

Brazilian Immigrants in Canada: Tracking the Interregional Mobility of Male and Female Tax Filers¹

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Abstract

Using data from the Immigration Database (IMDB) which links tax filer information to province of landing information and current regions, the author tracked the interregional mobility of 17,380 male and female Brazilian immigrant tax filers arriving in Canada between 2000 and 2018. This mobility was evaluated in the tax year 2018. Brazilian immigration in Canada, which has increased substantially over the years, is presently situated in the context of the "fifth" major wave of Latin America to Canada: the Technological-Professional wave. The socio-demographic profiles of tax filers revealed that this is a highly educated immigrant segment with a visible presence of women. The study found that nine out of ten Brazilian immigrants remained in their original landing regions while the remaining immigrants left their original landing region by 2018. The Ontario and British Columbia regions were found amongst the most retentive of Brazilian immigrants while the Atlantic provinces and the Prairies (excluding Alberta) were the least. Males and females did not differ much in terms of their propensities to move interregionally. Regardless of gender, individuals entering Canada as economic class entrants and university-educated individuals were found among the most mobile. In terms of migratory exchanges, movement across the "linguistic" corridor Quebec-Ontario was found to be dominant and Quebec experienced the greatest relative immigrant losses in terms of both Brazilian males and female tax filers. The fact that Brazilian immigrants are a predominantly "stayer" regional population raises interesting questions regarding the socio-economic integration of these immigrants in Canada.

Keywords: Brazilian, Immigrants, Interregional Mobility, Tax Filers, Canada

1.0. Introduction

According to the 2016 Canadian Census, 40,455 residents reported being born in Brazil (47% males and 53% females)². Overall, the immigration of Brazilians to Canada has been a relatively understudied phenomenon. Often, scholarly studies of this population have been sporadic, thematic (e.g. remittances, labour market integration, or linguistic challenges) and/or exclusively treated in the context of other Portuguese-speaking diasporas occurring around the world, such as those arriving in the United States (Margolis, 1994; DeMaris and Goza, 2003; Beserra, 2006; Messias, 2008). Research has been conducted in smaller or medium scales relying on information mostly drawn from qualitative research (Goza and Marteleto, 1998; Magalhaes et al., 2008; Vendramin, 2014).

¹ Paper presented to the International Conference Women, Gender and Intersectionality in the Lusophone World, June 29 to July 2, 2022, Ponta Delgada, Azores, Portugal. The author would like to thank Jennifer Dumoulin and the Census Division of Statistics Canada for making available the data and their valuable support and guidance.

² Source: 2016 Data tables, retrieved from <https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/dp-pd/dt-td/Rp-eng.cfm>, December 2021

Barbosa (2009) pinpoints Brazil's economic crisis of the 1980s, the lack of occupational opportunities and a sharp increase in violent crime in large urban centers as root causes pushing people to emigrate to Canada and other destinations. The Canadian federal and Quebec provincial governments have regularly promoted immigration through ads in newspapers, magazines, public meetings, and consultations. In her survey with 119 Brazilians living in various parts of Canada, Barbosa found that 65% identified Canada as their first choice for immigration because of Canada's high standard of living, the safety of its cities, and its economic stability. However, upon arrival, Brazilian immigrants faced numerous challenges in terms of their socio-economic and occupational integration. Many did not find jobs commensurate with their educational qualifications and were concentrated in "secondary" labour market type of occupations³. In her study of Brazilian residents in Ontario, Maghalaes et al. (2008) found that despite 70% of survey respondents having a university level of education, they struggled to find jobs outside factory work, housework, cleaning and other personal services. Similarly, in his small qualitative sample from Metropolitan Toronto, Vendramin (2014) found that both Brazilian males and females felt that their occupational struggles were compounded by the lack of recognition of foreign credentials (which hamper social mobility) and, in some cases, racial discrimination, as some Brazilians are members of visible minority groups.

The migratory journey of Brazilians does not necessarily end upon arrival to Canada. Many, eventually, move from their original regions of landing to other regions where social mobility and employment security prospects are perceived to be met (Van Hear et. al., 2018). The secondary migration of Brazilian immigrants in Canada is important to study because it reflects the spatial dimension of their socio-economic immigrant integration. To cross regional boundaries, Brazilian immigrants must overcome significant distance, as well as institutional and linguistic-related barriers. Migration decisions of immigrants in their new countries are closely tied to the perceived cost and benefit of moving elsewhere (Richmond, 1988; Nogle, 1994; Zavodny, 1999; Aslund & Olof-Ruth, 2007). Regional business cycles have also been linked to secondary migration (Orrenius & Zavodny, 2009). Before the fall of oil prices, resource-rich Canadian provinces such as Alberta and Saskatchewan experienced economic "booms" leading to increased in-migration of skilled and non-skilled immigrant labour from the Atlantic Provinces, Quebec, and Ontario. Demographic literature also suggests that the presence of family, friends, and co-ethnics, particularly in the more prosperous regions, supports migrations decisions (Chiswick & Miller, 2005)

Using tax filer longitudinal data (e.g. the IMDB database), the purpose of this paper is to explore the interregional mobility of a sample of male and female Brazilian immigrants arriving during the 2000-2018 period. A comparative gender analysis was also undertaken to examine how women and men differentially have participated in regional mobility exchanges. The paper attempts to address four central research objectives. These are: a) to examine the degree of participation of males and females in interregional mobility exchanges, b) obtain a general picture in terms of retention rates and migratory exchanges of male and female immigrants across the various Canadian regions, c) identify the typical origin and destination regions for Brazilians in Canada, and d) examine gender differentials in terms of spatial mobility by education and intake classes at admission as these are factors singled out as important socio-demographic drivers of immigrant mobility (see for

³ While primary markets are composed of specialized, higher paid jobs and employment stability and mobility, secondary markets consist mostly of low-paid, low-status jobs that offer little protection and are usually dead-end (Dekker et. al., 2002).

instance: Picot, 2004; Bonikowska, et. al., 2015).

2.0. Data Sources and Research Activities

The IMDB (Immigration Database) provides an excellent opportunity to track the secondary migration patterns of Brazilian immigrants through its unique linkage between the information captured by both the immigration and taxation programs⁴. Immigrants are identified through information provided on their confirmation of permanent residency documents at landing and allows for the tracking (on an annual basis) of the location of those immigrants through both the province and postal code information provided on their tax returns⁵.

A special table (SCS-504) was drawn from the IMDB master file of immigrant tax filers⁶. This table provided detailed information on the region of the landing of immigrants, age, gender, educational levels, immigrant intake categories of admission (economic, family, and refugee), country of citizenship of immigrants as well as several tax reporting years. Within the context of the IMDB data definitions, interregional mobility is approximated by the difference between an immigrant's stated region of destination at the time he or she was admitted as a permanent resident to Canada and his or her place of residence at the 2018 tax year. The 2018 tax year was chosen to study to provide the latest time point of observation available in the data release. It should be noted that only individuals aged 25 to 64 during the 2018 tax reporting year are included in the present analysis.

To examine the patterns of interregional mobility of male and female Brazilian tax filers, three main research activities were undertaken. These entailed: 1) calculating regional retention rates (RRs) by various socio-demographic and administrative markers of immigrants, 2) calculating net migration rates to identify Canadian regions that benefited from the residential changes of tax filers during the observation period, and 3) pinpointing the typical origins and destinations of Brazilian immigrants⁷. In demographic analysis, retention rates are used as indicators of residential preferences and, in the case of immigrant groups, sometimes to assess the relative success of immigrant settlement programs and interventions. Net migration rates (NMRs) are also useful demographic indicators as they provide information on net regional gains or losses (e.g. people arriving minus those leaving a given geographical area) relative to the intended immigrant population at arrival.

3.0. Some Terms Used in the Paper

Latin America: Geographical region comprising 19 Spanish and Portuguese speaking countries of North, Central America, South America, and the Caribbean, except Puerto Rico due to its special status.

