

# **UNIVERSIDAD DEL AZUAY**

# **Faculty of Law**

# **School of International Studies**

"Application of the push-pull principle in the New Brunswick-Canada and Ecuador case study"

Graduate thesis prior to obtaining a Bilingual Bachelor in International Studies minor in Foreign Trade.

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# **DEDICATION**

This thesis is dedicated to my parents Nanci and Diego for their unconditional love and support throughout these four years of career.

It is also dedicated to my family and friends for always being by my side and for encouraging me to achieve my dreams and goals in life.

Finally, I dedicate this work to every human being who is going through a migratory process for being examples of perseverance in spite of their multiples struggles. Their possibility of always overcoming adversities has been my inspiration for this work.

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#### RESUMEN

Este trabajo se centra en estudiar los factores que influyen en la decisión del migrante de dejar su país y elegir un destino concreto. Con la recopilación de información primaria y secundaria, el trabajo expone el análisis de un lugar que recientemente comienza a mostrarse cada vez más atractivo para el inmigrante a nivel mundial, no obstante, continúa sin atraer al ecuatoriano. En este contexto, mediante la teoría de la expulsión-atracción, se pretende contribuir al conocimiento con ejemplos concretos de dos realidades diferentes que puedan servir como caso de estudio y referencia para futuras investigaciones sobre la problemática planteada.

# **ABSTRACT**

This works focuses on studying the factors that influence the migrant's decision to leave their country and choose another one. With this in mind, the gathering of primary and secondary data will make possible the research and analysis of a place that recently started to build itself as an attractive final destination for immigrants throughout the world. Nevertheless, it is not attracting the Ecuadorian immigrants yet. Through the usage of the 'push-pull theory of migration', this thesis aims to provide specific examples of two different realities in order to not only contribute to the production of knowledge study further but also as а case for research.

#### INTRODUCTION

According to the United Nations Population Fund, there are 244 million people living in countries distinct from their country of origin (UNFPA, 2015). The thesis "Application of the push-pull principle in the New Brunswick-Canada and Ecuador case study" emerges from the current need to generate more study and interest in the field of human mobility due to the notorious increase of migratory flows in recent years. Themes such as globalization, technological development, reduction of trade barriers, among others, are some of the factors that increase these flows of migration.

With this in mind, it is interesting to see how places such as the province of New Brunswick (NB) starts to build itself as a new destination for immigrants. Currently, there are interesting solutions on how to address their population issues through the attraction of migrants around the world. Nowadays, emigration has become a recurrent and unstoppable phenomenon since the second half of the 20th century in Ecuador. Despite the advances in immigration policy, Ecuadorians keep leaving the country in search for better living conditions.

For this reason, the following investigation is structured under the push-pull principle, theorized by the demographer Ernst Georg Ravenstein. Firstly, this principle exhibits the presence of push factors, which encourage migrants to leave their place of origin. On the other hand, there are also pull factors, which motivate people to choose a specific destination because of its favorable conditions and benefits. This is why the implementation of this guiding principle considers Ecuador as the ejector country and NB as the potential destination.

The first chapter describes the basic theoretical ideas that will be useful throughout the development of this study, starting from the new conception of human mobility to complementary theories to the push-pull principle. The theoretical framework that will be exposed allows us to generate a deeper and complete idea of these two places illustrated in the following chapters. Through the theoretical basis, it is easier to expose elements, characteristics and the most relevant topics related to the behavior of migration flows (emigration and immigration).

The second chapter goes in depth into the Ecuadorian reality. Through the historical analysis of current migration flows, chapter 2 exposes the different elements that encouraged Ecuadorians to return and leave Ecuador at the same time. A special focus will be on the set of factors (internal and external), which cause that a greater number of people leave the country instead of going back. As a result, Ecuador is viewed as a push-country, in which the emigration of its citizens is very common. The analysis of these elements is extremely important in order to build a complete picture that tries to explain the constant rejection of people who are searching for traditional destinations to arrive. Finally, it considers the main destinations to which Ecuadorians are directed, creating extensive migratory networks.

The third chapter analyzes the province of New Brunswick, which nowadays is focusing on migration as one of the solutions of its demographic issues. Within this chapter, it is important to keep in mind that despite the province's autonomy, NB is not an isolated place. For instance, chapter three will examine the federal, provincial and municipal policy that aims to synchronize each other in order to reach common goals such as attracting new immigrants. Finally, it describes the reasons to why NB is building itself as a new attractive destination for the global immigrant despite its difficulties and challenges.

With the data and information previously obtained, the fourth chapter will analyze the reasons to why the Ecuadorian immigrant is not attracted to the province of NB not even because the two places represent opposite forces in terms of migration flows, one pushes and the other pulls. Within this chapter, some key qualities are going to be useful in terms of understanding the common behavior of Ecuadorians concentrating themselves in certain traditional Canadian provinces such as Ontario but not yet in NB.

All the gathered information aims to analyze the push elements that still encourage Ecuadorians to leave their country. On the other hand, it also determines the preference or rejection for certain destinations, as in the case of NB. It is important to emphasize that human mobility is always going to be a complex issue that requires constant research and interest. In this sense, this work does not seek to provide answers to all the questions that may come up. Instead, it seeks to visualize in a holistic manner, new situations that in the future may require further research.

Finally, without detracting any quantitative research, this thesis focuses mostly on qualitative research. The information will come from primary and secondary sources such as books, articles, field work (interviews) and statistical data from governmental as well as private entities. It is necessary to go over the literature in order to clearly explain the theoretical framework and the arguments in the study case. At the same time, statistical data are used to identify the exact migratory flow numbers.

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# **ACRONYMS FREQUENTLY USED IN THIS THESIS**

CEDATOS: Data and Studies Center - Centro de Estudios y Datos.

CIC: Citizen and Immigration Canada- Ciudadanía e Inmigración Canadá.

CMA: Canadian Multiculturalism Act- Ley de Multiculturalismo Canadiense.

**INEN**: Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas y Censos- *Multicultural Institute of Domestic Statistics and Census*.

**IRPA:** Immigration and Refugee Protection Act- Ley de Inmigración y Protección al Refugiado.

LIP: Local Inmigracion Partnership- Modelo de Asociación para la Inmigración Local.

**NB:** Nuevo Brunswick.

**IOM**: International Organization for Migration- *Organización Internacional para las Migraciones*.

PGS: Population Growth Strategy- Estrategia de Crecimiento Poblacional de NB.

**PNP:** Provincial Nominee Program- *Programa de Nominaciones Provinciales.* 

# CHAPTER 1 HUMAN MOBILITY AS A NEW CONCEPT: DEFINITIONS AND THEORIES OF MIGRATION

# 1.1 Introduction

Migration is not a new practice; we have been experimenting it throughout human history and the history of many other living creatures. Nowadays, with more than 200 million migrants around the world, it is clear that migration has become much more common than in past centuries. For this reason, Stephen Castles and Mark Miller argue in their book The Age of Migration, "we live in a period during which international migration has accelerated, globalized, feminized, diversified and become increasingly politicized" (The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World, 2009, pg.10-11).

Nevertheless and regardless the recurrence and number of people that migrate, the topic continues to generate debate and concern. Every day, thousands of people move within their own countries as well as internationally. It is difficult to deny that migration will not intensify in the future. So, if the differences between North and South, rich and poor, core<sup>1</sup> and periphery countries continue to exist, migration will inevitably become an attribute of every society. Even though we might not be able to reach a full understanding of the human mobility process, immersing ourselves and being in touch with the events will help us to create our own concept and understanding.

This chapter will analyze the topic of migration under the lens of the recently emerged concept of human mobility, establishing its characteristics and complexity. Secondly, and taking into account that not everyone decides to move for the same reasons, there will be a brief explanation of the different types of human mobility. The following topic is important because, even though labor migrants are the most common, it is necessary to distinguish other types of migrants since they all have reasons and are responding to different situations that cause their mobilization from one place to another. Furthermore, because human mobility is a process, the different phases that generally take place

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Core countries are those who get most of the benefits from the global market and the capitalist economy, they own strong and stable governments, extensive bureaucracies and they get most of the profits from international trade. On the other hand, semi-periphery and periphery countries are named this way because of their level of dependence to the core countries. For more information check out the World System Theory by Immanuel Wallenstein.

during this process will be described. Finally, in regards to the push-pull principle, we will analyze the factors that motivate migration such as the characteristics of the place of origin that encourages people to leave their country and at the same time, the characteristics of destination whose benefits attract the immigrant.

#### 1.2 WHAT DOES HUMAN MOBILITY MEAN?

Human Mobility is a recent topic that seeks to replace the derogatory character obtained by the terms "migration" and "migrant". This term officially appears in the 2008 Constitution of Ecuador but it is also internationally recognized. Equally important, the International Organization for Migration (IOM) is the entity responsible for spreading out this new concept. Human mobility implies the movement of people from one place to another, whether domestically<sup>2</sup> or internationally, they can exercise their right to free circulation whenever needed. At the same time, the concept integrates different types of mobility, such as forced, voluntary, or obligatory.

The foundation of human mobility and one of its main characteristics is the exercise of the right to free circulation, whose scope depends on the jurisdiction of each country and its international treaties (Gestión Fronteriza Integral en la Subregión Andina, 2012 pg.17). This implies the possibility of moving freely within or outside the territorial boundaries of a country, with the same right to re-entry and to decide where to live. It is important to note that not every country has come to recognize the topic of migration in the terms of human mobility, which explains why there are anti-migration laws.

Among other characteristics, we can say that a human mobility process has multiple causes because there are different types of migration. That is to say, it is not an absolute concept, since it cannot pretend to explain only one kind of migration. There are always different reasons why someone decides to move, such as: economical, educational, tourism, among others. Furthermore, domestic as well as international movement implies a crossing of borders, whether they are geographical or political. Finally, moving away from the derogatory connotations of migrant and migration, those terms will be used interchangeably throughout the following chapters, in order to make

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Domestic or internal migration occurs when people move within the political boundaries of a country. This behavior usually happens from rural areas to cities or to places where there are bigger job opportunities.

writing easier when mentioning, pointing out, or referencing topics that encompass such terms.

# 1.2.1 The complexity of human mobility

In several publications and books about migration, it is common to see topics such as the lack of studies, information, precision and the difficulty of generalizing results or theories within different areas in the migration theme. The primary reason comes from one of the most important characteristics of human mobility. On one hand, since it is a solely human process whose main actor are people, it becomes very complex to generate information or absolute results. The reason remains in the constant change of not only their surroundings but humans themselves, which is why human mobility is a topic whose actors, elements, causes or impacts are not always going to be the same. By the same token, the constant data updating is necessary when talking about a theme so dynamic that is constantly changing all the time. On the other hand, a big branch of human mobility has to do with irregular or illegal types of mobilizations, which again, are going to limit the accuracy of information.

Consequently, it is impossible to create explanations about human mobility which will endure over time and that could be applied to all cases. For example, the mobility of one person is caused by a work desire, which was caused by the economic instability in his or her home country, which at the same time, came out from a political decision made due to an armed conflict. Despite the multiple influencing factors, it cannot be boiled down to only one of them, even if it is the most forceful factor. In other words, human mobility answers to a multiplicity of causes in which many reasons could lead to a migratory decision.

On the other hand, and similar to any other process, human mobility entails a variety of phases and steps that vary depending on the case, even if they follow the same pattern. In general, the first step is the need or desire to leave, which then transforms into a decision that, in third place, leads to the arrival at different destinations (Gestión Fronteriza Integral en la Subregión Andina, 2012). All of these phases are interrelated with other factors of great influence, such as countries' migratory policies, their society, language, access to resources, transportation, the legal status of migrants, and the

diversity of actors (legal, public or private), among others. In conclusion, whether or not the process is individual or familiar, there are factors such as those just described that are going to facilitate, impede and decide each case. Furthermore, it is much more complicated when taking into account that every person has different social, cultural, economic, and psychological characteristics.

#### 1.3 TYPES AND PHASES OF HUMAN MOBILITY

Given the complexity of human mobility, any list that pretends to describe the types of mobility would turn out to be stiff, omitting some cases. This is the reason why the IOM proposed a typology classification. This means, creating a much more general classification in which it is much easier to identify the type of mobility that each person falls under, identifying his or her conditions and necessities. At the same time, it is extremely important to remember that categories can be rebuilt, reinvented or subdivided. For example, a mobility case can belong to one, two or more classifications at the same time. The following are the seven proposed typologies:

- **1. By geographical location:** Within this group we can classify internal migration (within the same jurisdiction) and international migration (which implies the crossing of borders).
- **2.** By the purpose of mobility: Within this category there are several cases of mobility, such as refuge, asylum, forced mobility, work reasons, family reunification.
- **3. By direction:** This refers to the flows of exits and entries to a destination. It also refers to the most common patterns or migratory tendencies, such as South to North, East to West, from developing countries to developed countries, from dictatorships to democracies.
- **4. By permanence in the destination:** Depending on the amount of time the migrant stays; it can be a temporary mobility, permanent, or cyclical. In the latter, the person stays for varying periods of time in two different places, creating a cycle.

- **5. By legal order:** We know that in order to be considered international mobility, the person should have crossed a border. Currently, it is very common that governments or regions work at different levels of integration that transcend internal policies. International, bilateral, and multilateral treaties amplify the jurisdiction in which certain migration policy is applied, achieving more integration. As an example, the member countries of NAFTA have special agreements for Mexican, Canadian or American citizens who wish to mobilize within these three jurisdictions.
- **6. By the degree of willingness:** This classification is divided into three: movements that are voluntary, obligatory and forced. In the first instance, the person chooses to migrate by his or her own free will or because of an incentive offered by a third party (this third party could be a natural person or a State). In the second case, mobility continues to be voluntary but with the end of meeting an obligation. In the third case, moving is not voluntary and the person is being forced to do it. Within this group we can classify people considered vulnerable due to armed conflicts or natural disasters.
- **7.** By a person's legal status: In the event of an international mobilization, the person is classified depending on whether or not they moved with the necessary permits and documentation for entry and permanence in the new destination.

In consequence, a series of phases and steps to follow appear when a person decides to migrate. A mobilization process is the combination of steps that can be lineal or circular (in other words, it could end at the final destination or it could continue to repeat itself after a certain period of time) by which a person moves from his or her place of origin to the final destination. Furthermore, in the case of international mobility, it is important to be able to differentiate the role played by each place that the migrant goes through before arriving at the final destination. In this case, the difference should be established between the country of origin, of transit, and the final destination. Below, the process has been divided into four phases that tend to be the most frequent in human mobility.

**First Phase:** In this phase the desire, need or obligation of an individual or a family group to move, appears. Here, individuals prepare everything they believe necessary to make the trip. For example: documents, transportation, itineraries, research about the

destination, and if necessary, the reorganization of family roles (Gestión Fronteriza Integral en la Subregión Andina, 2012 p.26).

**Second Phase:** After the preparation phase, the person or family is ready to leave. Hence, this second phase includes the entire journey, from the place of origin to the final destination, including transit countries, if there are any.

Third Phase: This phase begins with the arrival of the individuals at their final destination and their later settling down. Here, the migrant is immersed in a new society and possibly another culture, in which he or she is worried about finding a place to stay, to work, and dealing with any kind of initial cultural shock. There are cases where the migrant has lived a long time in their final destination and when he or she decides to go back to his or her place of origin, this third phase is repeated. That is, he or she has to readjust to the society that was once their place of origin because the person came back already used to the way of life where he or she migrated.

**Fourth Phase:** This is the final phase where the individual or family decides whether to move again or to stay by requesting citizenship or residency. After making it through the third phase, the individual is ready to integrate indefinitely into the place he or she chose.

As previously mentioned, these four phases do not always take place because not everyone immigrates under the same conditions. For example, human traffic is a kind of human mobility, but in this case individuals skip the first phase because they do not have the desire, need, or obligation to move and were not prepared to travel. This happens because people are often kidnapped and moved against their will.

