 25 years and over at the moment of immigration worked in manufacturing compared to 12.7% of the total Canadian population aged 25 years and over. Almost 30% worked in accommodation and food services, constructions, wholesale and retail trade, transportation and warehousing, administrative, support, waste and remediation services. While Romanian immigrants might have filled a perceived labour shortage on the Canadian market, based on which annual immigration figures had been devised, and according to which they had been selected, they also actualized a labour force structure built for the perceived needs of their country of origin at a particular moment.

Table 7. *Employment: present or longest work-place since January 2005 by industry, based on the 2002 North American Industry Classification System (NAICS). Romanian immigrants 1990-2006 (at Census date), aged 25 years and over at immigration, compared to the total Canadian population aged 25 years and over. Percentages of valid cases*

Employment	Romanians	Total population
Agriculture, forestry, fishing and hunting	0.2	3.1
Mining and oil and gas extraction	0	1.4
Utilities	0.5	0.8
Construction	4.9	6.4
Manufacturing	21.2	12.7
Wholesale trade	5.2	4.6
Retail trade	5.6	9.3
Transportation and warehousing	6.1	5.3
Information and cultural industries	3.3	2.5
Finance and insurance	4.7	4.4
Real estate and rental and leasing	3.9	1.8
Professional, scientific and technical services	15.8	7.1
Management of companies and enterprises	0	0.1
Administrative, support, waste, remediation	4.9	4.1
Educational services	4.9	7.6
Health care and social assistance	9.3	11.1
Arts, entertainment and recreation	0.5	1.7
Accommodation and food services	2.4	4.6
Other services (except public administration)	4.6	4.9
Public administration	2.3	6.4
Total	100	100
N	779	579,396
Not Available and Not Applicable	0	182,829

Source: Author's computations based on the Census of Canada, 2006, *Individuals PUMF*.

The data show that Romanian immigrants are notably over-represented within the professional, scientific and technical services, with 15.8% compared to 7.1% for the total Canadian population aged 25 years and over. This illustrates the efficiency of Federal Skilled Worker program in returning a highly qualified segment of labour force, whose costs of education, training, and specialisation were supported by another country. The distribution of Romanians by employment equity designations (Table 8) re-enforces the observation that the Canadian immigration policy works successfully. The percentage of Romanians in the occupational category of Professionals, 30.5%, is significantly higher

than the 18.4% for the total Canadian population aged 25 years and over. This population, “externally” produced, was pulled in by Canada for its internal needs, with very low costs. All official reports and academic research highlight immigrants’ overall positive contribution to Canadian economy and society. More specifically, the immigration policy tends to financially pay itself off. A 2003 report by the Standing Committee on Citizenship and Immigration shows that immigrants contribute financially before they even arrive in Canada. In the fiscal year 2000-2001 the amount of money paid by immigrants in processing fees and right of landing fees, \$464.2 million, surpassed the \$336.4 million representing the amount spent by the Government of Canada on settlement and integration (House of Commons, Parliament of Canada 2003: 6).

Table 8. Occupation. Employment equity designations – based on the National Occupational Classification (NOC). Romanian immigrants 1990-2006 (at Census date), aged 25 years and over at immigration, compared to the total Canadian population aged 25 years and over. Percentages of valid cases

Occupation	Romanians	Total population
Managers	7.6	10.8
Professionals	30.5	18.4
Semi-professionals and technicians	11.8	8.2
Supervisors	2.4	4.2
Administrative and senior clerical personnel	4.4	5.8
Skilled sales and service personnel	2.4	4.0
Skilled crafts and trades workers	7.1	8.5
Clerical personnel	10.2	9.9
Intermediate sales and service personnel	8.5	10.0
Semi-skilled manual workers	8.9	10.3
Other sales and service personnel	4.7	6.7
Other manual workers	1.5	3.2
Total	100.0	100.0
N	779	579,396
Not Available and Not Applicable	0	173,426

Source: Author’s computations based on the Census of Canada, 2006, *Individuals PUMF*.