⁴ This dataset is currently administered by Statistics Canada. For more information on the IMDB please visit <https://www23.statcan.gc.ca/imdb/p2SV.pl?Function=getSurvey&SDDS=5057>.

⁵ Immigrants who do not file tax returns (for example, children) or for whom the linkage between the immigration and tax system failed are absent from the database and are not accounted for in the number of movers and non-movers or in the calculation of migration rates presented in this profile. As a result, the actual number of movers and non-movers would be higher than that reported for tax filers. It should also be noted that immigrants who left the country or do not file a tax return in the year of observation are not accounted for in any calculations.

⁶ Release date to the author: October 2021. Note: the table counts in the special IMDB table are rounded to 0 or 5.

⁷ This research involved an intensive analysis of origin-destination matrices (7 x 7) calculated for different genders, immigrant intake classes and countries of citizenship.

Permanent Residents: Individuals who have been lawfully permitted to settle in Canada under the three major immigrant intake classes: economic, family, and refugee.

Immigrant Intake Class: the status of entry upon legal admission to Canada. The economic class comprises individuals such as skilled workers, business immigrants, and/or sponsored dependents of skilled dependents. The family category comprises immigrants with immediate family members already living in Canada and is required to have a sponsor (typically the family member) who has agreed to provide financial support for a period of three to ten years following arrival. The refugee category comprises three types of refugees: state-sponsored, privately sponsored, and asylum (e.g. protected persons).

Country of Citizenship: A country where the person has citizenship. Citizenship can be obtained by birth or naturalization.

Destined at Landing (IMDB): The total number of immigrants admitted as permanent residents intended for the regions arriving between 2000 and 2018 and observed in the tax year 2018.

Out-Migration from a Region (IMDB): Total number of immigrants, who landed in a region between 2000 and 2018 and who still resided in Canada but not in their destination region in the tax year 2018, by region of destination.

In-Migration to a Region (IMDB): Total number of immigrants who landed in a region between 2000 and 2018 who were not destined to the region in which they resided in the tax year 2018, by region.

Destined and Resident in the Tax Year 2018 (IMDB): Total number of immigrants who landed between 2000 and 2018 and who still resided in their destination region in the tax year 2018.

Retention Rate (RR): The percentage of immigrants who arrived between 2000 and 2018 who resided in their region of destination in the tax year 2018, by region. **Lower retention rates for groups signal greater interregional mobility.**

Net Migration Rate (NMR): The number of in-migrants to a particular region less those who left the region for another region over the destined landing population (expressed as a percentage). **Positive rates signal greater population gains relative to the destined population at landing, negative rates the opposite.**

Canadian Regions: In this paper, the interregional mobility across seven regions is examined⁸. The Atlantic region is located in the Eastern part of Canada. It is rich in natural resources such as fisheries, minerals, hydroelectric capacity, and offshore oil. The French-speaking region of Quebec is the second most populated province of the country and it is where Metropolitan Montreal is located. Quebec's manufacturing and agricultural sectors benefit heavily from free trade with the United States. The Ontario region is the most populated province of the country (39%) and is Canada's economic engine. Much of Canada's manufacturing sector — notable industries such as auto-making, food and beverage, fabricated metals, and others — is located in Ontario. Metropolitan Toronto, the largest city in Canada is located in Ontario. Manitoba is a region located in the center of the country and relies on agriculture, tourism, electricity, oil, mining, and forestry. The Saskatchewan region is beneficiary of farmland and the development of its uranium, potash, shale oil, and other resources. Heavy investment in the province of Alberta's oil sands has significantly boosted employment in the province, particularly in the Fort McMurray region, and has added billions of dollars in revenues. Finally, British Columbia is the third most populated region of Canada, is rich in natural resources and has an advantaged position in the manufacturing, trade as well as the real estate sector. Metropolitan Vancouver is located in this Western Province⁹.

⁸ Note: Seven regions of the landing were examined: Atlantic (comprising 4 provinces: New Brunswick, Newfoundland and Labrador, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island), Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia (B.C). The provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta are treated as separate regions and not clustered together into one in order to provide greater analytical detail of inflows and outflows.

⁹ Source: <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/regional-economics> [2021-12-09 3:49:32 PM]

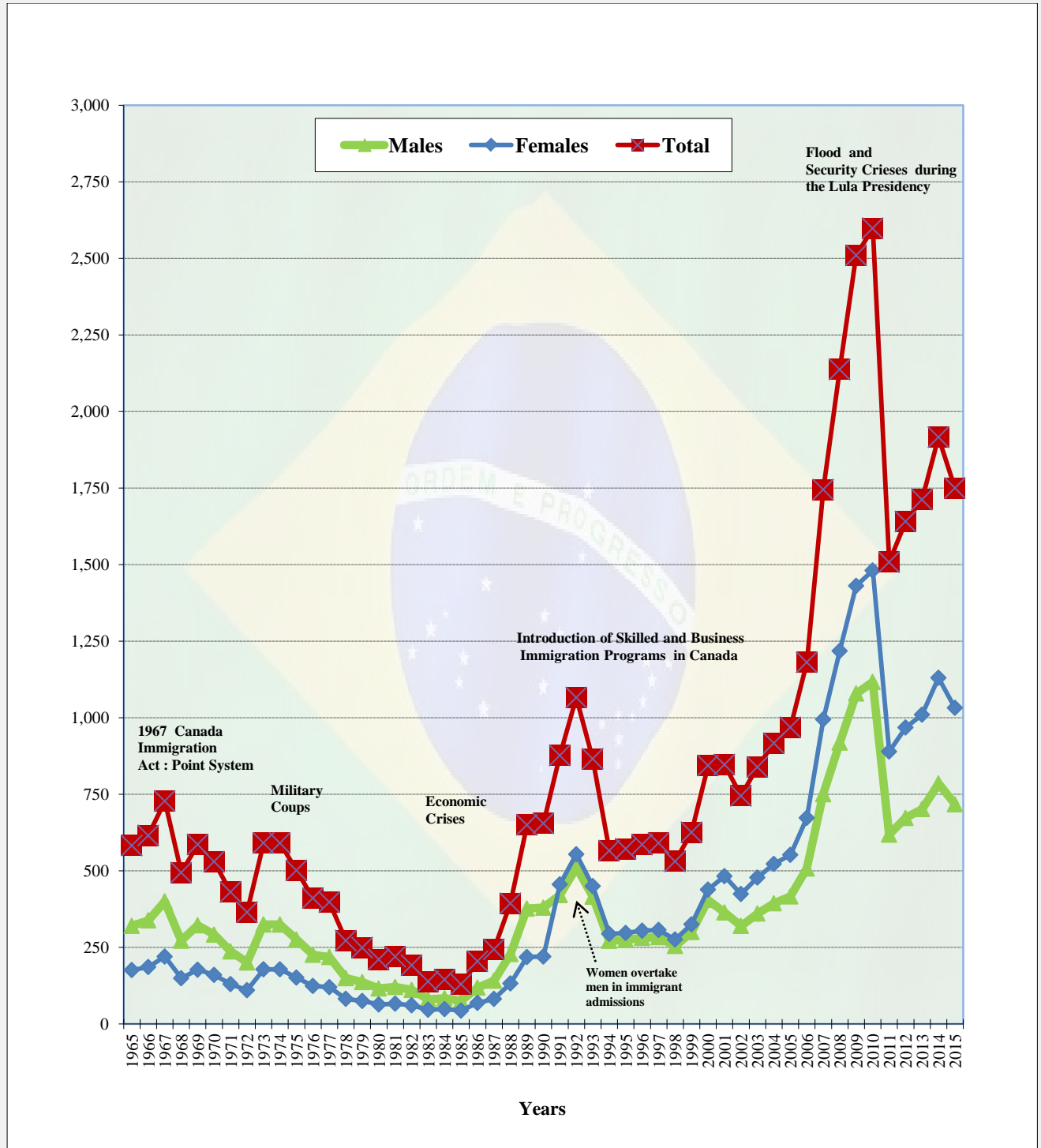
Chart 1: Map of Canadian Regions Examined in the Study