#### 1.4 MIGRATION THEORIES

After the brief, basic description of human mobility, we will dig into migration theories. Due to the ideas explained above and the complexity of migration, we would be mistaken to think that there is a single, general theory that can explain this event. To the contrary, there are a lot of theories that have been proposed during the years because of the evolution and constant change of migration flows and their actors. Also,

given the number of elements that intervene at the moment of migration, an unending amount of theories, essays, critiques, etc. would be needed to construct a complete picture of the phenomenon. Currently, the introduction of new theoretical frameworks such as transnationalism, the study of Diasporas and human mobility, have contributed to a new vision within the study of migration. The combinations of explanations, terminology and theories, have made the topic of migration a challenging one for social sciences. If those were not treated under a multidisciplinary approach, our understanding of such a complex process as migration would be greatly reduced.

Despite the constant transformation of human mobility, some explanations about why and how migration happens, have started to consolidate through fundamental theories because of their durability over time. This does not mean that these theories can be reformulated or even annulled in the future. The geographer and cartographer Ernst Ravenstein developed one of the most influential neoclassical theories called the push-pull model. Some years after, Everett Lee updated the push-pull theory. Currently, and given the great changes that have taken place since the publication of his statements in 1885 and in 1889, this model has been catalogued as one of the most simplistic and rigid, besides being subject to various criticisms. More than 100 years characterized by economic crises, market evolutions, international relations, globalization, technology, etc, have passed since the fist publication of this theory.

Among some critics, it is mentioned that despite the theory is still a fundamental base in the development of migration, its point of view is too general, given that it does not take into account personal and sociocultural factors, possible obstacles, and new forms of migration such as professional, climate change migration, or even migration due to retirement (King, 2012 pg. 12-15). Even thought the Ravenstein theory is not following the current events, it left a big contribution with the principle of push and pull forces which keeps leading the migratory flows today. For instance, it will be under this principle served with other complementary theories as well, that the case of study Ecuador-New Brunswick is going to be analyzed. Everett Lee added the other relevant factors that Ravenstein did not take into account in a newer version of the push-pull theory published 81 years after the original. Therefore, a brief description of the push-pull principle plus Everett Lee's model is going to be described next.

# 1.4.1The push-pull model

Within Ravenstein's statements, the author argues that there is a guiding principle characterized by two forces (one that pushes and the other that pulls) between two countries, regions or even within the same country. On one side, the push factors generally emerge from a country where there are different elements that gives it disadvantages compared to other places, therefore, provoke a person to feel the need or desire to leave. Aspects such as a weak economy, low wages, corruption, lack of employment, differences in lifestyles, among others, are those reasons that lead people to leave a country. For example, in overcrowded countries such as China or India, there is a high supply of workers, which saturates employment. This provokes the expulsion of unemployed people to places where there is a demand for labor and there are more opportunities to get hired.

On the other hand, countries or regions that acquire attractive features for immigrants, such as employment opportunities or a better quality of life, generate the pull factors. It is important to emphasize that this model has an economic focus, referring to the push countries as the economically weak and to the pull countries as those with high-level economies. This is why, in Everett Lee's theory on the push-pull model, some other factors are taken into account that are equally important in the mobility process and play an essential role. In his argument, the author divides these factors into four groups: those who are involved with the place of origin, with the destination, and the obstacles and personal factors that could appear along the way.

Factors associated with the place of origin and destination: They can be positive and negative, but people are usually much more aware about the factors in their place of origin because they directly affect or benefit them. These factors are weighed against those of the destination, that are usually less known, which tends to create some expectation. The comparison of both places is based upon living conditions, employment, wages, climate, the education system, security, respect, protection of human rights, cultural differences or similarities, settlement, languages, etc. All these characteristics will be exanimated in the case of Ecuador in order to understand why it has a 'push' behavior.

**Obstacles on the path:** This point refers to the challenge implied in moving from one place to another. Obstacles can present themselves during the planning process, while traveling, or once at the final destination. For example: distance, cost of travel, difficulty obtaining the required documentation, type of travel, international immigration, cultural or linguistic barriers, acculturation to a different way of life, etc. These obstacles are crucial when understanding how a migratory network works, which will be explained in the next chapter. However, it is important to consider that while the mobilization is done through irregular channels, the migratory network becomes more dangerous. The different obstacles in the irregular migratory network will be more challenging and complicated to overcome by the migrant.

Personal and psychosocial elements: These elements can be of two types. On the one hand, we are all different because we come from diverse families, cultures, societies and experiences. On the other hand, psychosocial factors include perceptions and awareness that allows us to filter information regarding the mobility process. In this way, certain factors are going to influence in different ways depending on each person. For example, for a migrant family with children, a good educational system is an extremely important benefit and is a highly attractive element in the destination place. However, for a labor migrant this does not have the same relevance when choosing his or her destination (Lee, 1966). At the end, the combination of factors from the place of destination, origin, and the different obstacles, are perceived differently according to one's personality, culture, and society, among other factors. These factors are the ones that are going to determine the way each person perceives the different destinations. At the same time, there are various imaginaries that arise within a person, family or society, which play an important role in the decision to migrate.

#### 1.5 Conclusions

In conclusion, human mobility should be understood as both, a complex and variant process because the subjects involved are human beings and their circumstances are not always going to be the same. It is also important to learn more about what the term human mobility entails. This concept is fairly new and tries to encompass several factors and important elements in the field of migration (types, stages, causes, actors). On the other hand, the description of human mobility plus Ravenstein and Lee's

theories are essential to specifically understand the factors that can lead to a migratory process; with the respective origin, destination and personal factors. It is finally important to remember that Ravenstein's theory leaves many incomplete ideas that were considered by other authors throughout time. Nowadays, that theoretical base is helpful for other studies such as the one that is going to be presented next.

#### **CHAPTER 2. ECUADOR AS A PUSH-COUNTRY**

#### 2.1 Introduction

The Ecuadorian State has an extensive migratory history, with almost a century of continuous and recurrent mobilizations of its citizens to foreign destinations. For this reason, this chapter will analyze the reality of Ecuadorian migration from a historic and current point of view in order to better understand the reasons why Ecuador is considered a country that expels immigrants. Within this analysis we will be seeing the development of extremely extensive migratory networks that have permitted a large concentration of Ecuadorians in specific locations abroad. By the same token, a recounting of Ecuador's migratory policy transformation will be exhibited, especially of the current changes in its application. Finally, it is important to understand the migratory phenomenon as a combination of elements, both internal and external, within a society. Therefore, the possible causes that drive the exit and return of Ecuadorians will also be examined throughout the chapter.

# 2.2 HISTORICAL REVIEW OF INTERNATIONAL MIGRATORY FLOWS IN ECUADOR

Human mobility is not an unknown phenomenon to Ecuadorians. Actually, it has happened since the consolidation of the Republic in the 19th century. During *Gran Colombia* and at the beginnings of the Ecuadorian State, the most common kind of mobility was characterized by short distances and mainly from the countryside to the city. It was not until the 20th century that international migration intensified, becoming the most common migratory process. Thus, international migratory flows in Ecuador date back since 1930 until today. It has been more than a century of human mobilizations both within the country and outside of it, although not all migrations have been for the same reasons. There is a combination of factors, characteristics, scenarios, and causes that stimulate migration and which vary from one time period to another. Therefore, the most important aspects of Ecuadorian emigration to their historically preferred international destinations will then be examined.

# 2.2.1 Beginnings of international emigration in Ecuador

During the 19th century and beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, international mobility implied a long, costly voyage that not everyone could afford. For that reason, most immigrants in the United States came from neighboring countries and from Europe. The evolution of transportation, from sailed vessels to steamboats and later the arrival of the airplane, made travel easier by making it cheaper and faster. At the same time, events such as World War I and II caused a peak in the migratory flows around the world, including Ecuador.

In the 60s, the first international immigration wave was registered in destinations such as the United States and Venezuela. However, it was not until the 70s when migration to Venezuela increased because of its strong oil-based economy. Today, most immigrants continue to go to the same traditional locations. Within the continent they go in larger numbers to neighboring countries like Colombia and Peru and in smaller but growing numbers to Chile. In a few words, Ecuadorian emigration took force and increased in the mid 20th century up to now (Tipanluisa, 2011 p.5). The dynamic did not change till the end of the 90s. Despite the high statistics of Ecuadorians mobilizing to the United States and other Latin American countries, new destinations emerged, such as Spain and Italy.

# 2.2.2 The first international migratory networks to the United States

The first international migratory flows began in the 50s and 60s. However, there is not an exact answer as to how the emigration network began to form in the United States. This network directed Ecuadorian immigrants to specific places such as New York, Chicago, or California. So, the configuration of the network could have grown in different ways. According to Brad Jokisch and Jason Pribilsky (2002), during mid-20th century, many pioneer immigrants came from Guayaquil and managed to obtain work visas through contacts established by various banana companies such as Standard Fruit. That is how they generated the first representative connections with the destination country (p.78). Another possibility is that due to the commercial crisis of the Panama hat in 1950, people that depended on the hat commerce, decided to immigrate

especially to New York because it was the place where they had business and connections with merchants.

The two probabilities are not the only ones, since there are other types of influential factors at the national level. For example, the unreliability and instability of the productive sectors and the difficulty in maintaining the accustomed level of subsistence farming, among others. Likewise, the installation of an economic model in the 60s had a large influence on the migratory processes, conceiving the State as a planner and controller of the strategic sectors for economic growth (Ramírez & Ramírez, 2005). This type of model tried to modernize the country through a new generation of bourgeoisie, the same that was supposed to substitute the oligarchy of highland landowners and costal agricultural exporters. At the same time, it attempted to reestablish inequalities in the international market and some important actions took place (such as the Industrialization for the Substitution of Importations) at the industrial level. The trend of modernization began in the mid-60s as part of the capitalist model that reached its peak decades later.

# 2.2.3 International migratory flows during the 70s

Military governments and the oil boom characterized the 70s. Socially speaking, the oil boom combined with an economic growth model benefited certain sectors but not everyone. Despite the improvements in healthcare and public education, governments in their eagerness to seek development did not manage to achieve greater social inclusion. And so, this period was characterized by accelerated mobility of people from rural to urban areas. "While in 1962, 65% of the population lived in rural areas, by 1974 only 41% did" (Ramírez & Ramírez, 2005). That is to say, although international migration remained constant (Chart 1), internal mobility was of great importance because it changed completely the country's demographic distribution. If beforehand the majority of people lived in rural areas, by the 70s the majority was concentrated in the cities. It is incredibly important to take this change into account because it is through rural-urban migration that in following years, a great part of those who had moved to the

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The migratory balance is equal to the difference between international departures minus entries into the country. In all cases since the 60s, departures are greater than entrances.

cities were the ones who left the country in one of the largest migration waves in Ecuador's history.

Chart 1. Emigration of Ecuadorians in the period 1976-1980

Year	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980
Entries	92018	108719	125005	134528	14620
Exits	117392	130421	147861	155530	16060
Migratory Balance	25374	21702	22856	21002	14400

Source: Ecuador, la Migración Internacional en Cifras. Flacso, 2008

Mentioning past events such as the economic growth models applied by the different governments clearly exposes the orientation and ideology held at the time. Unfortunately, none of the policies and plans was 100% effective. Modernization was slow, unequal, hardly inclusive, and unfavorable to a good portion of the population, which is shown in the high rates of domestic migration during the 70s. Furthermore, it is during this time that the immigration network to the United States began to take force, which included the first Ecuadorian immigrants that later opened the way to other thousands that emigrated and continue to do so today.

#### 2.2.4 Neoliberalism and international migratory flows during the 80s

At the beginning of the 80s, the new neoliberal trend matched up with the end of the oil boom. A new economic reform was presented that installed a new monetary policy in order to control the economic external debt. As a consequence of the slight success of the policy, there was a periodic devaluation of the *sucre*<sup>4</sup> with a negative effect. In the mid-80s and under the government of Leon Febres Cordero, the country was guided under the auto-regulation economic model and the non-interventionism of the State. Nevertheless, the bad performance of this measures caused the inevitable intervention of the State, leading to high public expenditures, external credit and large loans from the Central Bank to cover costs.

In consequence, and under a new government in office, at the end of the 80s and beginning of the 90s "the average inflation was 50% in all the years of Borja's

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Ecuadorian currency until the end of the 20th century.

administration and towards 1992, it surpassed 60%" (Ramírez & Ramírez, 2005, p.40). The State was facing accumulated external debt, high vulnerability in the international economy, bad results from neoliberal policies and a decrease in the minimum wage of approximately 7.6% annually from 1982 to 1991. Which is to say, people's purchasing power was being affected because they no longer had enough to buy basic goods, given their high prices.

In regards to the migratory flows in this decade, around the mid-80s it can be seen that the statistics are lower both before and after this period (charts 1 and 2). Basically, if in the 70s the migratory balance was approximately of 21000 to 25000 people; at the beginning of the 80s, it decreased to a minimum of 6500 people to a maximum of 14768. However, from the second half of the decade and after the events previously explained, flows began to increase greatly. The big jump can be seen from 1984 to 1985 (14768 people to 22158), reaching a maximum of 27089 in 1988. These statistics are low in comparison with the following years, but it is important to note that immigration remained constant, occurring in the four decades examined.

Chart 2. Ecuadorian Immigration in the period 1980 to 1990

Year	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
Entries	143875	112923	89162	100494	112091	130994	143585	128747	146070	157667
Exits	153730	119480	100710	115262	134249	152989	160525	155836	172280	181206
Migratory Balance	9855	6557	11548	14768	22158	21995	16940	27089	26210	23539

Source: Ecuador, la Migración Internacional en Cifras. Flacso, 2008

# 2.2.5 Systemic crisis and international migratory flows in the 90s

This decade is characterized by great political and economic instability. While neoliberal policies were hurting countries with small economies like Ecuador, migratory flows were higher every time a new crisis hit. That is to say, migratory movements intensified at the sharpest point in the crisis cycle (Sanmartin, 2014). Nonetheless, there is a peculiarity at the end of the 90s and beginning of the 21st century. The crisis that affected this time period represented an immigration wave like it was never seen before. Given the previous events of past decades, since 1996 none of the presidents managed to complete their full government period. Thus, instability began with the break in the

financial system, followed by the shut down of all banks, historical devaluations of the *sucre*, and dollarization.

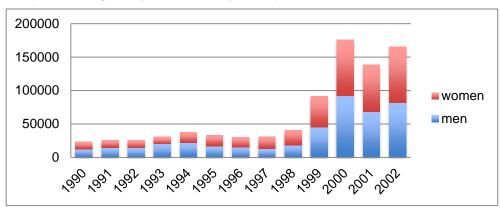
Although the provinces of Azuay and Cañar already represented high rates of migration since the 70s, it was not until the 90s that this area consolidated itself as the center of immigration (Borrero, 2002). Azuay and Cañar represent high rates of immigrants that head mainly to the United States. Given the instability of the 90s, there were cuts in public social spending that had repercussions in the health and educations systems. Extreme poverty and unemployment increased, and people's purchasing power changed completely. In consequence, the systemic crisis at the end of the century was not only the trigger that led thousands of Ecuadorians to emigrate. The crisis was also the event that permitted the emergence of new international migratory networks that in years later would become equally strong.

# 2.2.6 International migratory flows during the beginning of the 21st century

After the crisis in 1999, Ecuadorian migration had new characteristics and came on even stronger. "Ecuador entered into a process of immigration on a grander scale than prior years and even decades" (Tipanluisa, 2011, p.7). Among the new factors that characterized this decade, there is a diversification of destinations and types of migrants. In first place, the United States left off being the top destination, giving way to the intensification of migratory flows to other places such as Peru, Colombia and Western Europe, especially Spain and Italy. The pioneer immigrants to the European continent allowed a much easier construction of a migratory network to this area. At the beginning of the 21st century, this network reached its peak, exclusively increasing the volume of immigrants to Europe.