Finally, one can look at these figures yet from another angle. Principal applicants represent about 40% of the immigrants recorded under the Federal Skilled Worker class. The rest, consisting of dependent spouse/partner and

children, are not required to qualify under the assessment scheme, and their skills and credentials may contribute only a few points to the application. Their presence however is crucial in settling in the new life, and easing the way to land a first job for any of the members of the family. Children going to school are often the first to initiate social relations and be integrated in a structured social interaction in Canada. In the application for Federal Skilled Worker visa, the role of principal applicant is not assigned to the man by default, but is decided according to each partner's capacity to accumulate points in the assessment scheme. Similarly, at the arrival in Canada, it is not assumed that the principal applicant or the man should look for work and provide for the family. It is also the spouse/partner who often gets a job to support the family, while strategic planning for the future is made.

4. Romanians in Canada: basic facts

In the previous section I presented the portrait of the post-communist generation of Romanian migrants to Canada. I showed that the number of migrants started to decrease steadily in the second half of the 2000s, to less than 1,000 per year presently. With Romania's accession to the EU and the fast-changing Canadian immigration system, Romanian immigration to Canada lost its momentum. For the ageing generation that has been feeding it during the first decade and a half after 1989, such a socially and emotionally disrupting life-project ceased to be tenable. For the incoming generations, born and socialized into a very different social-economic and political context, immigrating to Canada is a quite different enterprise. If the post-communist pioneers' stories were shaped by a spirit of adventure and dreams of refashioning of the self (Culic 2010), the recent migrants' stories tend to use the language of market value and economic calculation. In the present paradigm of the commodification of the self on a fluid global labour market, immigration to Canada has increasingly become a cost-benefit calculation move. The new technologies of communication, extraordinary development of low budget air transportation between Romania and Western Europe, and free access to the professions in the EU countries also dispelled part of the charm Canada held over prospect applicants.

In this section of the paper I give a general description of the total current population of Romanian origin in Canada, using the data from the 2016 Census of Population. It comprises all persons who declared at least one of their ancestors as Romanian. I processed data provided by Statistics Canada in the form of tables that present aggregate estimations based on a 25% Sample of the 2016 Census. I used variables where Romanian ethnic origin and

Romania as country of birth were represented as distinct categories. Of the population of Romanian ethnic origin, 41.4% are first generation immigrants, and 23.5% are second generation Romanian Canadians. The rest 35% are third generation and more (see Table 9). The great majority of the first generation immigrants to Canada are settled in Ontario (45,4%), most of which in the Greater Toronto Area; Québec (33.0%), most of which in Montréal and its surroundings; and British Columbia (10.0%), most of which in Vancouver. In order to provide a raw frame to understand how Romanians fare in Canada, I also calculated the corresponding figures for the whole population of Canada, where applicable. The PUMF released by Statistics Canada in February 2019 for the 2016 Census did not include Romanians as a separate ethnic origin category this time. Therefore the analyses carried out in the previous section, for the first generation immigrants, could not be replicated according to the same logic. However, certain data could be extracted for first generation immigrants, which I will provide in the following.

Table 9. Population of Canada. Selected groups by ethnic origin and immigration generation

Ethnic origin	Total - Single and multiple ethnic origin response		Single ethnic origin	Multiple ethnic origin
Total Canada	34,460,065	100.0%	20,297,890	14,162,175
European origins	19,683,320	57.1%	6,675,760	13,007,560
British	11,211,850	32.5%	2,191,275	9,020,570
French	4,680,815	13.6%	1,009,940	3,670,875
Romanian	238,050	0.7%	96,910	141,145
Romanian	238,050	100.0%	96,910	141,145
First generation	98,615	41.4%	75,065	23,560
Ontario	44,815			
Québec	32,585			
British Columbia	9,840			
Second generation	56,040	23.5%	17,360	38,675
Third generation or more	83,400	35.0%	4,490	78,910

Source: Statistics Canada, 2016 Census of Population, Catalogue no. 98-400-X2016187. Private Households of Canada, Provinces and Territories, 2016 Census - 25% Sample Data. Totals may not equal sums, as the figures are estimates.

The following table (Table 10) gives us a general picture of the level of education of first generation immigrants born in Romania, aged 15 years and over at the moment of the census (May 10, 2016), and of the total population of Romanians of all generations, compared to the total population of Canada. Romanian first generation immigrants are greatly overrepresented in the category of higher education. 50.4% of Romanian immigrants aged 15 and over held a university certificate, diploma or degree at bachelor level or above, compared to 23.3% of the total population of Canada. Of those who held a post-secondary certificate or degree, 60% carried out their studies in Romania, and 37.5% in Canada. Most of the rest of 2.5% graduated their post-secondary studies in the United States, France, Germany, and the United Kingdom. They probably arrived in Canada after having spent at least the period of college/graduate studies in Western Europe or the United States, and then applied for permanent resident status in Canada. Romanians in general are overrepresented among those who graduated university studies, with 40.2% holding a university certificate, diploma or degree at bachelor level or above.