4.0. Brazilian and Latin American Immigration to Canada

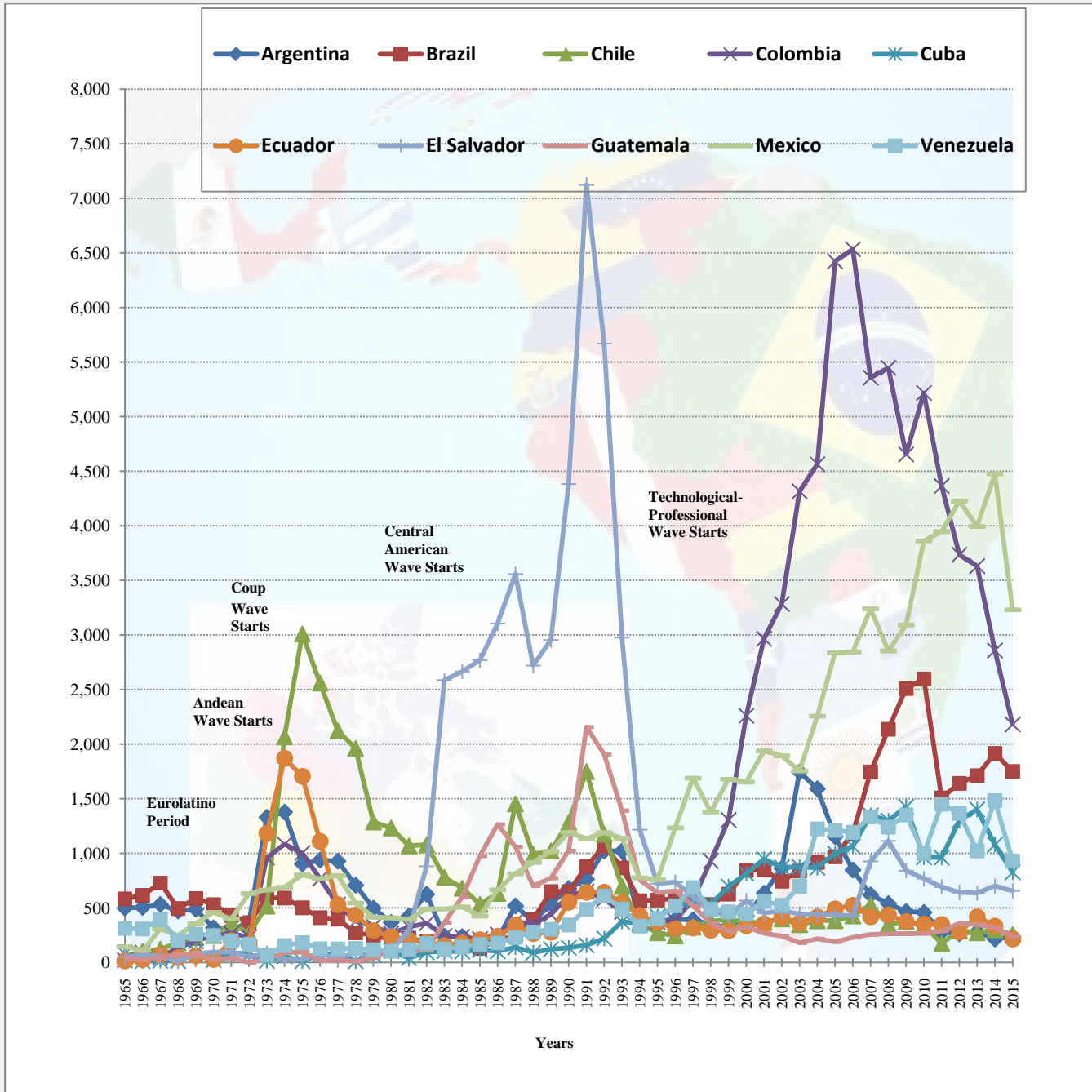
To provide context for the study of the secondary migration of Brazilian immigrants in Canada, a time series diagram about permanent resident admissions is shown in Chart 2. It visualizes the various "peaks" and "valleys" observed in Brazilian immigration during 1965 and 2015. Five major "peaks" are noticeable in the chart. The first one corresponds to the introduction of the point system of immigrant selection by the 1967 Immigration Act whereby education, skills, and language abilities became the main selection criteria for immigrant admissions. This new legislation removed restrictions previously imposed on migration from the South American region allowing thousands of skilled workers to enter Canada. The second one coincided with the military juntas of the 1970s. The third "peak" occurred in the '80s where economic crises became more endemic in Brazil and Canada developed specialized immigration programs targeting professional and business class entrants to meet domestic demands for highly skilled manpower. In 1991, the female immigrant intake of immigrants surpassed that of males which, up until today, has not changed. The largest immigrant "peak" was observed in 1992 coinciding with the flood and security crises affecting the presidency of Lula Da Silva. Following this period, a final minor "peak" was observed in 2014, the year of the "Petrobras" corruption scandal.

Chart 2: Admissions of Permanent Residents by Years, Brazilian Males and Female Citizens, Canada 1965-2015



Sources: (1) 1965-1979: Table 14, Immigration Statistics, Employment, and Immigration Canada, (2) 1980-2015: Permanent Residents – Ad Hoc IRCC (Specialized Datasets)- Admissions of Permanent Residents by Country of Citizenship (Q1-Q2 2016 ranking), 1980 - Q2 2016. Note: some figures may be rounded.

Chart 3: Admissions of Permanent Residents by Country of Citizenship and Years, Selected Latin American Countries, 1965-2015



Sources: (1) 1965-1979: Table 14, Immigration Statistics, Employment, and Immigration Canada, (2) 1980-2015: Permanent Residents – Ad Hoc IRCC (Specialized Datasets)- Admissions of Permanent Residents by Country of Citizenship (Q1-Q2 2016 ranking), 1980 - Q2 2016. Note: some figures may be rounded.

The largest intake of Brazilian immigrants to Canada overlaps in time with what is called the "fifth" wave of Latin American immigrants: the Technological-Professional (Mata, 2021b). Chart 3 displays a time series

identifying all these waves by year. The "fifth" wave was triggered around the mid-1990s. It comprises a mixed group of individuals ranging from professional and highly skilled workers drawn from the STEM¹⁰ industries to individuals of lower educational profiles who have regularized their status after being initially admitted as visitors, temporary workers, students, and/or refugee claimants¹¹. Citizens from Colombia, Mexico, Brazil, Cuba, and Venezuela are the most representative members of the wave. Economic instability, health crises, rising social conflict, and a deep socio-economic restructuring are said to be the major push-related factors associated with this particular wave (ECLAC, 2019). The heterogeneity both in terms of the social-demographic background mix and pathways or trajectories towards permanent residency (e.g. from a "precarious" status to "non-precarious")¹² suggests this particular wave has a dual character whereby two separate immigrant streams appear to coalesce in time. The peak of the technological-professional wave occurred in 2006 when about 6.5 thousand Colombians were admitted as permanent residents to Canada (President Uribe's administration)¹³. The Mexican peak of the wave occurred more recently in 2014 when about 4.5 thousand were admitted. Brazilian, Venezuelan, and Cuban immigration have also kept pace with that of Colombian and Mexican admissions¹⁴.

5.0. Tax Filer Sample Profiles

A total of 17,380 Brazilian immigrant tax filers were captured by the IMDB data (6,965 males and 10,465 females) and observed in the tax year 2018. Females were over-represented in the sample (60% compared to 40% of males). The majority of tax filers (60%) had arrived during the 2009-2018 period and the remaining 40% during 2000-2008. About three out of four of them had a university education (75%) which was closely associated with their conditions of admission as economic class applicants (68%), which are selected based on education, skills, and language proficiency. The proportions of family class entrants were found higher for females compared to males (38% to 24%) suggesting that many of them may have also been sponsored by spouses and/or relatives. The proportion of refugee entrants among both male and female Brazilian immigrants was minimal (1%).