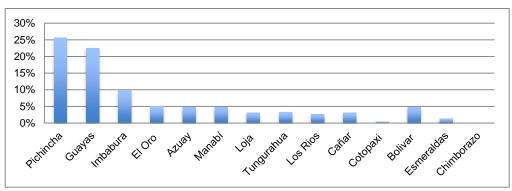
In second place, the group of actors within the mobility process also took on new characteristics. During this decade, women immigration increased and in certain years it even surpassed men, who were usually the majority (graphic 1). The reason is because countries like Spain, for example, have more job openings for domestic workers, washerwomen, cooks and even babysitters. On the other hand, southern Ecuador that once consolidated as the area that sent the most immigrants abroad, gave way to other provinces that also began to expel high numbers of migrants. This

decentralization of provinces is visible in the Population and Housing Census of 2010, in which Pichincha, followed by Guayas and then Imbabura, took the lead in the percentage of the provinces' inhabitants immigrating (graphic 2). Finally, because of the 1999 crisis, immigrants that left the country in 2000 were people and families from different social classes, such as middle-class people with professional preparation.



Graphic 1. Migratory balances by sex, period 1990-2002

Source: Ecuador, la Migración Internacional en Cifras. Flacso, 2008 Graphic made: by Carolina Feicán



Graphic 2. Migration by province of origin

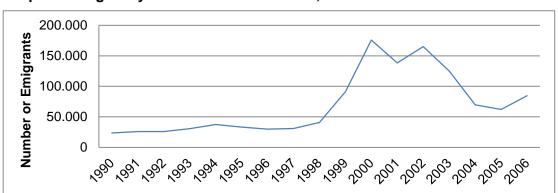
Source: Population and Housing Census INEC, 2010 Graphic made by Carolina Feicán

During this decade, there were two peaks in the immigration numbers (graphic 3), the first one from 1998 to 2000 and the other in 2002. In prior decades till 1998, immigration statistics remained constant and had moderate growth (chart 1 and 2). Then, a decrease can be perceived in migratory flows, especially after 2003 when the new visa for Ecuadorians to enter Spain and other European countries under the Schengen

Treaty<sup>5</sup> became a requirement. Immigration flows declined, reaching similar levels to those seen before the systemic crisis.

When it comes to statistics, it is important to emphasize that the data used is extremely necessary to create analysis, identify tendencies, events and results. However, it must be remembered that this kind of information is not always accurate. The data gathered at national and international levels lacks precision because it only shows people who mobilized through regular channels and it is important to consider that there are also people who do it through irregular channels. Likewise, there is a lack of interest in generating statistical information in the country (Sanmartín, 2014). For example, at the National Statistics and Census Institute (INEN: Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas y Censos), the information gathered on national and international migration is recent. Despite having detailed statistics on departures and entries, migration through irregular channels are not registered.

Finally, the years after the 2008 world crisis have a peculiar aspect. Given that the crisis directly affected countries with large economies, many migrants were forced to return to their countries of origin and so the immigration numbers decreased to levels lower than those before the 20th century (excluding the time lapse towards the end of the century). Furthermore, since 2008 in Ecuador there have been great advances on human mobility, especially because before that, the development of an adequate migratory policy was never relevant to the country. This new conception will be explained below.



Graphic 3. Migratory Balance of Ecuadorians, Period 1990-2006

Source: Censo Población y Vivienda INEC, 2010 Graphic made by Carolina Feicán

 $<sup>^{\</sup>mbox{\tiny 5}}$  The decrease in departures will be analyzed with more detail in next section.

#### 2.3 WHY DO ECUADORIANS MIGRATE?

The previous historical recounting is a fundamental part in order to understand one of the several reasons to why Ecuadorians decide to leave the country, whether temporarily or permanently. While bad political-economic administration and international factors such as the world crisis influenced migratory flows, it should be emphasized that those are not the only elements that motivated Ecuadorians to exit the country. Actually, there is a governing principle to migratory flows, characterized by two forces: one that pushes and another that pulls. That is to say, it is not only elements within the country of origin but also the characteristics and expectations that Ecuadorians have of the destination country.

During the last century, the majority of Ecuadorians decided to emigrate as a response to the country's instability, whether economic, political or social. For example, there was an increase in departures for events such as the Panama hat crisis, the installation of neoliberal policies, or the 1999 systemic crisis. However, there were many more factors that incited peoples' departures as well as their return. Furthermore, thanks to the thousands of Ecuadorians that left the country decades before, the conformation of a migratory tradition has now created a new cultural and social vision of human mobility.

#### 2.3.1 Transnational networks

Migration is not a separated issue, since it actually involves entire families that transcend borders. The historic Ecuadorian migration has conformed networks that not only make mobility easier, but also allow the constant exchange of goods, money, information and culture, which shape a new space of social existence. That is to say, this exchange crosses borders and creates a new way of relating. This social existence influences the needs and expectations that intervene in Ecuadorians' decision to emigrate.

Given the creation of these social networks, migratory flows have increased because the networks make things easier when it comes to migrate. Among its benefits are: the creation of strong connections thanks to pioneering immigrants, advances on technology and transportation that allow simpler communication and mobility once a group of acquaintances (whether family, friends or countrymen) have established the specific destination. Therefore, the decision to migrate is the sum of the potential migrant's relation to the migratory networks, how connected he or she is, and how much he or she knows about that network.

#### 2.3.2 Levels of analysis

A transnational network is the combination of worldwide relationships that include different actors, institutions, flows of goods, money, etc. Therefore, it is important to give an extensive explanation of each of the network's components. In first place, and as it was explained in Chapter 1, Ravenstein's push-pull theory leaves many holes by not going in depth on important elements such as culture and society. That is why for this work, the push-pull theory will work only as a guideline principle, taking Ecuador as the expeller country.

In order to analyze the elements within a migratory network, Gino Germani has grouped them into three levels. The first one is the objective level, which gathers the elements that interfere in the place of origin/transit/destination <sup>6</sup> as well as the relationship between Ecuador (as the expeller country) with the main destination countries. The second one is the normative level and analyzes all the elements related to customs, values, culture, norms and behaviors that can be found in terms of attraction and repulsion. Finally, the third level analyzes the psychosocial factors that take on personal elements including expectations, social imaginary and attitudes that Ecuadorians have about the human mobility process (Herrera, 2006).

#### 2.3.2.1 Objective level

Elements and obstacles that intervene in the place of origin, transit and destination: A migratory decision is not complete if it does not have a specific structured plan on how to arrive at the final destination. Given the migratory tradition in Ecuador, it is very common that a good percentage of Ecuadorians have relatives, friends or acquaintances living abroad. In general, this is how emigration is generated; someone already established in another place tends to bring others, and so on. As it

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> The destination elements or pull factors will be explained in Chapter 3, with New Brunswick as the potential destination.

was said earlier, everything depends on the person or family's exposure to a migratory network for the mobilization process to become easier or more difficult.

The obstacles that intervene can be understood as those difficulties that must be overcome, whether in the place of origin, during the course of the trip, or at the place of destination. For example, the obstacles associated with the place of origin are personal-familiar, economical, social, among others situations. Those of the destination are related to the assimilation into a new environment, the search for employment, housing, and cultural or linguistic barriers. Finally, the obstacles in the course of the journey will be documents and paperwork, transportation, moneylenders, and many others depending on whether the mobilization is done through regular or irregular channels.

A really important topic within this theme is all the actors involved in an irregular migratory process. These actors appear in the place of origin, transit and final destination where they conform extensive and planned migratory networks. Many times, this illicit trip <sup>7</sup> leads to many dangers or risks. "Coyoterismo" brings with it the conformation of irregular mobilization channels, where "coyotes" are the ones in charge to help the illegal immigrant to arrive to their final destination.

Within this network we find the so-called "enganchadores", who are in charged of gathering carefully the people who want to go on the illegal journey. Then, the "usureros, chulqueros" or the same coyote are going to lend money to the migrant but with really high interest rates. After that, in the transit countries or in the final destination, we find the "pasadores" who are people that help the immigrant to cross the borders (usually by sea or land). Then, when the migrants arrive to their final destination, some people are going to be in charge of the document's falsification, among other illegal activities. Finally, lets remember that around coyoterismo there is a development of other mafia networks that benefit themselves taking advantage of the migrants, either by physical or psychological abuse.

Leaving the topic of illegal migration aside, the majority of those who migrate, generally arrive to places where they have some connection. That is why, the bigger the nexus

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> The illicit movements of migrants involve people that do not have a legal status in their transit or final destination countries. In other words, they enter a place without authorization or they remain in a place longer of what they are supposed to.

the easier it can be to find work or a home. This also applies to the facility of getting access to resources or information needed to start the trip. For example, the closer one is to the network, the greater the possibility of having more information and access to moneylenders, smugglers (pasadores), travel agencies, documentation procedures, and other economic aspects. Ecuadorian migratory networks, especially in the main destinations, are strong enough to continue to help more people to leave the country. So, through their connections, the amount of information and resources to start a trip are easier to provide.

Thanks to the conformation of these networks and the later concentration of migrants (family, countrymen, friends, and acquaintances), there are demographic changes both in the places of origin and destinations. The impacts of migration in Ecuador are shown in the transformation of the population's sex and age. There is usually a feminization of populations and in the case of age, an inequality in distribution, meaning that there are more children and older adults than youths. Among other effects, there can be a psychological change in terms of affection due to the destruction of the direct family and the absence of members. On the other hand, there is the possibility of conforming socio-linguistic enclaves in the places of destination, particularly in areas with high concentrations of migrants. In this case, independently of the country of destination's official language, the migrant's native language is kept as their primary language, being the most common language to communicate at home and within the neighborhood.

A group's language and customs tend to become stronger when the collective from the same country of origin becomes bigger and more concentrated. In the case of Ecuadorians, since the migratory wave at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century until today, shipping and monetary exchange companies such as Delgado Travel or Quizhpi Express have opened many branches in the primary destination cities. Another key factor is national music, since there are Latino and Ecuadorian radio stations in various places abroad. Finally, despite the fact that migrants can experience acculturation after living in another country for a long time, there are certain social and cultural characteristics that get stronger rather than disappear. Of course, this depends on the migrant's degree of exposure with other people from the same place of origin, and the official and unofficial languages of the place of destination. In the case of Spain, Ecuadorians arrive thinking they will find a linguistically homogenized place, but over

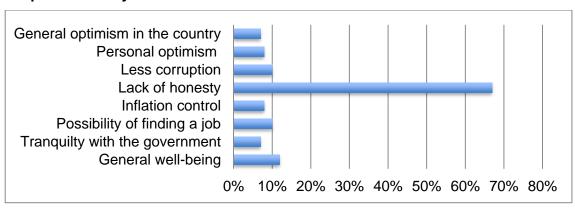
time they discover that Spanish is not the only language spoken, affecting their integration and strengthening their relationship with their fellow countrymen.

In regards to the gathering of economic resources, the best example is moneylenders, both formal like banks and informal like the infamous *chulqueros*. Through these means, the potential migrant will be solvent enough to make the trip (buying tickets, processing documents, finding accommodation, etc). In the case of remittances, they have configured both the economic and social scene in Ecuador. This section will analyze remittances only as an economic source, leaving the social issue for the next level of analysis, the normative.

According to Ecuador's Central Bank, remittances reached \$3 million in 2007, an amount that overtook numbers from previous years but later began to decline, especially during the years of the worldwide crisis from 2008 to 2010. In 2014, \$2 million came in and during the first half of 2015 remittances were registered at \$1,125.8 million, which was \$105.3 million less than the first quarter of 2014 (Banco Central del Ecuador, 2014). During the first years of the 2000s and until 2007, remittances came to represent 8% of Ecuador's GDP, being a significant source of income after oil, although it is declining. Consequently, remittances incentivize more people to migrate by allowing them to acquire the necessary economic resources to finance their trip through money sent by family members abroad.

As a result of everything previously mentioned, the obstacles to migration are presented in different forms depending on the type of immigrant and in which way he or she is mobilizing. It is not the same to finance mobility through a loan from a family member or friend as by informal means. The obstacles in the course of the trip are then reduced to what kind of connection the person has with the migratory network. However, despite all of the eases that travelling can provide, it should not be forgotten that the new immigrant will depend on the destination's social and judicial system. Currently, migratory laws in the main destinations are stricter and the lack of legal documents will always be a problem, even if the person has strong connections with family or friends. Likewise, a new society and especially new work environments can represent discriminatory situations, labor abuse, or threats because of the person's migratory status.

Political-economic factors in the place of origin: According to Ravenstein's theory on migrations, these factors are extremely important since migratory flows tend to grow in moments of crisis and bad political management. Here, people who come from countries with small and weak economies head towards places with strong, stable economies. These elements are not the only ones that produce the decision to leave the country, however they continue to be a significant influence. Among these are: corruption, mismanagement of the state resources, establishment of action plans and policies that do not achieve the desired results, external debt, among others. These factors create a collective dissatisfaction that becomes visible throughout society and which, over time, leads to a combination of political, economic and social crisis, creating discontent in the population due to the difficulty in finding stable employment, education, a fair salary, good health systems, etc.



Graphic 4. Survey on the situation in Ecuador 1998-1999

Source: La estampida migratoria ecuatoriana. Crisis, redes transnacionales y repertorios de acción migratoria Graphic made by Carolina Feicán

As a first example, we will take the 1999 systemic crisis. According to graphic 4, there are 6 out of 8 indicators that do not overpass more than 10% of those interviewees<sup>8</sup> that thought optimistically about improvements in corruption, finding work, and tranquility with the government. Equally, more than half of those surveyed thought there was a lack of honesty, existing a general wellbeing of merely 12% (an average of all the other indicators). These factors directly influenced the decision to migrate, made visible within the migratory balance statistics in Graphic 3. According to interviews held by Jaques Ramírez, most of the reasons that motivated individuals to start a mobilization process were the devaluation of the sucre, political mismanagement, fear of greater governmental instability, and the difficulty of finding permanent jobs with fair pay (2013).

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> A total of 2000 interviewees older than 18, in the Sierra, Coast and Amazon provinces.

Afterwards, Rafael Correa's first term in office brought political stability, something that had been lacking since the previous century. Furthermore, through public policies and different government efforts<sup>9</sup>, it can be seen that since the beginning of his first term, in most years the migratory balance is negative. That means that the amount of departures is less than the entrances (chart 3), showing that Ecuadorians were returning to the country for various reasons, both internal and external, which will be analyzed in detail in section 2.4.

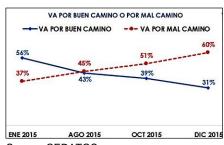
Chart 3. Migratory Flows of Ecuadorians 2008-2013

Year	Arrivals	Departures	Migratory Balance
2008	767469	817981	50512
2009	820292	813637	-6655
2010	893408	898885	5477
2011	1027543	1022451	-5092
2012	1025310	1022205	-3105
2013	1143116	1137875	-5241

Data obtained from INEC Annual Statistic of International Entrances and Exits 2013 Chart made by Carolina Feicán

Nevertheless, according to a survey done by CETADOS<sup>10</sup>, a new collective discontent returned during the beginning of the president's second term and intensified in 2015. As can be seen in image 5, this discontent became visible during the course of just one year. At the beginning of 2015, the majority of people still thought that the country was on a good path. However, by December of the same year, the collective opinion inverted, with 60% of those surveyed thinking things were going badly. The same can be seen in image 2, in which more than 50% of the population thinks that the main problems are economical. This is why it is estimated that the number of departures will continue to grow and that the rate of return will possibly go down in the next few years.

Image 1. Opinions on the country's current situation



Source: CEDATOS

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Refer to Section 2.4 The new migratory policy and the returning of thousands of Ecuadorians is not a reason to think that migration has stopped happening.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> The surveys were done with a sample of 2220 people in 23 provinces, both in rural and urban areas.

Image 2 Opinions on the country's main problems



Source: CEDATOS

The Relationship between Ecuador and the main places of destination: Within human mobility, a relationship is not only defined by the amount of agreements between parties. Actually, there is also a significant combination of unofficial trans border contacts, established and maintained by migrants, their families, friends, and acquaintances. These contacts generate a relationship between the country of origin and destination, rising up small social-spatial structures that cannot always be regulated by bilateral or multilateral agreements between Ecuador and the destination countries. With that said, a brief description of Ecuador's relation between the four primary destination countries since 2000 till today in terms of human mobility, will be given below.