Table 10. Highest certificate, diploma or degree for first generation immigrants born in Romania, aged 15 years and over, for all Romanians aged 15 and over, and for the total population of Canada, aged 15 years and over

Highest certificate, diploma or degree	Romanian immigrants		All Romanians		Total population	
No certificate, diploma or degree	6,385	7.2%	20,780	10.9%	5,239,580	18.3%
Secondary (high) school diploma or equivalency certificate	13,755	15.6%	40,880	21.4%	7,576,400	26.5%
Apprenticeship or trades certificate or diploma	7,315	8.3%	13,630	7.1%	2,800,265	9.8%
College, CEGEP or other non-university certificate or diploma	12,965	14.7%	32,810	17.2%	5,553,830	19.4%
University certificate or diploma below bachelor level	3,430	3.9%	5,990	3.1%	813,335	2.8%
University certificate, diploma or degree at bachelor level or above	44,495	50.4%	76,780	40.2%	6,659,620	23.3%
Total	88,350	100.0%	190,870	100.0%	28,643,015	100.0%

Source: Statistics Canada, 2016 Census of Population, Catalogue Number 98-400-X2016278. Private Households of Canada, Provinces and Territories, 2016 Census - 25% Sample Data.

Romanians also have a higher participation rate in the labour force, and a higher employment rate, than the total Canadian population (see Table 11). 72.8% of Romanians take part in the labour force compared to 65.2% of the total Canadian populations. The employment rate of Romanians is 67.8%, while for the total Canadian population is 60.2%. Romanians are significantly overrepresented in business, finance and administration occupations, as well as natural and applied sciences and related occupations (see Table 12). They are significantly under-represented in sales and service occupations, and in trades, transport and equipment operators and related occupations.

Table 11. Labour force status for Romanians, aged 15 years and over, and for total population of Canada, aged 15 years and over

Labour force status	Romanians	Total population
In the labour force	138,960	18,672,470
Employed	129,320	17,230,040
Unemployed	9,640	1,442,435
Not in the labour force	51,910	9,970,545
Total	190,870	28,643,015
Participation rate	72.8%	65.2%
Employment rate	67.8%	60.2%
Unemployment rate	6.9%	7.7%

Source: Statistics Canada, 2016 Census of Population, Catalogue Number 98-400-X2016189. Private Households of Canada, Provinces and Territories, 2016 Census - 25% Sample Data.

Table 12. Labour force population for Romanians aged 15 years and over, and for total Canadian population aged 15 and over, by occupation - National Occupational Classification (NOC). Percentages of valid cases

Occupation	Romanians	Total population
Management occupations	11.1	11.0
Business, finance and administration occupations	17.6	15.7
Natural and applied sciences and related occupations	12.8	7.0
Health occupations	7.5	6.8
Occupations in education, law and social, community and government services	12.4	11.7
Occupations in art, culture, recreation and sport	3.8	3.1
Sales and service occupations	18.6	23.4
Trades, transport and equipment operators and related occupations	11.7	14.6
Natural resources, agriculture and related production occupations	1.3	2.3
Occupations in manufacturing and utilities	3.2	4.5
Total	100.0	100.0
N	138,955	18,672,470
Not applicable	2,650	404,350

Source: Statistics Canada, 2016 Census of Population, Catalogue Number 98-400-X2016189. Private Households of Canada, Provinces and Territories, 2016 Census - 25% Sample Data.