Examination of the table also reveals that Ontario and Quebec were the most preferred landing destinations: 42% and 33% for males and 42% and 31% among females respectively. About 90% of the 2018 taxes were reported from the metropolitan areas of the seven regions suggesting strong concentrations of tax filers around

¹⁰ STEM refers to the Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics sectors.

¹¹ Some Canadian scholars suggest that many immigrants of the fifth wave who later regularize their status (precarious to non-precarious) may be part of the non-permanent resident pool of previous years (Goldring and Landolt, 2021). The case of Mexican agricultural workers has been, perhaps, one of the most studied (McLaughlin and Henneby, 2013; Basok et. al 2014; Villegas 2020). At the time of the 2016 Census there were 25,415 individuals reporting different Latin American ethnic origins who were counted as non-permanent residents (13,345 males and 12,065 females). More than a third of them (34%) of them were Mexicans, 19% Brazilian and 13% Colombian. In terms of educational profiles, 44% had attained secondary education or less, 40% university education and 16% some post-secondary education or college level. See Table A-1 in the Appendix for more details.

¹² Under the differential inclusion theoretical framework and using samples of Latino and Caribbean workers living in Toronto, Goldring and Landolt (2021) have carried out interesting work in this regard.

¹³ According to Alcalá et. al. (2008), the root causes of Colombian migration to Canada are the violence and poverty affecting a significant segment of the population. Humanez Blanquicett (2019) ties these causes to the various "waves" of Colombians arriving to the city of Montreal in the last decades. Although early Colombian immigration to Canada comprised many economic and family class admissions, it also had a significant number of refugee class entrants which faced severe integration challenges (Veronis, 2010). In 2004, Colombia became the primary source of refugee claimants in Canada.

¹⁴ Brazilian immigration to Canada has a significant number of individuals arriving as professionals and highly skilled economic class entrants. Vendramin (2013) found that many of these Brazilian workers, despite being highly educated, tend to be concentrated in occupations related to the "secondary" occupational sector of low-paid jobs. Occupational challenges are greater for Colombians, Venezuelan and Cuban immigrants which have larger contingents of refugee class entrants. Between 2015 to 2019, there was an extraordinary 467% percent increase in Venezuelan asylum claimants in Canada (GC, 2020).

these areas. In terms of income profiles, median employment incomes reveal notable gaps between the Brazilian working male and female populations at tax years 2004 and 2018. In the tax year 2014, the gender gap amounted to Can\$ 44.4 thousands in favour of males while in the tax year 2018 this gap amounted to Can\$57.7 thousands.

Table 1: Brazilian Immigrant Tax Filers by gender, socio-demographic, residential and economic characteristics*, Tax Year 2018, 2000-2018

Characteristics	Both Genders	Males	Females
N	17,380	6,965	10,415
Period of Arrival			
Arrived before 2009	42%	40%	44%
Arrived 2009-2018	58%	60%	56%
Educational Level			
Secondary or Less	14%	15%	14%
Some Postsecondary	11%	12%	10%
Bachelor's Degree	56%	53%	58%
Masters degree or higher	19%	19%	18%
Immigrant Intake Class			
Family Class	31%	24%	38%
Economic Class	68%	75%	61%
Refugee Class	1%	1%	1%
Region at Landing			
Atlantic	1%	1%	1%
Quebec	32%	33%	31%
Ontario	42%	42%	42%
Manitoba	2%	2%	2%
Saskatchewan	1%	1%	1%
Alberta	8%	7%	9%
British Columbia	14%	14%	14%
% Reporting 2018 Taxes from a regional CMA*	90%	92%	93%
Total	100%	100%	100%
MEDINC TX 2004 (thousands)	Can\$ 62.7	Can\$ 84.9	Can\$ 40.5
MEDINC TX 2018 (thousands)	Can\$ 121.3	Can\$ 150.1	Can\$ 92.4

* According to Statistics Canada a census metropolitan area or CMA is formed by one or more adjacent municipalities centred on a population centre (known as the core). A CMA must have a total population of at least 100,000 of which 50,000 or more must live in the core. Symbols: MEDINC=Median Employment Income 25-64 working population, Tax Year 2018. Source: Special Table SCS-504, Longitudinal Immigration Database (IMDB)

6.0. Interregional Mobility Findings

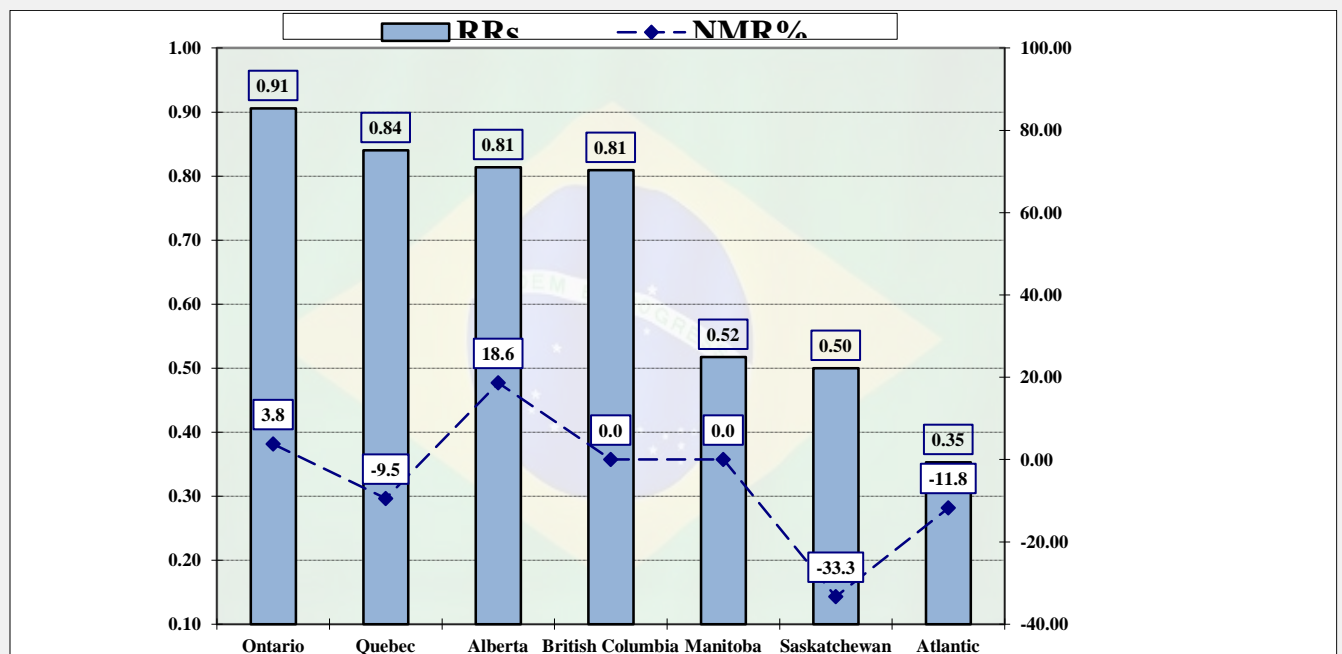
6.1. Ontario retained the greatest number of Brazilian males and females; Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and the Atlantic regions the least

Charts 4 and 5 present the regional retention and net migration rates calculated for Brazilian male and female tax filers arriving between 2000-2018 and observed at the tax year 2018¹⁵. Tables 1 and 2 provide the

¹⁵ Illustrative example: Of the 3,455 Brazilian males who arrived as permanent residents who landed in Ontario, 3,130 still lived in the region in tax year 2018. Thus, the retention rate for this region was (3130/3455) or .91. Between 2000-2014, Ontario received 380 new immigrants while 250 left the province, leaving a net migration of 130 individuals. Expressing this net migration as a percentage of the destined population of landing, the calculated net migration rate (%) was ((130/3455)*100) or about +3.8%.