#### The United States

The first representative migratory wave from Ecuador is generated at the beginning of 1980 and went mainly to the United States. The second wave was at the end of the decade in 1999 and even though new final destinations emerged, the United States continued to be one of them. Mass emigration to this destination happens by the construction of migratory networks many years before the great migratory waves. After the panama hats crises, it was in 1950 to 1960 where pioneering Ecuadorian migrants followed the network of hats exportation until they reached New York. During this time, there were small Ecuadorian communities in Los Angeles and Chicago (Jokisch, 2014).

Since the oil crisis in the 1980s, migration to United States intensified; Ecuadorians arrived to the destinations already mentioned as well as Miami and Minneapolis. Then in 1986 the U.S. Immigration Act allowed the legalization of nearly 3 million immigrants (around 16292 were Ecuadorians), who helped the legal immigration of many relatives by sponsoring them (Jokisch, 2014). Finally, the United States is seen as one of the most attractive destinations for the Ecuadorian migrant, not only for its consolidated networks but also for the creation of imaginaries and the great influence of the American Occidentalism: better living conditions, higher wages, equitable political systems, less corruption, etc.

The relationship of these two countries in terms of human mobility has transformed. Currently, Ecuador takes on a dual role; it is a country that both attracts and expels people at the same time. This is because in the last century, Ecuador used to expel its migrants that headed towards the U.S. However, it has also become a receiving country for a large number of United States citizens, whether they be tourists, labor migrants, retired, etc., who have contributed to the economic growth of the country thanks to a higher entry of dollars directed towards several productive sectors.

On the other hand, Ecuador's Ministry of Foreign Relations reacted positively, supporting the initiative to legalize 11 million undocumented immigrants residing in the United States. The current president, Barack Obama, supports the initiative together with 5 presidential candidates for the 2016 election, except for the republican candidate Donald Trump. Likewise, the U.S General Consul in Guayaquil, Patricia Fietz, announced that the relationship between both countries is good; the number of visas given to Ecuadorians went from 35,000 in 2012 to 98,000 in 2014 (El Universo, 2015). During June 2015, certain changes were established to visa requirements, making it easier for people who had already gotten a visa to renew it.

#### **Spain**

Given the high number of Ecuadorians residing in this country (176247 at the end of 2015), there have been many diplomatic relations and, according to the Spain's Ministry of Foreign Relations, they were very good. Among the most relevant agreements we can mention the "Dual Nationality Agreement celebrated between Ecuador and Spain in

1964" that let thousands of Ecuadorians to maintain their Ecuadorian nationality while becoming naturalized Spaniards. Later, in both 2001 and 2005, a regularization process begun thanks to a treaty between Spain and Ecuador that gave preference to the hiring of Ecuadorian workforce (Setién, Vicente, Arriola, & Segú, 2011).

Within Spain's Immigration Law, familiar regrouping is allowed and has made the work visa and permit process easier, encouraging formal migration. On the other hand, after signing Ecuador's Free-Trade Agreement (FTA) with the European Union in 2014, Ecuador has made a formal petition so Spain can eliminate the short-term visa requirement for its citizens, as it is doing with Colombia and Peru. The result has been positive, since in June 2015, Spain introduced the suggestion to the rest of the European member countries of the Schengel Treaty. Though, the request is still waiting for response.

Finally, taking into account that the main European destinations (Spain, Italy) are members of the European Union, it is important to emphasize the relationship between Ecuador and this block. Starting with the Cooperation Framework Agreement of 2001, the cooperation that exists between the two parties is defined, allowing the entry of financial and technical aid from the European Commission into Ecuador. Through this agreement, funds from the EU are allowed to be used for the development of social programs in Ecuador with the goal of counteracting the high migratory flows of Ecuadorians traveling to European countries.

After 2007, the Memorandum of Understanding was signed, which is centrally directed towards health, environment, regional integration and economic cooperation sectors. Among some co-developed projects are REDES (in English, Remittances and Development) that relies on European funds to create stronger networks between Ecuador and other countries that support the good use and optimization of remittances. Furthermore, it also established programs for technical formation, projects such as the Cañar-Muricia, headed up by the government of Spain to address social issues of Ecuadorian migrants in that city. Finally, in 2014, the Free Trade Agreement was signed between Ecuador and the European Union. It is expected that by 2020 free capital mobilization will be possible, which would also include free circulation of workforce.

#### **Peru and Colombia**

The relationship between these bordering countries is characterized by historic tensions and armed conflicts on the border. However, they have also reached agreements for peace and cooperation. In the case of Ecuador and Peru, various treaties are registered and are the fundamental basis for the creation of a migratory statute. Among them:

- 1998 Agreement on the Transit of People, Vehicles, Vessels and Aircrafts.
- 2006 Agreement on the Regularization of Labor and Migration.
- 2008 Agreement on the Regularization of Labor, only for the Border Integration Region.

By means of this wide and solid base of migratory material, in 2010 the Ecuadorian-Peruvian Permanent Migratory Statute was elaborated. The objective of the Statute is to continue the fight against irregular migration and improve the migratory controlling systems to facilitate the stay of both Peruvians and Ecuadorians. On the other hand, in regards to the relationship between Ecuador and Colombia, there are two international agreements: the 1990 Esmeraldas Agreement, modified in 2012, and the 2008 Colombia-Ecuador Migratory Statue. Within that statute, as in the one with Peru, the entry and exit process is regulated (Bueno, 2013).

There are also many other advances on the human mobility topic given the mutual recognition of people's right to mobility. For example, there are no longer sanctions for going against the migratory norms in either country<sup>11</sup>. Furthermore, Ecuador is one of the countries that receive the most refugees in Latin America, the majority of whom are Colombian (chart 4). Among other advances, tourists, temporary visitors and technicians do not require a visa. Migratory education between the two countries is especially promoted in border areas and through informative pamphlets distributed to the public. Finally, both countries offer the necessary consular assistance when required.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> In Colombia, since February 4th 2013, people involved in deeds or acts outside the migratory law, (such as exceed their length of stay) will not be sanctioned in any way. Any action occurring before that date, the sanction will be economic.

Chart 4. The five South American countries that receive the most refugees

Country	Refugees	
Argentina	3362	
Chile	1743	
Venezuela	4340	
Brazil	5196	
Ecuador	54789	

Source: ACNUR, tablas 2013 Chart made by: Carolina Feicán

Given that Ecuador, Peru and Colombia all belong to the Andean Nations Community (CAN), several resolutions emerged in this block in regards to human mobility. The relationship between member countries in regards to the topic is good, and despite the decline of the cooperation within CAN, it still seeks for the humanistic development of migration. The rights of mobility are recognized within the Community, as well as the cooperation on consular discussions, the free transit of people with the Andean card as the only control document, the implementation of bi-national attention centers on the border, the Andean passport, the presence of transportation for international mobilization on land, among others.

#### 2.3.2.2 Normative level

Migration Alters the Social Context: Both in the place of origin and of destination, migration releases a new logic that is directly related to culture, social behavior, attitudes, necessities, and the level of interaction with people. An action that frequently happens and is held over time conforms a habit. Therefore, migration can be considered as a usual practice chosen by Ecuadorians. However, it was not until the period between 1990 and 2004 that a new idea of migration was built; it was no longer seen as a simple alternative, but rather it became a practice that gave status and luxury to its practitioners. That is how the popularity of unforced migration became part of people's economic and social logic, bringing with it various changes in the Ecuadorian social fabric.

So, a new context was created, mainly because the idea of leaving the country began to take force when more and more people started to see it as a guaranteed option. Through communication, shared information, and different stimuli, migration began to be chosen over any other possible solution, despite people being conscious of the

dangers that they might have to face. Likewise, because of the technology and communication boom, people who still reside in Ecuador are constantly informed about successful cases or failures of other Ecuadorians abroad. Before 2000, when the Internet was not common yet, the way immigrants were doing was reflected by the amount of remittances sent and the economic wellbeing of the migrant's family.

Due to these factors and by means of social imaginaries that will be explained in the following lines, people create an image of their fellow Ecuadorians abroad. An image that, despite reflecting a hard and difficult path, brings with it good results. "When my daughter left, it was a boom, it was an status, she went to Italy, and they left in mass" (Ramírez & Ramírez, 2005). Furthermore, because of the surrounding stimuli, it began to be believed that mobilization is something normal, especially if the person's social circle is hemmed by several cases of migration.

Moreover, the social fabric influences both the migrant and no-migrant families. While sending remittances is one of the country's most important incomes, a large number of families who receive that money use it for daily expenditures but also for luxuries. Their way of living then becomes another factor that encourages other people to migrate. Families that receive more money from remittances are those that spend more on luxuries, affecting their way of consumption and habits.

Therefore, habits change, making people dependent on the money sent as well as in the consumption of goods that are usually imported. Given the high level of contact with destination countries, both the family and the migrant are transformed. In cultural terms (depending on the length of stay and contact with the destination's society), people acquire and assimilate elements from other places, while still conserving several from their home society and culture. As a result, a status is created in regards to economic wellbeing. These kinds of factors influence both the social and cultural level, especially in regions or sectors affected by high rates of migration.

Within the Life Conditions Survey 2005-2006, it can be seen that remittance money was mainly used on various expenditures (both basic needs and luxuries) that represented 89.4% of all remittances, from which only a 3.1% was used on construction and the remaining 8% was divided among businesses, savings, and debt payments, among

others. This is one of the reasons why, since 2007, the Correa Administration decided to channel people's savings into investment projects. That is how "El Cucayo" project was born, in which ex Ecuadorian migrants could participate in a raffle, presenting a business idea that would be supported by a percentage of the investment, for those ideas that were accepted.

#### 2.3.2.3 Personal and psycho-social factors

Collective contagion and social imaginaries: A social structure is conformed by various actors that share a group of practices as well as continuous and recurrent behaviors. This structure is part of the social fabric that interconnects all these actors, allowing different practices and actions to not only be individual but spread out by means of the social fabric until they become collective actions. This is the case of migration, in which personal desires such as the search for social mobility, better salary, employment, family support and reunification, spread the decision to migrate within the social fabric. That is to say, by being a recurrent individual practice, it will inevitably have the same recurrence at different levels of social interaction.

After migration propagates as a social practice in the long term, it consolidated as a significant action within society. Therefore, it became completely normal to turn to migration as a solution to adversity or problems faced by a family or individual. This is articulated directly by the imaginaries created in regards to a situation. Arjun Appadurai, in his book Modernity at Large, determines that currently the mass media, newspapers, books, conversations, etc., are incredibly important when creating images that end up being significant when making the decision to leave a country (Appadurai, 1996). Given the interconnection of the social fabric and the wide range of media coverage today, imaginaries about a place of destination end up becoming part of the collective imagination.

Despite the high rates of Ecuadorians returning to the country, emigration still exists. The idea of finding a better future, having a higher income, living in places that look ideal in pictures or on television, being more successful than a relative or neighbor that migrated, etc., is predominant in the people's minds, like an aspiration that afterwards

becomes action. Through migratory networks, these imaginaries are encouraged to become actions.

**Personal Factors:** Personal factors take force when they are related to other kinds of stimuli. For example, influences from the environment in which one lives, external agents to the family such as political or economical instability, the closeness and exposure to migratory networks, the product of collective or individual imagination tied to the expectations and emotions that determine a decision to migrate. That is, personal factors are related to a combination of elements that end up in creating a perception of a reality that, using the year 1999-2000 as an example, built a negative scenario due to the variety of adversities faced by society (graphic 4).

A vital part of these personal aspects are families, what happens within and without of them is going to be of great influence. Not all families are configured the same way; it depends on how close family members are, the kind of relationship they have, and family stability. Many times the decision to leave the country is discussed by at least 2 or 3 members of the nuclear family. However, according to family testimonies, there have been times that a child or spouse is considered missing and some time later the family finds out the person has been living in another country. These cases are rare, but it can be noted that depending on the closeness of the family, the quality of the relationships and the ties between family members, an individual decides to migrate with the agreement of somebody else or without previously consulting other family members.

Secondly, the kind of relationship and family stability are also important. In certain cases there are noticeable scenes of violence, problems with a spouse, parents, or children, distrust or power struggles within the family. These issues intervene when making the decision to leave the country. For example, if the family relationship is deteriorated and there are other external factors at play, it is possible that the desire to migrate intensifies. This is the case of Maria<sup>12</sup>, who experienced domestic violence from her husband. She sought out alternative solutions to the problem, and she could possibly have resolved it in a different way, but in her case the decision was to leave the country due to the influence of other factors as well: unstable employment and the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> For reasons of privacy, personal information will not be given in this thesis.

lack of money to support her children by herself after getting divorced. Her process of migration consisted of the following:

**Exposure to a migratory network:** Maria has a sister who lives in the United States as a resident. She invited her to leave the country and start a new life in California.

**Imaginaries and family influence:** Maria's mother and cousins know that it will be a difficult process but they support her decision to leave the country, sure that in the United States she will have a higher income to support her children.

The final decision: Maria's personal situations are directly connected to the help provided by her sister and the support given by her family, neighbors and friends. It is important to add here that personal factors also have to do with the change in the family's configuration. It is not easy to move a whole family, unless there is a special visa, for example as a refugee or diplomat. People must decide with whom to leave their children, dependent siblings, who will be responsible for receiving the money, etc.

# 2.4 THE NEW MIGRATORY POLICY AND THE RETURNING OF THOUSANDS OF ECUADORIANS IS NOT A REASON TO THINK THAT MIGRATION HAS STOPPED HAPPENING

Ecuador had a limited migration policy that has undergone evolution from a protectionist regime<sup>13</sup> to a policy focused on the rights and needs of its immigrants and emigrants. In 2007, the Administration of Rafael Correa came in with a new ideology for State management through a strategy known as the "Citizens' Revolution". After a long neoliberal tendency through most of Latin America, this new proposal left large-scale production aside to focus on a new form of development that works for the human being. "As never before, human mobility was recognized as an integral part of human beings and therefore a big issue that appears within the economic, social, political and legal life in Ecuador" (Sanmartín, 2014). Consequently, the importance that human wellbeing takes in the government's political strategy allows, for the first time, the establishment of migration as a significant topic to the government.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> From the 30s to the 90s, migratory policy was focused on systems of border protection, allowing easy entry for some countries but coldly closing the doors to others. It was also characterized by closed social structures that were hardly inclusive. The government worried little or nothing about the Ecuadorians abroad. The interest in the rights of migrants abroad and immigrants coming back to Ecuador is an idea than gained force much later.

According to Article 40 of the Ecuadorian Constitution, "It is recognized that people have the right to migrate. No person will be identified nor considered illegal because of their migratory status" (2008). The big turn that the new Constitution gives to the topic of migration is considered a milestone by recognizing migration as a right. Furthermore, it seeks to eliminate potential discrimination due to a person's migratory status. Among other articles we find the recognition of transnational families, migrants rights, the participation of Ecuadorians abroad, the principle of global citizenship, aid to migrant families, the new term of human mobility, and the government duties and obligations with the Ecuadorians abroad.

Nevertheless, despite the improvement in migratory policy, it is important to analyze the actual progress of it by critically examining its implementation, due to the fact that it raised a lot of expectations at the beginning. First, the government propaganda had shown a program that worked really well on bringing back Ecuadorians, but actually it was not like that. A lot of people heard this call and saw the plan as an alternative to the 2008 crisis in the host countries. However, in spite of the creation of an integral policy that manages to encompass and relate various important topics, there have been a lot of changes nowadays.

On one hand, certain ideas have changed while others have stayed the same, drawing many conclusions in regards to the plan's application. Among the biggest changes are the strengthening of the migratory policy between 2009 and 2010, something that ended up going against the principles of global citizenship and non-discrimination implemented in 2008. Furthermore, there are critics about the numbers of Ecuadorian's returning. It is said that those statistics are not only the result of governmental policies and that these have failed to adequately manage the so heterogeneous group of migrants. This topic will be described in the subtitles below.