On average, Romanians are doing better than the total Canadian population in terms of income. In the following table (Table 13) we have the description of the Romanian and total Canadian populations by a number of income indicators. Market income refers to the sum of employment income (including wages, salaries and commissions, net self-employment income from farm or non-farm unincorporated business and/or professional practice), investment income, private retirement income (retirement pensions, superannuation and annuities, including those from registered retirement savings plans [RRSPs] and registered retirement income funds [RRIFs]) and other money income from market sources during the reference period (the calendar year 2015). It is equivalent to total income minus government transfers. Government transfers

comprises all cash benefits received from federal, provincial, territorial or municipal governments. It includes: old age security pension, guaranteed income supplement, allowance or allowance for the Survivor; retirement, disability and survivor benefits from Canada Pension Plan and Québec Pension Plan; benefits from employment insurance and Québec parental insurance plan; child benefits from federal and provincial programs; social assistance benefits; workers' compensation benefits; working income tax benefit; goods and services tax credit and harmonized sales tax credit; other income from government sources. Employment income refers to all income received as wages, salaries and commissions from paid employment and net self-employment income from farm or non-farm unincorporated business and/or professional practice.

The average market income of Romanians aged 15 and over in 2015 was \$56,174, which is 20% higher than the average market income of the total Canadian population aged 15 and over in 2015, \$46,885. The median for the same indicator is \$39,656 for Romanians and \$32,754 for the total Canadian population. The employment income figures are also higher for Romanians. The average employment income among Romanians was \$53,209, compared to the average employment income for the total Canadian population, \$46,057. The median was \$39,939 for Romanians, and \$33,683 for the total Canadian population. Government transfers are on average lower for Romanians, than for the whole population. The average government transfers among Romanians was \$6,407, compared to the total Canadian population, \$7,738. The median was \$2,992 for Romanians, compared to the median for the total Canadian population, \$5,457.

Table 13. Income statistics in 2015 for the Romanian population aged 15 years and over, and for the total Canadian population aged 15 years and over

Income statistics in 2015, population aged 15 years and over	Romanians	Total population
Total (N)	190,865	28,643,020
Number of total income recipients	182,680	27,489,400
Average total income among recipients (\$)	56,168	47,487
Median total income among recipients (\$)	40,115	34,205
Number of after-tax income recipients	182,720	27,500,230
Average after-tax income among recipients (\$)	45,085	38,977
Median after-tax income among recipients (\$)	35,536	30,861
Number of market income recipients	168,975	24,584,070
Average market income among recipients (\$)	56,174	46,885
Median market income among recipients (\$)	39,656	32,754
Number of government transfers recipients	119,980	19,742,130
Average government transfers among recipients (\$)	6,407	7,738
Median government transfers among recipients (\$)	2,992	5,457
Number of employment income recipients	147,000	20,428,670
Average employment income among recipients (\$)	53,209	46,057
Median employment income among recipients (\$)	39,939	33,683
Number of employment income recipients who worked full year full time in 2015	72,525	9,367,050
Median employment income for full-year full-time workers (\$)	60,058	53,431
Average employment income for full-year full-time workers (\$)	72,036	65,997
Composition of total income in 2015 of the population aged 15 years and over (%)	100.0	100.0
Market income (%)	92.5	88.3
Employment income (%)	76.2	72.1
Government transfers (%)	7.5	11.7

Source: Statistics Canada, 2016 Census of Population, Catalogue Number 98-400-X2016189. Private Households of Canada, Provinces and Territories, 2016 Census - 25% Sample Data.

5. Conclusion

In this paper I aimed to portray the population of Romanian immigrants in Canada in statistical figures. I provided immigration flow data from three periods of times defined by important historical moments, political regimes, and immigration policies. The first wave of immigration from Romanian-inhabited territories in the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the Kingdom of Romania started at the turn of the twentieth century and lasted until the start of the Second World War. A period of relatively little Romanian immigration, except for war displaced persons and political refugees, followed after, until the late 1980s. Another important wave of Romanian immigration started after the fall of the communist regime in Romania, in December 1989. Presently this stream of migration has been drying out, particularly after Romania's accession to the EU.

I focused on the post-communist wave of immigration, which, I argued, was defined by the specific generation of the large cohorts born as a result of the communist pro-natalist policies. This highly educated, highly economically successful segment of immigrants from Romania, of whom the great majority arrived under the federal skilled worker class, illustrated the efficiency of the Canadian active immigration policy. In the paper I outlined the main changes of this policy, and showed how, in interaction with the migration regime in Romania, it shaped the flows and characteristics of the Romanian immigrants. Finally, I gave a statistical description of the present population of Romanian ethnic origin in Canada, as recorded by the 2016 Census of Population. These figures contribute to a more complete image of the Romanian diaspora, a relatively new and important object of political interest for the Romanian government.

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