calculations upon which these charts are based. The Ontario region was found to be the most retentive region for both male and female immigrants with retention rates of .91 respectively. Quebec, Alberta and British Columbia were also highly retentive with rates ranging from .80 to .85. The least retentive regions were the Prairies ones (Manitoba and Saskatchewan) and particularly the Atlantic region. Only 35% of male immigrants and 47% of female immigrants remained in the latter region by the tax year 2018. Net migration rates reveal that the greatest relative losses for males corresponded to the Saskatchewan region (about -33.3% of its original intake) and, in the case of females, Manitoba (-15.4% of its original intake). The findings suggest that Brazilians remained in the provinces with a greater industrial base and, to a lesser extent, in those rich in natural resources and agricultural infrastructures

Chart 4: Immigrant Tax Filers: Retention Rates (RRs) and Net Migration Rates (%) by Regions of Landing and Reporting, Brazilian Males, Tax Year 2018, 2000-2018 Landings



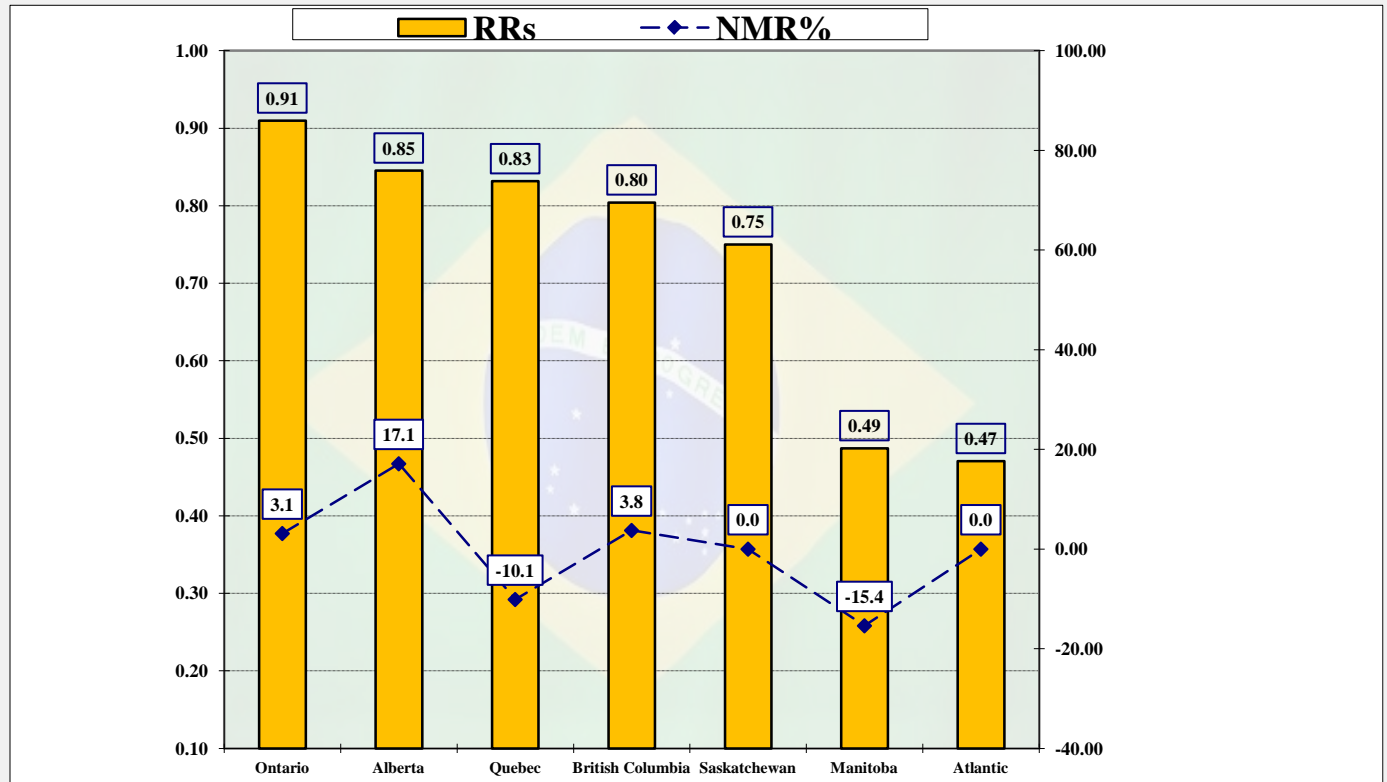
Source: Special Table SCS-504, Longitudinal Immigration Database (IMDB)

Table 2: Interprovincial Mobility of Brazilian Male Tax Filers: Retention Rates and Net Migration Rates, Tax Year 2018, 2000-2018 Landings

Brazilian Male Tax Filers	Destined at Landing (a)	In-migration (b)	Out-Migration (c)	Net Migration (d)=(b)-(c)	Destined and Residing TX 2018 (e)	RR; Retention Rates (e)/(a)	% NMR: ((d)/(a))x 100
Atlantic	85	0	10	-10	30	0.35	-11.8%
Quebec	2,160	85	290	-205	1815	0.84	-9.5%
Ontario	3,455	380	250	130	3130	0.91	3.8%
Manitoba	145	0	0	0	75	0.52	0.0%
Saskatchewan	30	0	10	-10	15	0.50	-33.3%
Alberta	510	125	30	95	415	0.81	18.6%
British Columbia	970	110	110	0	785	0.81	0.0%

Source: Special Table SCS-504, Longitudinal Immigration Database (IMDB)

Chart 5: Immigrant Tax Filers: Retention (RRs) and Net Migration Rates (%) by Regions of Landing and Reporting, Brazilian Females, Tax Year 2018, 2000-2018 Landings



Source: Special Table SCS-504, Longitudinal Immigration Database (IMDB)

Table 3: Interprovincial Mobility of Brazilian Female Tax Filers: Retention Rates and Net Migration Rates, Tax Year 2018, 2000-2018 Landings