Starting with the migratory crisis in the 90s, public policy begins to show greater interest in its citizens residing abroad. The 1998 Constitution allows Ecuadorian migrants to exercise their right to vote. However, and despite the establishment of the State's commitment to watch over and protect its citizens abroad, the means by which this protection was supposed to be given were not established (Ramírez J. P., 2013). Nevertheless, by the 2007 public policy and 2008 Constitution, the creation of the

National Secretariat of Migration (SENAMI), which is currently the Vice Ministry of Human Mobility, was possible. Among its main objectives was the creation of a returning plan that aided Ecuadorians to reintegrate into society. Second, improve peoples' living conditions with the goal of keeping them within the country. Third, help to create jobs so ex-migrants and their families with low incomes could invest their savings in sustainable businesses and startups in Ecuador.

Several other objectives have materialized through the Welcome Home Program, which facilitate an easier return, propelling reinsertion into the country's workforce. A competitive fund called *El Cucayo* was also created, which gave a percentage of money to returning Ecuadorians to establish a business or startup. In regards to the attention given to immigrants abroad, many houses and offices were built in the cities where most Ecuadorians arrive.

Among other projects there are student scholarships, the possibility of participating from abroad not only in elections but also in the presentation of projects and plans at any level of government, the voluntary affiliation to IESS (the State Institution for Social Security), The National Plan for Human Development of Migration 2007-2010 which was based on the 2008 Ecuadorian Constitution, the Consular Policy, and more. In this way, migration has gone from discussion to part of the government agenda, and finally ending up a State policy with its respective organizations and action plans.

In general, the constitutional advances as well as plans and programs attempt to articulate the topic of migration through economic and social development (improving quality of life). All of this together constitutes a groundbreaking policy due to the historical lack of attention and regulation of the migration topic in the past. On the other hand, the general view of the work done by the Correa Administration helps us create a guideline on how the development of its policies is oriented. However, when individually examining each of the plans, projects and results, a different reality appears, which should not invalidate the great advances in migration policy that have occurred during this Administration and that are reflected in the Constitution.

Since 2004, Ecuadorians have increasingly returned to the country. This behavior tends to be related to the return policies of the Correa Administration. However, there are many other external factors that, together with internal governmental policies, stimulated Ecuadorians returns and permanency in the years following 2004. Finally, despite the fact that the return of thousands of Ecuadorians is higher than in previous years, the majority of emigrants that once left the country continue to reside abroad.

The massive exit of Ecuadorians during the systemic crisis at the end of the century left families divided and, according to a combination of studies done on Ecuadorians in Spain, more than 70% planned to return to Ecuador in 5 years or less and only 7.1% planned to stay more than 10 years (Jokisch & Pribilsky, 2002). If the responses to the survey done in 2002 had been carried out, all of these people should have returned to Ecuador already. However, the number of returnees is not the expected one within the governments' Welcome Home Plan.

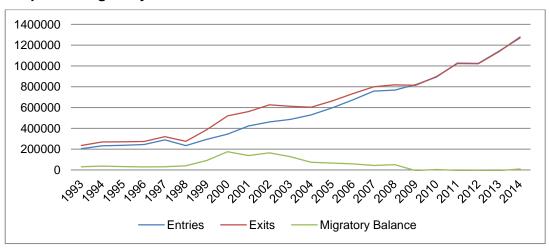
While the number of international departures has declined <sup>14</sup>, the large number of returns is due in part to the economic crisis in the United States and Europe, primary destinations for the Ecuadorian migrant population. The crisis affected the permanency of migrants in Spain, for example, where there was a decline in contracts, lack of employment, and therefore a preference for Spanish citizens over migrants. In spite of the country's situation, the "Study on the Ecuadorian Population in Spain" launched on November 2015, shows that the Ecuadorian population effectively experienced a lack of employment and low salaries, which caused the amount of remittances to decline. Even so, Ecuadorians refused to return to their country, expressing that their life plans were now in Spain (El Comercio, 2015).

As another aspect, it was not until 2004 that the visa requirement for European member countries of the Schengel Treaty allowed the strengthening of the normative frameworks from its member countries. These became stricter in regards to migration just after the attacks of September 11, 2001 in the United States and March 11, 2004 in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> The international entries and exits of Ecuadorians are directly proportional to the increase or decrease of its population. That is, from 1999 to 2003, the number of exits was massive, taking into account that the population reached a maximum of 13 million in 2003. Currently, there is a higher number of exits, but it is actually less than those experienced at the end of the century, due to the increase in population, which reached 16 million inhabitants in 2014.

Spain. As a result, there is greater control of both regular and irregular routes of entry and exit to destination countries, making the departure of Ecuadorians more difficult.

For example, both Ecuadorians as well as other migrants tended to walk across the Mexico-U.S. border. However, due to stronger border controls, a sea route was created that became much more common than crossing by land. Likewise, getting into Spain or Italy was done by air, coming in through other countries in northern Europe, such as the Netherlands. Now, even though there is a direct flight from Ecuador to Spain, it is much harder to guarantee entry of new migrants because of visa requirement and stronger controls. Many Ecuadorians have been detained in Madrid and Amsterdam. For instance, all these issues make the Ecuadorian departure to different destinations more difficult, contracting migratory flows.



**Graphic 5. Migratory flows of Ecuadorians 1993-2013** 

Data Obtained from the Annual Entries and Exits INEC years 1998, 2001, 2007 and 2014. Graphic made by Carolina Feicán

According to graphic 5, since 1993, the migratory balance bore a little noticed difference between people that left the country compared to those that returned, with around 30000 to 40000 more exits than entries. During the years 1998 to 2004, the numbers jumped impressively, with the difference between exits and entries being much greater. Since 2007, flows of exits and entries have increased, but the numbers of each are still basically the same, in some cases reaching a minimum difference in migratory balance of 5000 people and, in years like 2009, getting a negative migratory balance. That is, in that year there was a greater number of Ecuadorians returning to the country than

those that left. However, in 2013 it was estimated that close to 3 million Ecuadorians are still living abroad.

#### The "Welcome Home Plan" and its main shortcomings

The "Welcome Home Plan" will be analyzed as part of the causes that led the massive return of Ecuadorians. It is important to note that the establishment of the plan matches a crucial event: the approval of the 2008 Return Directive of the European Union. This directive allowed Spain to establish the 2008 Voluntary Returning Plan for immigrants residing within it. On the other hand, the Ecuadorian Welcome Home Plan was not always named as such, its original name was the Plan for a Voluntary, Dignified, Sustainable Return which later was re-named so it would not be confused with the Spain's returning plan. This event is extremely relevant in order to understand the strength that the "Welcome Home Plan" took and the reasons why in political discussion the Ecuadorian plan was seen as the main reason to why thousands of Ecuadorians returned. In other words, the combination of international forces that stimulated returns (like the 2008 crisis or the Spanish return plan) were included and adapted within national policy so it would create the image that the Ecuadorian plan was the main reason for the high numbers of returnees and that, backed up by the statistics in Figure 5, it was being successful.

First of all, the "Welcome Home Plan" is the result of the union of several projects and smaller action plans addressed to two different kinds of migrants. On the one hand there are economic projects seeking for the migrant reinsertion into the economy. Among these are the Migrant Bank, the Competitive Fund "El Cucayo", Plan Hacienda, Productive Return Plan, Master Plan, and Health Plan. Part of the efforts to get these migrants to return is so that they will contribute to the country's productivity and, at the same time, slow the professionals brain-drain of which, according to the U.N., is estimated at around 200 thousand Ecuadorian professionals living abroad.

On the other hand, there is the combination of plans with the objective of serving a different group of migrants, those in vulnerable situations. This group does not directly receive choices for productive re-insertion or economic incentives, but rather they are catalogued as people that need emergent aid and support in both the destination

country and when they come back. Therefore, there is a division between the two types of returning migrants; those that do so voluntarily and those who are forced to return due to situations such as deportation or problems in the destination country.

In other words, the returning plan has been questioned because of the different focuses that it gives to returnees by dividing them into groups and, consequently, treating them differently. The first group that returns voluntarily includes a high number of professionals and people who have middle to high economic status. Within the second group there are people in poor health, deportees, or those who were forced to return to Ecuador until the situation in the destination country improves (usually because of the crisis). According to María Landáuri, Vice Minister of Human Mobility, there are 3164 people among them doctors, professors, and business people who have voluntarily returned through the government's productive facilities. In the other group, there are 1879 people who have returned in the category of vulnerable (La Hora, 2014).

According to a survey analysis done by María Isabel Moncayo in 2010, it was observed that the great majority of migrants that returned voluntarily came back with the idea of investing in the country or starting a business. Consequently, it is much easier and more probable for them to take advantage of the benefits offered by the government. However, it is more difficult for the second group either because they do not meet the requirements or they are not interested in doing so (2011). Four years after this study, in 2014, the situation remained the same. Reinsertion is complicated for the second group because when they come back to the country they do not have enough money to start a business and there is little assessment or help from the public sector.

"We went to work and we did whatever we could. We had bread for our children. But we got here, to our own country, and we couldn't figure out how to fit into the labor market" (Vivero, 2014).

Despite the marked division between these two groups of migrants, it cannot be denied that there have been cases of returnees within the second group who have managed to benefit from the economic plans. Unfortunately, the number is low, considering that out of more than 2000 projects received by the sixth call of the *Cucayo* Fund, only around 200 received economic incentives. Of these, the majority was from returnees with enough money to make up the rest of the investment.

Furthermore, in May and June 2015, Coordination Zone 6 of the Ministry of Foreign Relations did a final follow-up of the startups in the Azuay province, proving that many of them no longer existed. As is the case with three startups, one in agriculture in Gualaceo, one of guitars in San Bartolomé, and a hardware store in Cuenca. None of the three was able to move ahead with the startup due to a lack of assessment by their assigned mentors, strong competition and bad business management. There are other cases of successful migrant projects, such as Fabiano's Pizza or Nancy Ordoñez Hair Salon, both in Cuenca.

#### 2.5 Conclusions

In conclusion, the Ecuadorian departures continue to be an active phenomenon that has become part of our society and daily life. The advances related to migration matters have been remarkable, but there are still many deficiencies in regards to the establishment of action plans for returns. Through the decrease in remittances, it has been observed that Ecuadorians abroad have been affected by the instability in their destinations. However, the majority of people that have left during the last few decades continue to live in other countries.

The historical effects of migration bring with them changes in society, culture, and in people's habits and customs. By means of the migratory networks already established, it becomes easier for Ecuadorians to exit the country. In 2015, CETADOS indicators showed an increase in social dissatisfaction, which will hopefully not release a new migratory wave. Furthermore, despite destinations such as the United States, Peru, Colombia, and Spain being primary arrival destinations for Ecuadorian migrants, the are new places that are consolidating as potential destinations since they have several attractive qualities for migrants around the world. The province of New Brunswick in Canada is one of such places. So, is it possible that in the future, potential Ecuadorian migrants would choose this province as a final destination? In the next chapter we will discuss the province's qualities in greater detail.

#### CHAPTER 3. IMMIGRATION CREATES HOPE FOR NEW BRUNSWICK'S GROWTH

#### 3.1 Introduction

The province of New Brunswick is located in the southeast of Canada, with access to the Atlantic Ocean. This place is characterized by its harbors, lobster industry, natural resources and, recently, its demographic problems. Its population is one of the smallest in relation to other provinces (753914 inhabitants) and it has a singularity in particular, the population is aging rapidly. As a consequence of the low fertility rate combined with the inhabitants' aging, it is estimated that a natural population growth (births minus deaths) is no longer possible. While more and more citizens are removed from the labor force, the provincial economy has nowhere to stand. For this reason, the search for solutions is mandatory, one of them and the most important is immigration.

This chapter will analyze New Brunswick by taking into account the elements that affect in a positive and negative way the province's performance in the recruitment and retention of new immigrants. First, there will be a detailed explanation of the problems causing a population decrease in the province. It is important to first understand these challenges in order to have a greater understanding when it comes to analyze the Canadian Immigration System (CIC) and its respective impact. In this way, with the aid of charts and explanatory tables throughout the chapter, two approaches will be generated. The fist one is a wide one that will analyze immigration policies at the federal level. The second one is a more specific which will review different efforts that seek to reverse the statistics of de-growth in the provincial level.

On the other hand the results obtained by the province until now are going to be analyzed through the plans, projects and strategies developed by NB, both independently and with the support of the Federal Government, municipalities and other organizations. Finally, we will examine the way in which the province is becoming an attractive destination for immigrants. Within this section, it is interesting to look at the contrast between NB and other traditional destinations within Canada. There are going to be reasons that encourage a person to choose a destination and not another. For

example, why the Ecuadorian migrant population will rather concentrate mostly in areas like Toronto instead of other places.

#### 3.2 CANADA, A COUNTRY BUILT BY ITS IMMIGRANTS

"Before I left the ship I took the 5 lire I had left in my pocket and placed it in a flower vase on the ship. I wanted to land in this country penniless and start from zero"

- Aldo Cescato, came to Canada from Italy in 1953

Canada is the second biggest country in the world, after the Russian Federation. It borders to the South by the United States of America, to the North by the Arctic Glacier Ocean, to the East by the Atlantic Ocean and on the West by the Pacific Ocean and Alaska. Originally, the first immigration flows received were the ones from the conquest; both French (from 1604 to 1763) and English (from 1670 to 1873) began to inhabit the territories of East Canada and were the first to have contact with the indigenous civilizations that lived in these territories (Canadian museum of History, 2001).

Progressively with the first and second Industrial Revolution, the manufacturing and services sectors began to grow rapidly, that is why large groups of immigrants were welcome in the country. The Atlantic territories are the first to populate, receiving people in Nova Scotia's<sup>15</sup> harbords. Workers and farmers around the world were increasingly attracted to this country. Even though most of the immigrants came from England and Europe, it is not until the 20th century where new immigrants, mainly from Asia, came to Canada to live and practically build the cities located in the West such as Vancouver.

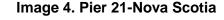
Subsequently, new elements emerge in the 20th century that little by little turned Canada into a more attractive country for migrants. First of all, the social and economic status of the poorest Canadian population was attended. At the same time, many campaigns that promoted Canada as a destination in different European cities were developed. Later in 1930, the introduction of laws such as retirement pensions, insurance for the unemployed, family reunification, medical insurance for all citizens and non-citizens, increased the immigration waves to the country.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Nowadays, one of the oldest harbors works as the 'Immigration Museum', known as Pier 21. This place used to be the receptor point for most of the European migrants.

As a result, in the years after World War II, large groups of women and children entered the country. Then, in the mid-20th century, migrants from Middle East, Asia, Africa and the Caribbean did so too. Among the reasons was a new Citizenship Act in 1947, which eliminated the tax that some Asian countries had to pay for getting into Canada (Canadian Museum of History, 2001). In addition, the new immigration system did not only consider the country of origin of its newcomers, it also took into account their skills such as level of education, etc.

Image 3. Canada the new homeland





Canada the New Homeland Promotional pamphlet issued by the Department of Immigration and Colonization, 1924 Picture taken in the Immigration Museum Pier 21, Semptember 10<sup>th</sup>. 2015



Pier 21. Halifax-Nova Scotia Picture taken on September 10<sup>th</sup>, 2015

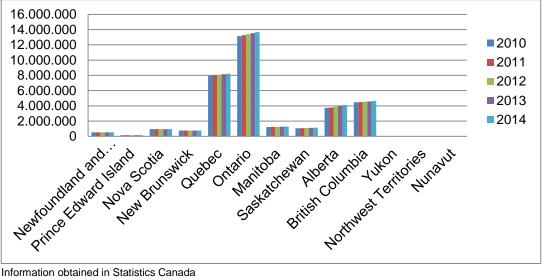
#### 3.2.2 Provinces and territories

"Immigrants have helped to shape Canada since the first contact with its aboriginal people"

Museum of immigration, Canada-NE

The political division of the country comprises ten provinces and three territories, from East to West: Nova Scotia, Newfoundland and Labrador, Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick, Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba, Nunavut, Saskatchewan, Northwest Territories, Alberta, British Columbia and finally Yukon (Natural Resources Canada, 2014). Regarding its population, in 2014 Canada reached 35'. 540.410 inhabitants. The province with the highest population density is Ontario, with 13'. 678.700 inhabitants. In

contrast, the three provinces closer to the Arctic Glacier Ocean have the lowest population, such as Yukon, which has scarcely 36.500 inhabitants (graphic 6).