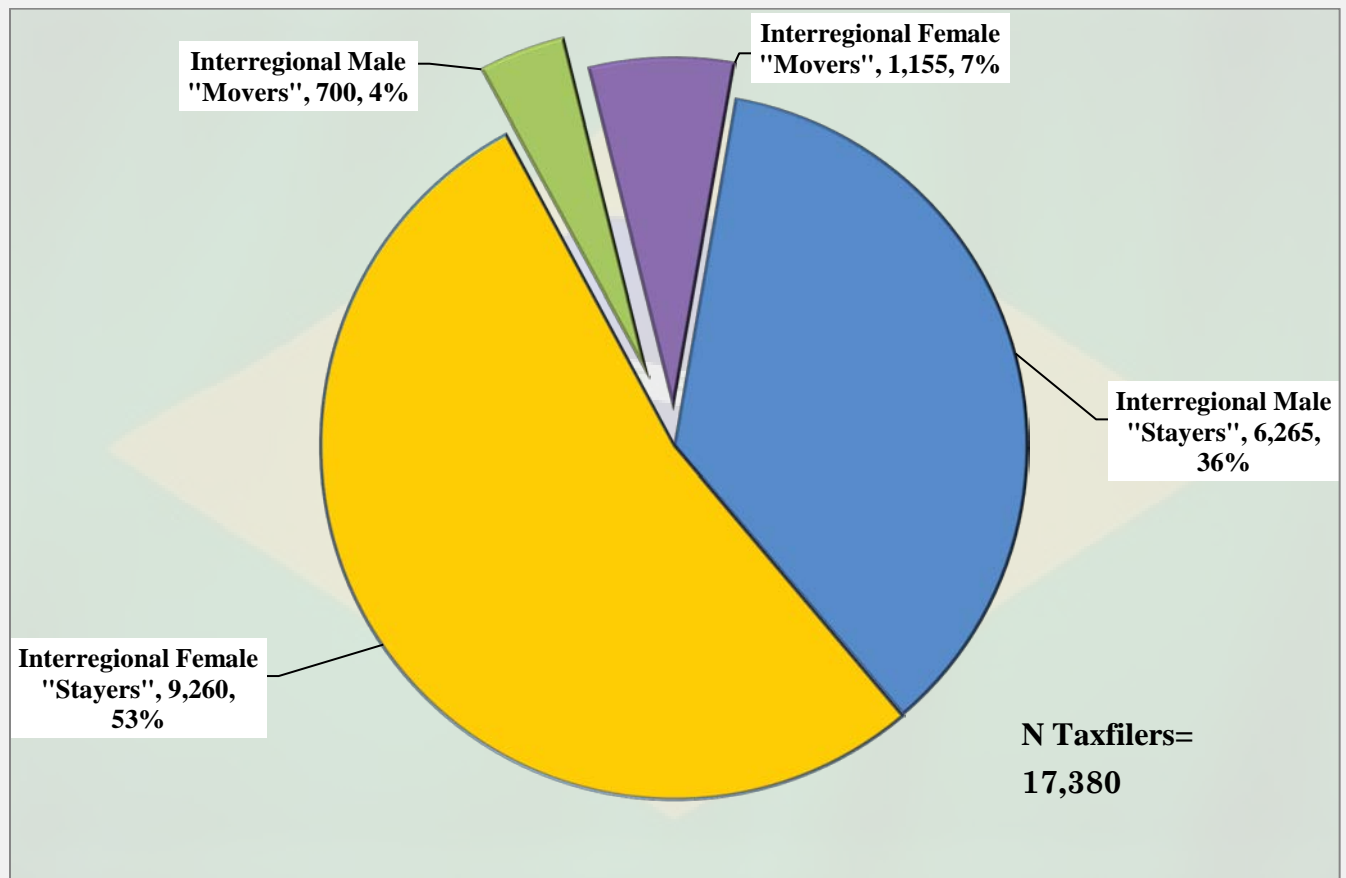
Brazilian Female Tax Filers	Destined at Landing (a)	In-migration (b)	Out-Migration (c)	Net Migration (d)=(b)-(c)	Destined and Residing TX 2018 (e)	RR; Retention Rates (e)/(a)	% NMR: ((d)/(a))x 100
Atlantic	85	0	0	0	40	0.47	0.0%
Quebec	3,265	145	475	-330	2715	0.83	-10.1%
Ontario	5,100	545	385	160	4640	0.91	3.2%
Manitoba	195	0	30	-30	95	0.49	-15.4%
Saskatchewan	40	0	0	0	30	0.75	0.0%
Alberta	905	230	75	155	765	0.85	17.1%
British Columbia	1,200	235	190	45	965	0.80	3.8%

Source: Special Table SCS-504, Longitudinal Immigration Database (IMDB)

6.2. One out of ten Brazilian immigrants had moved out of their original region of landing by 2018, the most mobile: the university-educated, economic class entrants

Chart 6 presents the Brazilian interregional "stayers" and "movers"¹⁶ captured by the IMDB data sample. About 11% of all Brazilian tax filers (N=1,855 individuals) had left their original region of landing between 2000-2018 (7% females and 4% males). The majority remained in their original regions of landing (89% or 15,525). In terms of propensities to move which are approximated by low retention rates, both males and females admitted as economic class entrants and university-educated ones were found among the most mobile (see chart 7). About 13% of males and 12% of economic entrant females had left their original landing regions by the tax year 2018. The least mobile found were those admitted under the family class and those with non-university levels of education, Most notable case is family class women with lower education: all of them remained in their original regions of landing (RR=1.00). Women were found somewhat more mobile in the earlier arrival period 2000-2008 (RR=.88) compared to the latter 2009-2018 period (RR=.90).

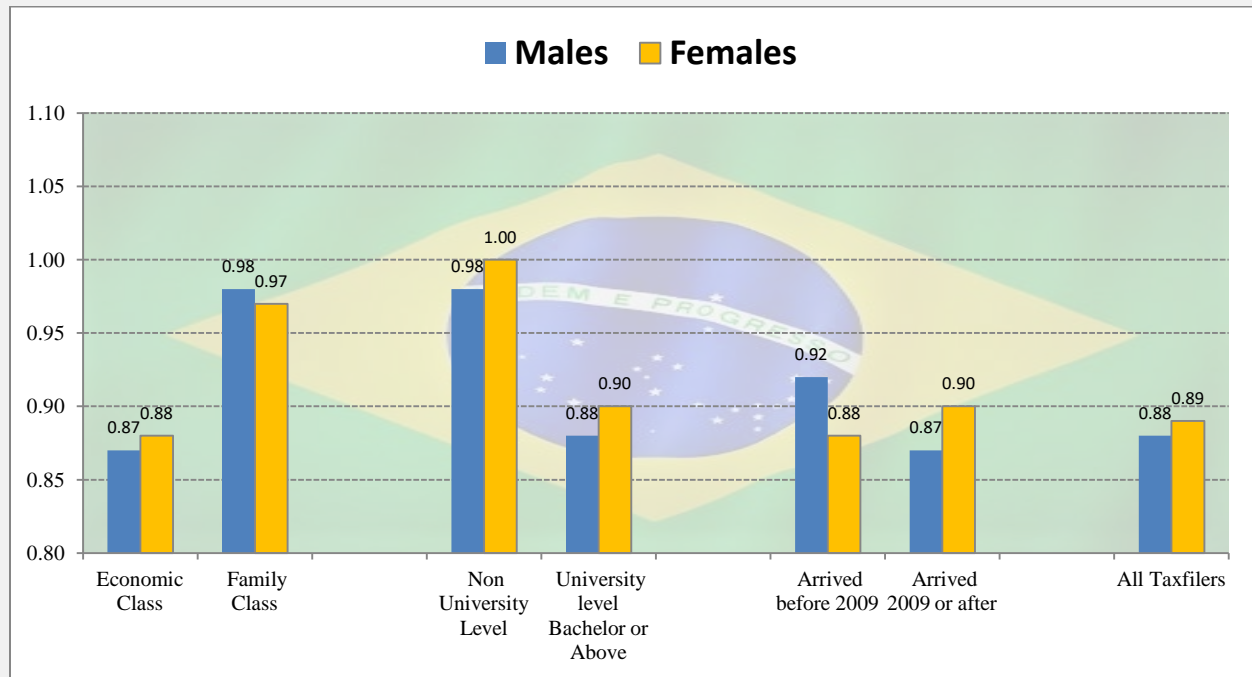
Chart 6: Brazilian Immigrant Tax Filers: Male and Female Interregional "Stayers " and "Movers", Tax Year 2018, 2000-2018 Landings



Source: Special Table SCS-504, Longitudinal Immigration Database (IMDB) **Chart**

¹⁶ "Movers" are said to be individuals who change their place of residence because moving benefits exceed costs, either because they have much to gain by moving or because they placed unusually low weight on the potential gains from staying in their current place of regional residence (Dahl and Sorensen, 2010). "Stayers", on the other hand, represent population segments that have decided to remain in their current province of residence and/or postpone their migration decisions.)

7: Brazilian Male and Female Immigrant Tax filers: Retention Rates by Immigration Intake Class, Education Level completed and Arrival cohorts, Tax Year 2018, 2000-2018 Landings

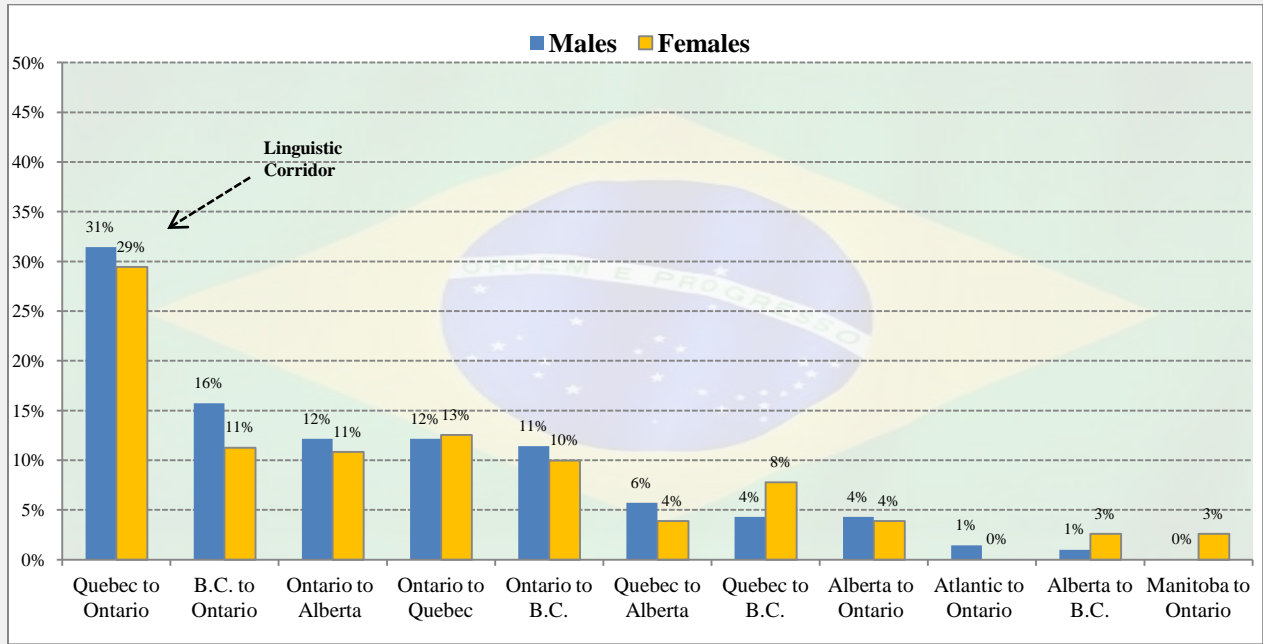


Source: Special Table SCS-504, Longitudinal Immigration Database (IMDB)

6.4. The Ontario-Quebec regional "linguistic corridor" was found to be the dominant one in the migratory exchanges network

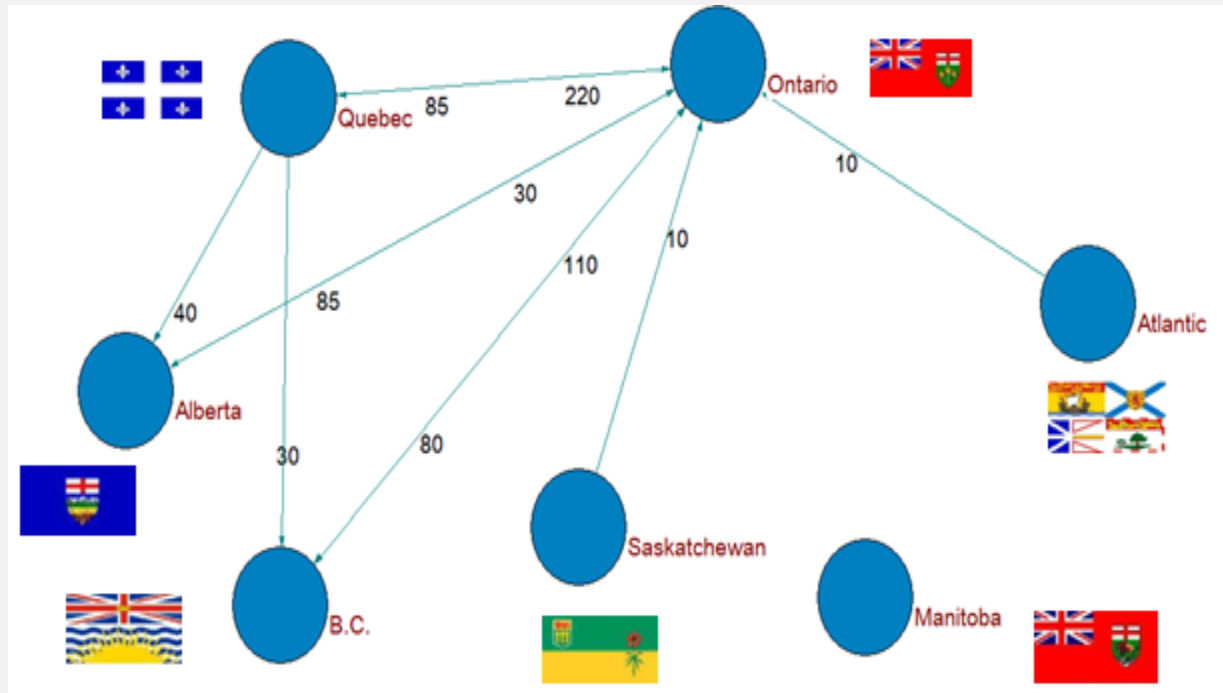
Chart 8 displays the various origins and destinations in percentages of Brazilian tax filers by gender of interregional movers. The figures in the chart suggest that the dominant flow was the movement from Quebec to Ontario (regional "linguistic corridor") for both males and females (31% and 29% respectively) followed by less numerous inflows from British Columbia to Ontario and Ontario to Alberta. Using social network graphing, Charts 9 and 10 display in more detail the regional inflows and outflows of Brazilian males and female tax filers. In the network diagrams, the line numbers between vertices (regions) represent counts found outside their regions of landing at the tax year 2018. Counts in the lines close to vertices represent inflows to the region, while more distant ones represent outflows from the region. These graphs reveal the magnitude of the flight of Brazilians from Quebec to Ontario during the observation period. About 220 male tax filers originally destined for Quebec had filed their taxes in Ontario by the tax year 2018. Conversely, 85 originally destined to Ontario did so in Quebec by the same tax year (net loss=-135 individuals). In the case of women, the Quebec loss was even greater (net loss=-195 individuals). The movement of some women from British Columbia to Quebec attenuated somewhat Quebec's loss (net gain=+ 35 individuals) but did not modify the overall picture of migratory exchanges.

Chart 8: Brazilian Male and Female Tax Filers: Regional Origins and Destinations (%) of Movers, Tax Year 2018, 2000-2018 Landings



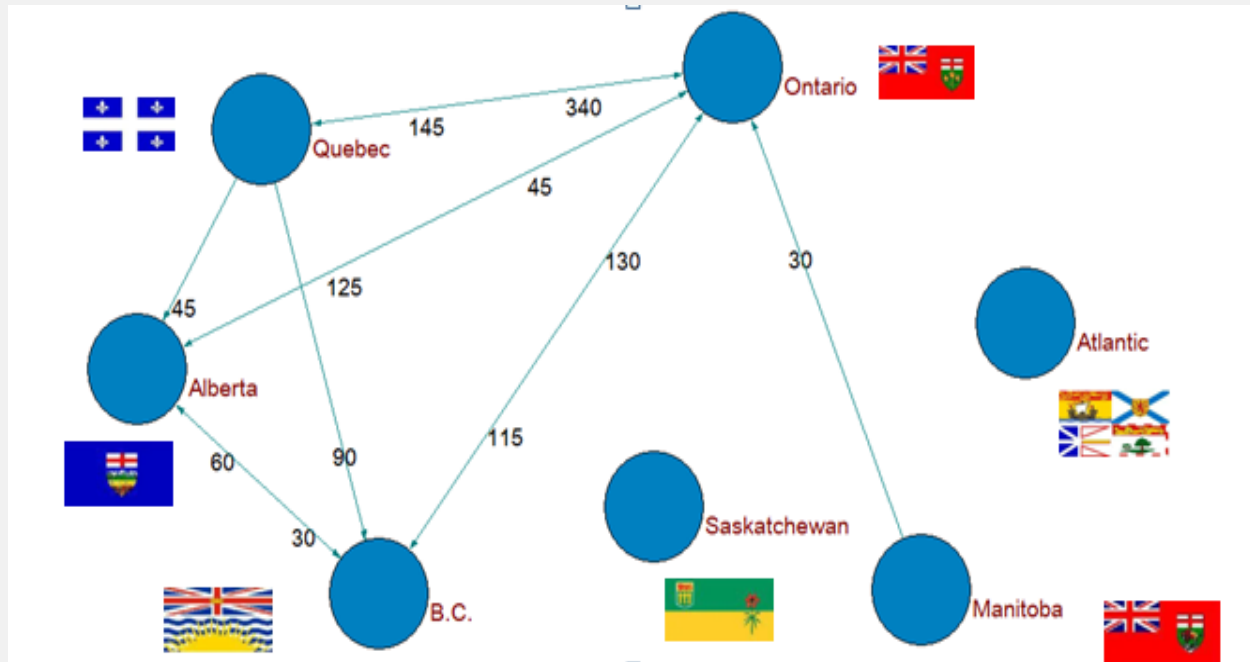
Source: Special Table SCS-504, Longitudinal Immigration Database (IMDB)