Graphic 6. Population by province and year

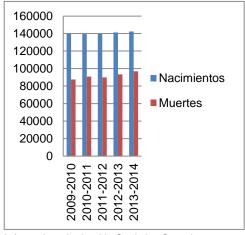
Information obtained in Statistics Canada Graphic made by Carolina Feicán

#### 3.2.3. The particularity of New Brunswick

Without a doubt, the provinces with the highest population density have grown naturally, which implies that the number of births is still greater than the number of deaths (graphic 7). The same behavior, though in a smaller-scale, is also evidenced in the provinces and territories with lower population density, for example Yukon (graphic 8). In contrast, this is not the case of New Brunswick, in which by 2014, the total number of deaths in the province slightly passed the total number of births (graphic 9). While it is the first year that this happens, in the past there already existed population decline issues.

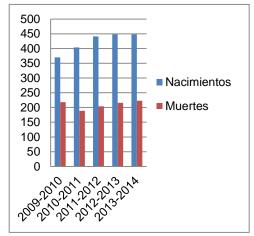
The current Post-Secondary Education, Training and Work Minister Hon. Jody Carr, said, "Immigration plays a key role in New Brunswick's population, social and economic growth. We know that in order for immigrants to be successful in business, work or school they need to be received and integrated into local communities" (Carr, 2014). Therefore, immigration became the main issue within NB's the population growth strategy (PGS) B, which began in 2007 but was renewed in 2014. Through recruitment, establishment and retention of new immigrants, the lack of labor forces is supposed to be solved, as well as boosting the economy.

**Graphic 7: Net population growth in Ontario** 



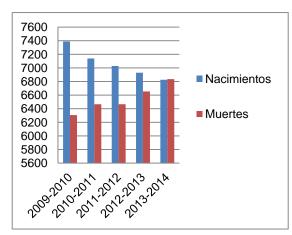
Information obtained in Statistics Canada Graphic made by Carolina Feicán

**Graphic 8: Net population growth in Yukon** 



Information obtained in Statistics Canada Graphic made by Carolina Feicán

**Graphic 9: Net population growth** in New Brunswick



Information obtained in Statistics Canada Graphic made by Carolina Feicán

### 3.3. THE ROLE OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IN THE MANAGEMENT OF IMMIGRATION POLICY

The Canadian territory extends from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific Ocean. It is the largest country within the American continent and shares the longest southern frontier with the United States. As a result, immigration policy is extremely wide and diverse, as

it consists of several areas that converge into a single national system known as Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC). This vast system is responsible for the management of all types of human mobility between Canada and any other country in the world. First, this section will look at the laws that run the immigration policy that are reflected in the actions of CIC. Secondly, to be immersed in the performance of the immigration system, a revision of all the programs offered by CIC for temporary or permanent residence will be reviewed. It is important to stress that the programs and plans are constantly changing. For instance, there are many aspects that are restated every year in order to address the system in terms of the actual needs of the country. For this reason, this section will examine the main changes in the different programs since they are fundamental tools for the immigrants' administration in NB and in the rest of provinces.

Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (IRPA): Its application began in June 2002 allowing Canada to take advantage of all the benefits that migration brings with it. Among these, economic, cultural or social benefits which above all can safeguard the security of its own citizens. On the other hand, the act seeks to enrich and strengthen Canadian society through the reception of immigrants from all over the world, either as students, tourists or workers. It also promotes the respect for human rights and international justice. As a result, Canada continues to be one of the leading countries in the world to receive people in a vulnerable state and offer them refuge (Immigration and Refugee Protection Act, 2001).

Canadian Multiculturalism Act: This act is essential within the work of multiculturalism and inclusion organizations that are currently working in the construction of a rich, diverse and more aware Canadian social fabric. The first Canadian Multiculturalism Act from 1971 was considered an extremely important act and year because Canada became the first country in the world to adopt multiculturalism as its official policy (Department of Citizenship and Immigration, 2012). The Canadian Multiculturalism Act is based on two principles: all Canadian citizens, whether by birth or by their own choice, have freedom to express and preserve their culture. In addition, regardless of the origin of the person or community, all have equal right to participate in any issue or aspect from the Canadian society (Parole Board of Canada, 2008). This last point extends to every citizen, resident or refugee.

Usually every immigrant must undergo a process of adaptation in the new society. Therefore, this law encourages new citizens to progressively integrate in order to become active individuals of society. The newcomers should be able to get involved in Canadian culture, economy, politics and other fields. Finally, the Multiculturalism Act assigns the Parole Board of Canada to be the entity that protects, incentives, promotes and applies the respective law throughout the territory. Among its functions, the Board holds events, which aim to spread cultural diversity in the Canadian society.

#### 3.3.1 Immigration and Citizenship Canada Goals

The Federal Government seeks to transform the immigration system through CIC in two ways. First, achieve a more dynamic, quick and sustainable system in which there would be a better ability to respond the extensive lists of applications on hold. It is important for the Government and CIC to relieve the different Canadian offices with accumulated work; this was causing CIC to focus all its capacity on attending the waiting lists rather than managing other types of issues more effectively. Second, CIC seeks to create a system that actively recruits the best talent from around the world. "CIC will work with the provinces, territories and employers to create a group of qualified workers who are ready to start a job in Canada" (Government of Canada, 2013).

To sum up, the objective is to find prepared workers, young families and capable people without neglecting traditional humanitarian aid within the refugee field. Therefore, all the action plans that the Government has implemented through CIC are tools to transform the immigration system based on these two objectives. Any changes that the Federal Government could make to the immigration system are going to directly affect the Provincial Governments.

#### 3.3.2 Categories and major programs for permanent and temporary residence

Available programs are offered to meet the applicant's needs. Currently, certain programs are limiting the number of applications, others have changed their requirements or their target, and in some cases, they have been shut down for a while.

What the usage of different programs pursues is to respond better to the needs of Canadian industry and market, making immigration one of the primary sources of economic growth. There are three categories of permanent residents according to the IRPA: economic class, family and protected people (Immigration and Refugee Protection Act, 2001).

**Economic class:** A participant can apply for the business and entrepreneur programs, federal skilled worker<sup>16</sup>, self-employed people<sup>17</sup>, Canadian experience<sup>18</sup>, caregiver, and qualified worker in mechanical and industrial areas programs. Finally, in the provincial nominees program through the Provincial Nominee Program<sup>19</sup> (PNP).

**Family class:** The economic applicant's relatives are considered in this class (husband or wife, children, parents, grandparents, uncles, cousins, orphans, among others).

**Refugee class:** It is understood as a person whose life may be in danger by different types of conflicts such as wars, Governments issues, etc. These Programs include foreign refugees, those that were requested by the country of asylum, and people protected within Canada.

#### 3.3.3. Major changes to redirect the Immigration System

**2008- Action plan for faster immigration:** the plan's objective was to remove the amount residency applications accumulated for eight years. With the implementation of this plan, a deep cleaning of stored information and applications was made. Despite its success, due to the high demand for residences, work piled up again. That is why in 2012 a new measure was incorporated which consists of the temporary suspension of new applications under the skilled worker program, the parents and grandparents supervisa program and the qualified workers program. The reason is because those programs were highly demanded and therefore, accounted a lot of work to process. In

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Federal skilled workers are those professionals with enough experience in their fieldwork that they can apply for permanent residency based on the benefits they could contribute to society. This category includes the temporal foreign workers program.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Self-employed people are the ones able to generate their own salary without a third party. Within this category we find the entrepreneurs, investors and innovative programs.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> People who have experience working within Canada at least one year.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Feeb province could perinete certain people been den their qualities (at

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Each province could nominate certain people base don their qualities (abilities, experience, education), which will contribute to the province's specific needs.

2013 the pilled work started to be shared with other CIC offices who had enough capacity to process applications but did not do it before 2013 because everything was centralized in the main offices such as in Ottawa, London, Singapore, Ankara, New Delhi and Warsaw (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2013).

December 2012 – New amendments enter into force within the IRPA: Some changes were made in the immigration and refuge system through reforms that aimed to improve the immigration representative's performance when determining the quality of a refugee. Measures such as biometric examination (fingerprints and photos) for all temporary residence applicants were incorporated. In addition, in order to reduce fraud and the number of failed refugee applications, the new law includes explicit measures to control the arrivals of irregular migrants and human trafficking. (Statues of Canada, 2012) The amendments do not affect the principles of asylum and refuge that Canada has. On the contrary, they continue to support the protection of the same.

As a result of the amendments, by 2014 good things were achieved with not only a historical decrease in the number asylum requests but also, with a faster system in terms admitting genuine refugees. On the other hand, the IRPA allows to consider certain applications of individuals and families who do not qualify for any of the offered immigration programs. This group of people fall into the category of 'humanitarian and compassionate reasons' offered by the Canadian Government. In 2013, they admitted 4892 people under this category, being almost twice as many people as it was planned to admit (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2014).

January 2013 - Launching of the qualified worker program in mechanical and industrial areas: The program was created by the urgent need to find suitable people that could fill out the many vacancies generated by the shortage of workforce in certain areas. Currently, there is a great interest in young professionals who already possess work experience. A few years ago, the requirement was to have at least 2 years of professional experience within the country, now it is just 1 year.

**April 2013 - Business visa:** It is released as a pilot project, which will be valid for 5 years from the date of issue. In case that the visa is successful, it can join the legal framework of the IRPA. "The pilot program aims to find entrepreneurs and innovators

around the world, offering permanent residency and access to a wide range of business partners" (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2013).

June 2014 – End of the entrepreneurs and investors program: Both programs were shut down because while they were in force, they did not represent notable economic benefits for Canada. First, it turned out to be unlikely that investors, who applied under this program, remained in Canada in the long term. On the contrary, the group of investors remained there for time lapses inferior to the middle or long term. Also, they ended up paying lower taxes than immigrants of other economic programs. Secondly, entrepreneurs and investors are often more difficult to integrate into the society in comparison to others people from their same country of origin. That is because of their low skills and fluency in the official languages. Nowadays, the business visa replaces these two programs.

January 2015 – Express Entry: This program was launched considering that it was one of the most important changes in Canadian immigration policy in recent years. Express entry is an action tool that meets the two main CIC objectives that were described previously. This program allows the rapid entry of people who apply to three economic programs (federal skilled worker, Canadian experience, and the qualified employee in mechanical and industrial areas). In addition, the programs seeks to choose the best professionals of these three programs, giving preference to people with better profile and experience rather than those who are first on the waiting list. In the event that a participant is selected, he or she will be invited to apply for permanent residence, getting it in even after only six months.

February 2015 - Restrictions on the temporary foreign worker program: A group of new requirements were incorporated for people applying under the skilled worker program (specifically to the temporary foreign worker). Compliance with the new regulations applies for both the foreign workers and for the Canadian citizens wishing to hire them. The original objective of this program was to allow Canadian employers to hire foreign nationals when the citizens or residents were not available to fill the new job openings. However, the new measures increase the level of difficulty for a Canadian employer to hire a foreign worker. Before the measures, a foreign worker could earn from 5% to 15% less than the Canadian workers. Currently, the salary must be the

same for foreigners and nationals. In addition, it will be possible to revoke and withdraw permission to temporary workers if the employer is not fulfilling the contract. Finally, before the measures the process of filling out the form was for free but now has a cost of 275 CAD.

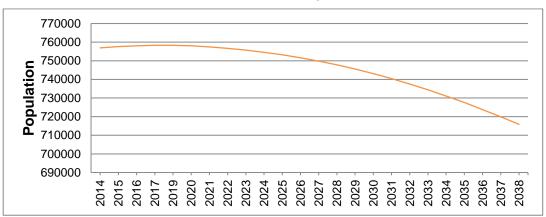
#### 3.4 NEW BRUNSWICK AND ITS DEMOGRAPHIC PROBLEMS

NB is the only province within Canada that recognizes French and English as its two official languages. Because it is one of the most important Maritime Provinces, fishing is one of their main industries. It also has a lot of natural resources, for instance, other relevant industries are mining, forestry and tourism. NB has historically been a place with low levels of immigration in relation to other provinces (Government of New Brunswick, 2015). However, it currently has a highly diverse population and it is under the construction of a multicultural society. Its major cities include Fredericton, which is its capital city. Saint John considered one of the oldest port cities and with the largest population. Finally, there is Moncton the second most populated city.

Aging Population: the province's labor market is going through a deep change. All baby boomers no longer represent the great work force they were in the last century. On the contrary, with the increase of life expectancy along with a low fertility rate, the province's population is aging dramatically. According to the latest report from Statistics Canada, from 2013 to 2038 most of the provinces will witness a population increase with the exception of some Atlantic provinces, which in contrast, will show a decrease in its population (Statistics Canada, 2014). Certainly, the aging population is higher across the country but it will be much more visible in some places, as in NB. The following population projections from the charts take into account different scenarios that might play an important role in increasing or decreasing population<sup>20</sup>.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> The scenarios are based on suppositions such as the fertility rate, mortality rate and migration flows.



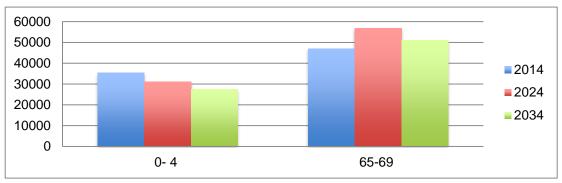
**Graphic 10: New Brunswick's Population Projection** 

Information obtained in Statistics Canada Graphic made by Carolina Feicán

If we change the data within the projection (such as the fertility, mortality, and migratory flows), we can see either decreases or increases in the population's projection. However, particularly in the case of the Atlantic provinces NB and Nova Scotia, both show only decreases in all the alleged scenarios proposed. Nevertheless, interprovincial and international positive migration could change this projection for 2038. Now, in the figures below, two opposite scenarios were considered for the analysis. The first one is based on slow growth assumptions while the second is generated on rapid growth assumptions. In both cases, the projected population continues to present more adults than children.

1<sup>ST</sup> Scenario - slow growth: Based on several assumptions, first the fertility rate should reach 1.53 births between 2021/2022 and remain constant thereafter. Second, life expectancy in 2062 should be for men, until 85.9 years of age and for women, 87.1 years of age. Third, a total national immigration of 0.5% for 2022 / 2023, it should stay constant. Fourth, 733600 temporary residents in 2014, this number should remain constant in the future. Finally, an emigration rate of 0.16%.

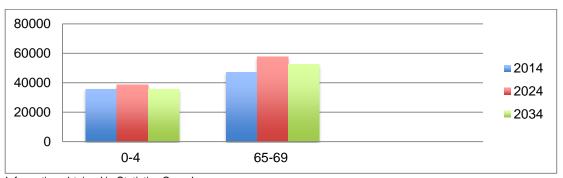
Graphic 11: Comparison between kids age 0-4 and retired adults age 65-69 in the province of NB.



Information obtained in Statistics Canada Graphic made by Carolina Feicán

**2<sup>ND</sup> Scenario - rapid growth:** Based on the assumption of a fertility rate that will reach 1.88 births per woman in 2021/2022 and remains constant in the future. Life expectancy for men should be 89.9 years of age and 91.9 years of age for women in 2062/2063. Then, 0.9% national immigration in 2022 / 2023, staying constant. An annual number of temporary residents reaching 1144300 in 2031, staying constant as well. Finally, 0.21% for net emigration.

Graphic 12. Comparison between kids age 0-4 and retired adults age 65-69 in the province of NB

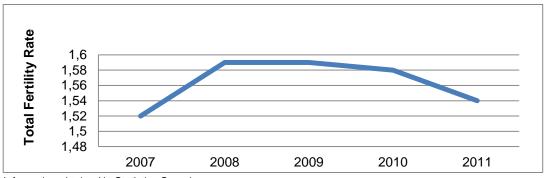


Information obtained in Statistics Canada Graphic made by Carolina Feicán

The population problem is not only reflected on the shrinking of its population. It also concerns the large amount of senior citizens who the province expects to have in around 25 more years (graphic 11) (graphic 12). For 2024, the numbers of retired people will double that of newborn children. "In 2011, there were approximately 755500 people who called New Brunswick home; roughly half were over the age of 45" (Province of New Brunswick, 2013).