Chart 9: Brazilian Male Immigrant Tax Filers: Network of Inflows and Outflows, Regions of Landing and Reporting, Tax Year 2018, 2000-2018 Landings



Note: Source: Special Table SCS-504, Longitudinal Immigration Database (IMDB)

Chart 10: Brazilian Female Immigrant Tax Filers: Inflows and Outflows, Regions of Landing and Reporting, Tax Year 2018, 2000-2018 Landings



Source: Special Table SCS-504, Longitudinal Immigration Database (IMDB)

7.0. Post-Explorations Reflections

Before reflecting on the findings of this analysis, it is important to mention some shortcomings present in the data and the scope of analysis. Firstly, the mobility behaviour of Brazilians was observed for aggregated yearly single cohorts (three arrival cohorts) fixed at one point of observation (the tax year 2018). This “snapshot” approach made it difficult to evaluate how each yearly cohort changed their migratory behavior at specific points in time. Several spatial moves could have also occurred between the tax year observation points. Secondly, information on inter-city (e.g. Toronto, Montreal, Vancouver, and other cities in the West), as well as intra-regional mobility, was not available in the IMDB table. Geographical regions do not “attract” or “repel” immigrants, major cities in regions do (Trovato, 2009). Thirdly, it should be noted that the reasons why Brazilian tax filers changed their place of residence since their arrival to Canada remain unknown. Data from focused surveys and qualitative research can reveal this aspect in more detail.

Brazilian immigration to Canada is unique within the Latin American immigration context not only in terms of the specific nature of the major push-pull drivers at work but because of the notable presence of women and/or university-educated workers in its midst (Mata, 2021a, 2021b)¹⁷. The tracking study undertaken here suggests that both Brazilian men and women tax filers are individuals who have a great proportion of regional “stayers”

¹⁷ Focusing on Portuguese speakers and particularly on economic class admissions, there are significant differences between Brazilian and Portuguese immigrants to Canada in terms of educational attainment. In 2016, 79% of Brazilian economic class immigrants aged 25-54 held a university bachelor’s degree or higher while among Portuguese immigrants this percentage was only 61%. Both male and female Brazilian immigrants displayed similar percentages (78% and 79% respectively).

(about 90%) and that most of them tend to remain in their original regions of landing for longer periods of time¹⁸. This finding is interesting and many explanations may be offered in this regard. These range from satisfaction with regional working conditions, arranged employments at time of entry, unfamiliarity with the host country, lack of networks/contacts and "survival strategies" carried within the local labour markets without the necessity to undertake secondary migration. All these explanations need to be explored with qualitative research focusing on how migrations decisions are made by men and women.

Among those who decide to cross interregional boundaries, those who arrived as economic class immigrants and the university-educated were the most likely to do so. Stagnation in low-paid occupations in segmented labour markets has been pointed out as a major push-driving force by some scholars in the field (Vendramin, 2014). In the Goza and De Maris (2013) study the occupations filled by Brazilian men and women were in janitorial, service-cleaning, and construction-related types of activities. These activities were seen as "survival" activities of temporary nature for workers. Occupational tasks did not require higher education or on-the-job skill training, a situation which was very frustrating for professionals and other individuals who hold Brazilian post-secondary and university certificates.

Given that about a third of interregional mobility occurred in the French-English linguistic "corridor" during 2000-2018, it is also suspected that the French-speaking working milieu might have been an obstacle for some workers. Between 2006 and 2011, 4,700 Anglophone immigrants moved out of Quebec, most to Ontario and Alberta¹⁹. As many Portuguese speakers are also Anglophones it is suspected that Brazilian immigrants are part of this contingent. Also, in light of the present study, more research needs to be conducted on how Brazilians view economic inequalities in Canadian regions. Brazilians left the Atlantic and Prairies provinces (except for Alberta) in larger numbers suggesting that they are particularly sensitive to the continuing disparities between these former regions and the more affluent parts of the country such as in Ontario and parts of the West. Brazilians moved towards the larger labour markets of Metropolitan Toronto and Vancouver as well as Calgary and Edmonton (Alberta) which offered them better occupational prospects and higher wages compared to their original regions of landing.

Finally, in terms of gender differentials, this study found that Brazilian women, who despite having a higher proportion of family class admissions which hinder somewhat their spatial mobility, were found to be as inter-regionally mobile as their male counterparts. More than a thousand women crossed the borders of Canadian regions during the 18 year observation period. Piscitelli (2008) notes that this finding may not be entirely unusual as Brazilian women have a long history of internal migration and that highly educated women are a very mobile group regardless of the migratory context being considered. This particular finding calls for more investigation on single women and those moving with spouses and children, paying special attention to stages in the life cycle. For many Brazilians, men and women alike adaptation to the host country may entail moving (either short distance or longer geographical distances) depending on personal circumstances.

¹⁸ A previous study carried out by Mata (2021a) using an IMDB sample of 98,440 Latin American tax filers entering Canada between 2000-2014 found that the regional "stayer" population represented about 80% of all captured (77% among men and 82% among women)

¹⁹ Source: <https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/corporate/reports-statistics/research/profile-quebec-anglophone-immigrants-english-mother-tongue.html>, retrieved December 2021

8.0. References

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8.0. ANNEX

Table A-1: Non-Permanent Residents in the 2016 Census by Ethnic Origins*, Gender and Educational Characteristics, Canada 2016

Ethnic Origins	N Total -	N Male	N Female	% Male	% Female	% Secondary education or below	% Trades, College. PS Certificate	% University Education
Mexican	8,620	4,905	3,715	57%	43%	48%	12%	41%
Brazilian	4,935	2,330	2,605	47%	53%	26%	11%	63%
Colombian	3,310	1,605	1,705	48%	52%	42%	11%	47%
Venezuelan	2,215	1,030	1,195	47%	53%	22%	14%	65%
Chilean	1,050	565	480	54%	46%	22%	13%	64%
Peruvian	775	355	415	46%	54%	35%	19%	45%
Guatemalan	750	640	110	85%	15%	81%	12%	7%
Cuban	695	325	370	47%	53%	38%	20%	42%
Salvadorean	685	355	330	52%	48%	58%	20%	22%
Ecuadorian	630	320	315	51%	49%	40%	21%	40%
Argentinian	570	260	310	46%	54%	36%	15%	50%
Costa Rican	355	200	155	56%	44%	42%	30%	28%
Honduran	305	205	100	67%	33%	56%	18%	28%
Bolivian	150	55	90	37%	63%	27%	20%	60%
Nicaraguan	130	65	65	50%	50%	50%	8%	27%
Uruguayan	90	50	45	56%	44%	61%	17%	22%
Panamanian	80	35	45	44%	56%	38%	19%	56%
Paraguayan	70	45	20	64%	36%	64%	21%	14%
Total	25,415	13,345	12,065	53%	47%	44%	17%	40%

Source: Custom Tabulations EO2695, 2016 Census of Canada