**Number of births and fertility rate:** Aging population is not one isolated factor; other elements such as low birth and fertility rate also play an important role in NB demographics. It is estimated that the number of births required to offset the death rate should be 2.1 children per mother. Unfortunately, the fertility rate has decreased to less than 1.55 (graphic 13), failing to reach the optimal rate of 2.1 in the last decade. During the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the province had the highest fertility rate nationwide (4.58), but the levels began to fall since the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century until now.

"It is difficult for the fertility rate to grow in a year. Having a kid turns out to be too expensive, and that is why women prefer not to have them. Currently, the Provincial Government provides economic aid as an incentive for mothers with lack of economic recourses" (Welch, 2015). Even though Canadian women between 20 to 40 years of age are less likely to have more than one child, the Federal Government found in NB the perfect place to receive refugees. Women who are refugees arrive with at least one child and they are more likely to procreate while they are in Canada. The economic incentive for refugee mothers is bigger. They receive almost 80% economic aid to cover all additional costs for education and housing. As a result, their kids are expected to be the new economic force in the province.



Graphic13: Fertility rate in NB per year

Information obtained in Statistics Canada Graphic made by Carolina Feicán

**Decrease of young population:** According to the province's official statements, not even the most optimistic projections in the future show that the number of young people is going to rebuild itself naturally (Province of New Brunswick, 2013). Therefore, if the number of births does not exceed the number of deaths, more young people will be

artificially created through immigration. The ultimate goal is to be able to reverse the situation of the following image (image 5).

Low immigration: The province has never been considered a traditional destination. To illustrate it, NB gets a very small portion of the total number of immigrants in the country. When compared with neighboring provinces such as Nova Scotia, the number of immigrants that the mentioned province receives, doubles and from the 1970s, triples NB's numbers. This is without comparing NB with traditional destinations such as Ontario or British Columbia. In fact, NB had never needed immigration due to its high fertility rate of last century. From the early 1980s until the beginning of the 21st century, the number of

Image 5: Variations in young population in contrast with retired people from 1990 to 2030

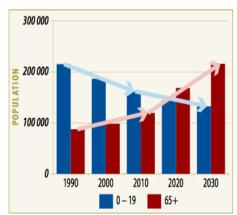


Image obtained from The NB Growth Strategy

received immigrants was maintained between an average of 600 to 800 immigrants per year. When population pressures began, the province was not ready to deal with this matter immediately. Besides that, the generation of a population growth is a long process and cannot be done from one day to another. Nowadays, parts of the different efforts to solve the problem are visible, reaching 2000 immigrants per year.

Consequences: In the near future, NB's economy will be affected by the lack of labor force. Many businesses will have to close because there will not be enough people covering the high demand for vacant jobs. At the same time, this matter directly affects the tax base and social system. It is important to emphasize that the growing group of senior adults is not a heterogeneous group. That means, the needs of a 60 year old cannot be compared with an 80 year old. Currently, there is a greater demand for nursing homes and houses for senior citizens. Given that the health insurance for the elderly is public, the provincial government will require more funds to cater for the different subgroups within the senior's citizens (65 +).

Chart 5. 2020 Population Projection by ages

Age	Population 2011	Population 2020	Difference
20-64	471900	442300	-29600
+65	119500	168500	+49000

Source: Ecuador, la Migración Internacional en Cifras. Flacso, 2008

People from 20-64 years old are understood as those who will continue to contribute to the economy. In 5 years, there will be 29600 less people in the labor force compared to those that existed in 2011. On the other hand, the number of retired people will increase to 49000 in 2020, representing a real challenge for the provincial government. Also, the high costs of hospitals and the health care provided by different health insurances are not isolated issues. Public policy must deal with all the social system pressures that this is going to represent (the long term taking care of senior citizens, new initiatives within the health and welfare field, in-home services, retirement pensions, among others).

#### 3.5 THE ROLE OF THE FEDERAL IMMIGRATION SYSTEM IN NEW BRUNSWICK

In terms of immigration policy, according to section 95 in Canada's Constitution Act from 1867 to 1982<sup>21</sup>, the province may make its own legislature regarding to topics of agriculture and immigration (Constitution Acts, 1982). Also, NB has signed several agreements on migration issues with the Federal Government known as 'Nominated provincial agreements'.

## 3.5.1. Agreements between the Government of Canada and New Brunswick on the provincial nominations

Through this agreement signed on January 2005, it was acknowledge that the province has its own needs and operates under different circumstances. Therefore, it is on NB's organization to independently seek solutions to meet its different needs. This agreement is a tool for NB to benefit mainly economically through the nomination of immigrants who are more appropriate and who will help the province to meet its needs. These immigrants will be invited to apply for temporary or permanent residence. Also, there is a number of parameters for the promotion and recruitment of immigrants

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> The usage of two years for citing the Canadian Constitution Act is because of a constitutional amendment of 1983.

agreed between the Government and the province. These parameters are of mandatory compliance and utmost importance for a better uptake of the migrant. Among these<sup>22</sup>:

- 1. Involvement on international events and fairs to spread the benefits of NB around the world.
- 2. Development of promotional material both online and physical with the necessary information for potential immigrants intending to reside in NB.
- 3. The province should prepare information for the Canadian consulates and embassy events.
- 4. Conduct negotiations and consultations with regional representatives and the community whenever it is required.
- 5. Do targeted advertising to certain groups of immigrants who are interesting for the province as international students, professional or tourists.

In the same way, the Federal Government is also committed to provide support in the activities described above. "For some provinces, such as Manitoba, New Brunswick and Saskatchewan, the program is now the main vehicle through which the province attracts immigrants" (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2011). Since the agreement generates obligations between the province and the Federal Government, NB is constantly developing new plans and projects to attract more immigrants. In addition, it relies on a set of non-profit, governmental and mixed organizations that work by and for immigrants from all over the world.

#### 3.5.2. How the federal policies impact the development of the province

Despite NB's autonomy with respect to its migratory policies and action plans, federal policies are always impacting the way the province handles this issue. Every year there are changes that are made, there are new programs, policies, and projects. Therefore, the province always depends on a changing reality driven by the Federal Government through CIC. "The provinces should seek approval from citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) before making any changes to the immigration programs" (Province of New Brunswick, 2014). Also, having a good relationship with the Federal Government is

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> For more information about cooperation between New Brunswick and The Federal Government visit http://www.cic.gc.ga/english/department/laws-policy/agreements/nb/nb-agree.asp

not always enough. Even though NB solves domestic demographic needs without direct interference of CIC, it still has to hold to various policies that affect its development.

Among the policies that impact the province the most, we have: the implementation of a maximum number of people entrance in the Provincial Nominee Program, restrictions to people who apply as temporary foreign workers and finally, the temporary shut down of the entrepreneurs and investors programs<sup>23</sup>. Firstly, since 2010 there is a maximum entrance to people who apply through Provincial Nominee Program of 625 people per year (Province of New Brunswick, 2014). This measure affects the ability of the provincial government to attract and place immigrants in new jobs both present and future. It also represents a limitation to the population growth strategy whose main objective is to attract more immigrants to the province.

Secondly, the new restrictions for temporary foreign workers were incorporated because it was discovered that the current reason for large companies to hire foreign workers instead of Canadian workers was because they preferred to pay them lower wages and not because there was a labor shortage in the sector. The usage of the temporary foreign worker program became common for multinational companies, seasonal businesses and even in medium-sized companies, for which many Canadians lost their jobs. However, the reality of each province is different. Therefore, citizens and residents who live in provinces and cities with high population density were benefited with this measure. Nevertheless, for NB the restrictions are negative because there is really a lack of manpower in certain areas.

"There's a perception out there that immigrants do take business away from Canadians and that is not true. Currently, there are a lot of immigrants that support the economy "(Timani, 2015). As an example we have Cafe C'est La Vie and Dolma Food located in the city of Moncton, both businesses are founded by immigrants and currently employ between 6 to 15 Canadians respectively. According to Jacques Savoir (2015), employ advisor of the Atlantic of Human Services Organization, within the province there are lobster seasonal industries and other services such as senior's health care business, call centers, restaurants or hotels that are affected by the lack of labor force. "The

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> For more information review the subtitle: 3.3.3. Major changes to redirect the Immigration System

fishing industry is currently open for 90% of Canadian workers, who are either not interested or there is no enough people. Before that, 90% of the industry used to work thanks to Philippine workers".

On the one hand, there are cases in which temporary workers are required by lack of labor force. On the other hand, many Canadian citizens choose to seek other types jobs, different from the ones mentioned above. Among the activities that Atlantic Human Services offer, there is a personalized advice to the unemployed immigrant population. Currently, Jacques Savoir has many job openings in areas like the senior's health care. The majority of customers willing to work in this area are immigrants. The problem is not only the labor force shortage, but also that the unemployed Canadian citizens are not interested in this kind of work.

As a third and final measure, the temporary closure of the entrepreneurs and investors programs affects the province because these types of immigrants are the ones who enhance economic growth not only in NB, but also throughout the region. According to Belen Welch, the economic program coordinator in 3plus Corporation, 95% of their customers were economic immigrants from the entrepreneurs and investors programs. "Their work and presence in the city of Moncton is notorious because they not only boost our economy but also generate employment for Canadian citizens" (Welch, 2015). Currently, after the express entry program, the province will have a variety of professionals who will help to fill available jobs but is not the same to receive economic immigrants who represent foreign direct investment.

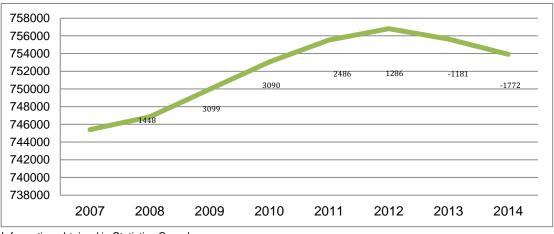
# 3.6 PROPOSALS AND RESULTS OF NEW BRUNSWICK'S PROJECTS AND PLANS FOR POPULATION GROWTH

**Population Growth Strategy (PGS):** After reviewing the issues exposed above, the Provincial Government with the municipal councils approval in different cities of NB, decide to implement the population growth strategy since 2007 with a 5-year duration. After the end of the first strategy, there is a second one from 2014 with equal-duration. The population growth strategy has become a fundamental plan by which all public and non-governmental immigrant organizations play a role to achieve the objectives of this strategy.

## 3.6.1 New Brunswick's population growth strategy 2007-2012

The main objective of the plan was to achieve self-sufficiency. In other words, have an always-available labor force to fill the future job openings of the industrial sector. Also, have a major business development and overall, a bigger economic growth which is expected in the third decade of the 21st century. During 2007, the NB government published the first report on self-sufficiency, "Population should increase around 101000 for the next two decades, this is a net increase of 5300 per year" (Dick, Pollack, Brown-MacKenzie, 2007, p.22). Eight years after the report was published, we can see that the population did not increase by 5300 each year.

Currently, the maximum growth experienced in 7 years was in 2008 to 2009 with an increase of 3099 people (Figure 14), which is still far from the expected amount. Then, the population growth from 2012 to 2014 is negative. With a significant decrease of people, the self-sufficiency target is even more difficult to reach. Despite the little success of the population growth in order to achieve self-sufficiency, the strategy also focused on 4 other objectives. Most were completed according to the 2014 report and by means of which a new strategy was easier to release.



**Graphic 14: Population Decrease or Growth per year** 

Information obtained in Statistics Canada Graphic made by Carolina Feicán

**1. Increased focused migration:** This objective is divided in different action plans that have been completed after the 5 years of the strategy. Currently, the access to sources with more immigrant-friendly information is available, as well as interfaces with additional supporting information. Starting with the province's official website which

facilitates the search for new jobs within NB. In addition, an aggressive attraction of entrepreneurs and investor immigrants was made when these programs were still in force.

For example, just in the city of Moncton, the owners of the so-called convenience stores began to close their businesses because they were senior people near retirement or already retired. However, at the end of the first decade of the 21st century, there was a massive immigration of Koreans, whose business plan was to purchase all convenience stores and begin to boost them again (Savoir, 2015). Currently, these stores have been renovated and offer a wide variety of products from hot food, bread, ice cream and coffee.

2. Promote diversity and multiculturalism: Among the action plans, the need for the Federal Government support to attract French-speaking population was always present. The Federal Government support was finally conceived in the new 2014 strategy, which has a wide focused section on the French-speaking immigrant. Among other plans, it seeks to promote multiculturalism both in public and private institutions. According to Rachel Dimanche (2015), from the Multicultural Organization of the Greater Moncton Area (MAGMA), one of the major activities for which it is responsible is to reach schools, colleges, hospitals, police departments and firefighters.

"We receive immigrants from all over the world and we need to educate our community in case that any immigrant shows a behavior different from what we are usually use to, understand that many times it is due to cultural differences and not because they did something wrong" (Dimanche, 2015). For example, in certain cultures, it is very common not look directly to the teacher's eyes because it is understood as a lack of respect. There are times that teachers could think the children hide or feel guilty for something when they do not look straight to the eye when asked something. Therefore, the education to the community is fundamental in order to understand both parties, this is one of the first steps to build a more inclusive society.

**3 Increase the support for the immigrant settlement services:** For this, the delivery of funds and facilities are given so the immigrant organizations can carry out programs and events organized for them. Among these, some entrepreneurship programs were

implemented. Also, languages, orientation, integration into the labor market, gender and business programs were funded.

**4. Retention of young population:** Some projects that aim to retain NB youth through the commitment and development of ties are carried out. Among the projects, the Provincial Youth 2008 Summit was held; socialization was conducted to be able to integrate young people into the work force. However, the initiative called 'transition to work' was failed to comply. This initiative sought to eliminate the unemployment of young graduates by providing them suitable jobs according to their specialization.

## 3.6.2 New Brunswick's Population Growth Strategy 2014-2018

Because of the provincial's population shrinking problem, not only the self-sufficiency goal looks complicated. For this reason, a series of new solutions had to be implemented in the new 2014 population strategy. During the development of the strategy, there was the participation of various stakeholders such as companies, important industries, the provincial post-secondary education and employment, among others. In general, the objectives are quite specific: reach a population increase of 5000 in 3 years, increase the number of both domestic and international students in order to retain them, increase the French-speaking population by 3 percent annually reaching 33 percent by the end of 2020, attract more immigrants through the Provincial Nominee and Express Entry Program, bring back expatriates through job offering, support the objectives of other existing plans on economic growth, education and demography. Finally, renew the province's Multiculturalism Act (Province of New Brunswick, 2014). Consequently, for the attainment of the aforementioned objectives, the strategy has been divided into 5 action plans described below.

**1. Attraction and promotion:** A smartphone app was developed which helps people to find employment. Every year since 2015, it is intended to establish a more efficient way to choose the ideal human resources that meets the needs of the province in the present and future through the PNP program. At the same time, workshops for the development of capabilities directed to employers and international employees will be held 3 times a year so that they will know more about how the Federal Immigration System works. Similarly, during the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> year of the strategy, there will be

specialized investigations for working on other more specific action plans and the assessment of the levels of retention. One of the final but most important topics are the negotiations with CIC to find the quickest way of transforming international graduate students of NB into permanent residents.

2. Entrepreneurship: By attracting entrepreneurs and businessmen, the province will create new jobs but also, import new ways of doing business thanks to the immigrant's connections with the international market. The creation of new businesses helps diversify the province's sectors, supporting foreign trade. During 2015, a new entrepreneur's incubator began to develop, which is made up of physical space, training and support for businesses that are currently emerging. Initially, the incubator was already a success in Moncton and will be soon launched in Fredericton. There are also innovation foundations that can give up to 80000 CAD non-refundable for the development of a new product, technology or process. Cities like Silicon Valley are real examples of how positive an incubator can be. However, it should be considered that while the incubators will help to boost a business, it is always recommended to support them with a business accelerator.

This is the case of the 3plus company, which according to Belen Welch (2015), the accelerator benefits new entrepreneurs to enhance their business. "The business accelerator is made up by offices with all the implements (broadband internet, telephone, desks) which can be leased for 200 CAD a month. Elsewhere, leasing something similar would surpass the 500 CAD". Unfortunately under the new regulation of the Federal Government, visas for entrepreneurs and businessman are temporarily suspended. That is why the province is currently negotiating with CIC for a new temporary visa for entrepreneurs' immigrants under the PNP. During year 3 of the strategy, the efficiency of this new pilot project will be measured in terms of attracting entrepreneurs who support the economic priorities of the province. Only within the 3plus Moncton program, around 70 businesses are opened per year, of which half of them end up being successful.

Another interesting point is the foundation of the Program Tutorials for Immigrants (PTI) and the incubator LaRuche. Thanks to the population growth division of NB, there is support and training for people with new business. These programs were launched in

2009 in Fredericton and in 2010 the PTI arrived in Saint John and Moncton. By 2014, along with the incubator, the programs were already in five cities. "From the 5 PTI from April 2009 to March 2015, 520 new people joined the programs and began 150 new businesses employing 116 people. Incubator La Ruche, since the end of 2012 to March 2015, 25 people joined the programs beginning 23 business and employing 18 people" (Cheng, 2015).

3. Establishment and retention: While developing this action plan, there were many complains on some topics that even though were crucial, they were not taken into account. Among these, are language problems since the province recognizes two official languages; difficulties arise when searching for job opportunities for immigrants who do not speak any of the two languages or just one them. Therefore, it is intended to make language courses more flexible and personalized so they can reach more people. In addition, there was socialization on professional qualifications because of the difficulty and the long processes that a foreign professional has to go through in order to validate their title and be able to work in their area.

Among other new actions, the newcomer's guidance materials will be reinforced, allowing them to be prepared even before they arrive in Canada. On the other hand, in order to retain them, it is important to keep giving support to former immigrants that nowadays are Canadian's residents. There are cases in which foreign professionals are restricted by the difficulty of finding jobs in their professions. Therefore, it is part of the strategy to continue working on the Pan-Canadian framework for renewing foreign professional qualifications, which seeks to find more flexibility, less waiting time, greater tolerance and alternatives in the event that a degree is not be accepted.

According to the interview of 6 immigrants, the majority resided in New Brunswick for more than 1 year and one of the biggest challenges that they confronted when arriving was the foreign language. While learning English was a must for survival, you cannot get a job in the public sector or in highly recognized organizations if you cannot speak French. Another of the difficulties was the professional degree renewal for those who possess one. Effectively, organizations like MAGMA or CAFI are the ones that provide help when the newcomers arrive and guide them with language or business courses and even offering them jobs in their facilities.

**4. Diversity and Inclusion Programs:** Its objective is to progressively transform the province into a more inclusive one, which promotes multiculturalism and diversity. It is intended to carry out three education and awareness events a year, in addition to changes in the Multiculturalism Act, which will highlight the importance of immigration within the community. An example of the plans results is the case of Xuefeng Wang, former immigrant from China settled one year ago in NB. Xuefeng finds that despite the large cultural differences, he felt welcomed since the beginning. He found work and school for his only son and he has currently taken advantage of the free French classes offered at MAGMA (Wang, 2015).

Currently, multicultural festivals are held every year such as the MOSAIQ. Here, parades, typical food, dances and many numbers of all the ethno-cultural associations take the streets of Moncton. Ethno-cultural groups are extremely important within this topic, they not only help newcomers from the same country or region to fit better in NB, they also are an example of the great diversity that starts to become evident in the province.

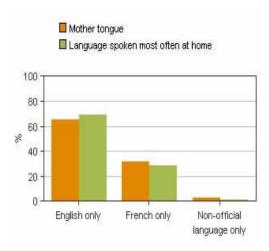
According to Jerson Useche (2015), coordinator of the Latino Association website in Moncton, the work of all members of these types of organizations is voluntary. However, he thinks that it is necessary to do it in order to show the Canadian community that Latinos are well organized and prepared people who help each other. Among the etno-cultural organizations within the province: Belgo-Canadian Association, Cameroon Association of the Atlantic, Congo Association in NB, Chinese Association, French, Italian, Israeli, Hungarian, Irish-Canadian, Indo-Canadian, Korean, Kosovars, Philippines, Romania, Russian, Scottish Associations, Prude Inc. (Pride, Race, Unity and Dignity through Education), Vietnamese and Latino Association.

**5. Immigration of French speakers**: Since always, the amount of English speaking inhabitants in NB has been considerably higher than the French speakers. Within Canada's Constitution Act of 1867-1982, NB is officially recognized as the only bilingual province. For instance, it is a commitment of all provincial governments to try to balance the French and English populations. When the preference for a language is asked to

the newcomers, the trend is the same. From 2001 to 2010 only 14% preferred French (Province of New Brunswick, 2014), the rest prefer English.

There was never a perfect balance between French and English speakers, however English speakers have always been more, with over 50% of the total population. In NB, 69% of its population use English to communicate in their home and a 64.9% have English as their official language. On the contrary, a 31.6% recognized French as their mother tongue and a 28.4% use it to communicate in their homes. Only a small

Image 6: Immigrant's preferred language in NB - 2011



Source: 2011 Citizenship and Immigration Canada Census

minority of less than 10% acknowledge other languages as their mother tongue and the

language used to communicate inside home (image 6). Through the action plan, it is intended to achieve an attraction of a 33% of French speaking immigrants by the end of 2020. This represents a great challenge since in 9 years barely a 14% was reached, and this is why reaching 33% in 5 years could be complicated. For instance, the Francophone Population Strategy was developed.

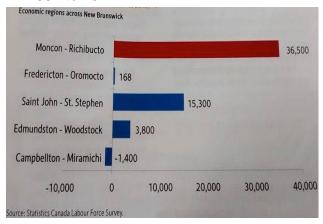
## 3.6.3 Projects per city and other initiatives

Cities within NB are also responsible for attracting and retaining its own immigrants. There are three cities considered the economic engine of NB: Saint John, Fredericton and Moncton. Each of them, through their municipality, Chamber of Commerce and in collaboration with the immigrant organizations, works to strengthen the attraction of immigration to their cities. It is important to highlight that the Federal Government establishes the general immigration policies, but each Provincial Government is in charge of how to apply those policies. The municipal governments have no authority over the policies, however, their influence is significant to determine whether a community is able to attract or retain new immigrants. For this reason, municipal

strategies are also important in order to continue to support activities at the local level and also aligning them to the Provincial Government's efforts

The city with the biggest net growth of employment (image 7) is the Moncton's area up to the town of Richibucto. This has generated 36500 jobs in the last 25 years, surpassing the total from other areas combined. The generation of employment contributes to the proper payment of taxes needed for infrastructure and public services across the entire province not only in Moncton. Given the population challenges that NB is

Image 7: Net growth of employment in different areas of the province of NB from 1987 to 2012

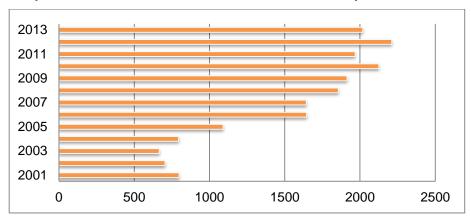


Source obtained from Becoming an Inclusive Community 2014-2018.

currently facing, each of the cities have also developed a strategy to attract new immigrants. In Moncton, the plan Becoming an Inclusive Community 2014-2018 was generated, and in the capital the 2020 Vision for the Economic Development of Fredericton is held. Finally, the Growth Strategy of the City of Saint John is also developed in the metropolitan area of Saint John. All these plans focus on the need to seek new ways to attract and retain immigrants in their localities in a similar way that the NB's Population Growth Strategy does.

## 3.6.4. The local immigration partnership

As it was mentioned above, NB was a province with low volumes of immigration. It is not until the end of the first decade of the 21st century that it began to focus on immigration as a solution for its demographic problems. Therefore, in response to the increase of current immigration levels (graphic 15), the provincial governments of Canada with the Federal Government began the Local Immigration Partnerships (LIPs), which focuses on developing ways to retain and integrate immigrants into small and medium-sized urban areas. In other ways, an inclusive community by the retention into local, small urban centers will be generated instead of the traditional immigrant settlements in 3 large cities: Toronto, Vancouver and Montreal.



**Graphic 15: Permanent Residents received in NB per Year** 

Information obtained in Statistics Canada and Annual Report to the Parliament 2012, 2013, 2014 Graphic made by Carolina Feicán

As the numbers of immigrants grow, the need for a larger organization among the groups that directly or indirectly work with immigrants is required. For example, a LIP is the association of all these organizations; public, private, or non-profit groups that associate themselves for the reception of new people in order to successfully integrate them into the new society, to the community and to the Canadian labor force. When a LIP officially appears in a metropolis, as in the case of Saint John and soon Moncton, the final step is to make an agreement with CIC to receive financing aid that can be up to 50000 CAD to 500000 CAD per year depending on the size of the program. Coming up in image 8 we can observe all of the immigrant-related organizations. Many of them work at the local level while others operate at the federal or provincial level. The objective is to get a minimum of 2 to 3 LIPs in NB, which is going to require the work of all the following organizations together.

Image 8: Organizations that work and support directly and indirectly to the immigrant

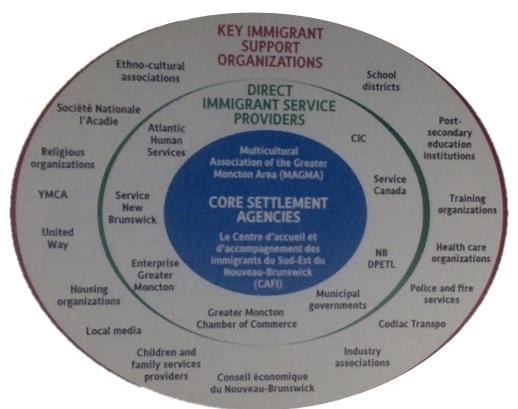
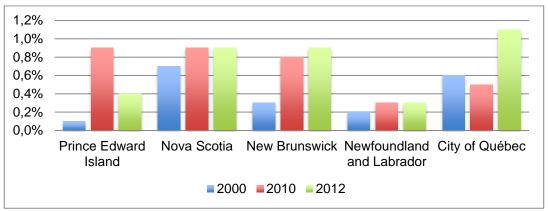


Image obtained from Becoming an Inclusive Community 2014-2018

## 3.7 CHANGING THE TRADITIONAL CONCENTRATION OF IMMIGRANTS IN TRADITIONAL AREAS: WHY NEW BRUNSWICK ATTRACTS

Currently, the construction of NB as an attractive destination is in process. The provincial government invests big amounts of money on its immigrants. Therefore, it takes many strategies and special care when doing an investment (from settlement, education, labor, services etc). On the other hand, since the beginning of the 21st century, CIC began a series of initiatives such as the LIPs in order to distribute immigrant flows to all Canadian provinces and thereby, ending with the historical trend where people commonly chose to locate only in Toronto, Vancouver and Montreal. As evidence, in 2001, a third of all immigrants in Canada were in these three cities. Nowadays, provinces such as NB (graphic 16) have received more than twice immigrants as they used to receive in 2000, reaching similar numbers such as the ones from Nova Scotia and Quebec, the two Atlantic provinces that have always received the most of the immigrants in this area.



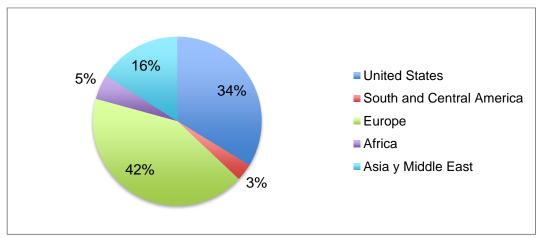
**Graphic 16: Immigrant Distribution in Atlantic Provinces** 

Information obtained in Citizenship and Immigration Canada, Facts and Figures (multiple years). Graphic made by Carolina Feicán

The presence of colonies from the same ethnic group, region or country of origin is going to have a lot to do when choosing a place to settle. There are many elements that take place when attracting immigrants, from macro factors such as the weather, the closeness, the language, to different changes within the chosen region or country (including international treaties or between industrial sectors, province and federal treaties). In the same way, other types of aspects like getting families reunited again, studies, humanitarian aid in the case of refugees or even available jobs in specific areas will be considered as micro factors.

## 3.7.1 Macro Factors

Language and closeness: As it can be appreciated in graphic 17, 76% of the 2006 immigrants came from Europe and the United States. In this case, the closeness and the language aspect play an important role. For example, more than half of the European immigrants came from the United Kingdom (UK) and another good percentage from France. First of all, because NB is a bilingual province, the official language could be an advantage for American and British citizens and for French speaking countries. Second, the province is just 8 hours away from New York by car and in the case of the UK, just 4 hours away by plane.



Graphic 17: Number of Immigrants in NB per region of origin

Information obtained in 2006 Census Statistics Canada Graphic made by Carolina Feicán

Changes in the region: While years pass by, places that used to be chosen for their favourable conditions are nowadays not chosen any more. However, now new destinations (non-traditional), which had historically low levels of immigrations, are more commonly chosen. "The new destinations tend to have well-developed and growing, low-skilled service sectors that attract immigrants" (Bonikowska, Hou, & Picot, 2015). In the case of the province, the large development in the service sector has been one of the causes for NB to become one of the preferred destinations for certain immigrant groups.

At the same time, the wages in manufacturing, construction and service industries are also shown as an attractive aspect. Even though the manufacturing and construction sectors are not representative yet, others such as the general services sectors especially in health (mainly the senior health care) have grown in a big way. These industries have generated new jobs and they show more job vacancies due to the retired seniors (refer to chart 6).

## **More Representative Changes**

NB starts to be seen as the bridge that connects two of the biggest markets in the world; the American and the European, that at the same time, count with a free trade agreement (FTA). Because of its strategic position, it is located in the commercial route of these two big blocks, being closer to the European market than any other harbour in the United States. Also, the recent FTA between Canada and the European Union will

benefit the province because of its location in the commercial route and also because its big advances in multimodal transportation (trade by air, train and a total of 5 ports). In addition, there has been a rise of new industrial sectors that boost the economy such as finances, insurances, real state, and technical services in science, business, education, health care and social aid without forgetting the traditional industries like the agriculture, forestry, fishing and mining.

NB is known as one of the provinces where the costs for starting a business are really low (Lou, 2015). In 2014, the competitive study made by KPMG<sup>24</sup> named the province as the cheapest place in Canada and the Unites states in terms of expenses when establishing a business. Not to mention, the amount of taxes that a corporation pays are the lowest in all Atlantic Canada. On the other hand, the business activities were synchronized with the attraction of more international students so they can go to work directly in one of the old or new business in the province (Lou, 2015). In this case, if the business needs a specific type of skill or qualifications within their staff, there are 11 community colleges and 5 universities that can offer a personalized education in order to fulfil the requirements that the business could need. In this way, the immigrants who are attracted for a worker's demand in a specific sector could also receive specialized education in order to get the job.

When it comes to real estate, NB is one of the provinces where more affordable land and houses can be found. In terms of business, some "ready to go" projects are offered, where the land and the construction plots are sold so people do not have to hire a real state company. In the same way, similar to the Population Growth Strategy, the Growth and Economic Strategy is developed in which its main goal is to keep offering motivation to different industries and investors. It looks after businesses so they can provide more profit, benefits and keep growing.

In 2015, NB was once again mentioned as "One of the best places to live" according to Money Sense. NB's marketing strategy is to show itself as a family-oriented province due to the improvement in childcare and focus on immigrant families. According to the 6 interviews to immigrants, everybody would rather remain in NB than moving to another province. Among the reasons, they talked about balanced cities. In other words, the

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> KPMG is a Swiss corporation, one of the biggest auditors around the world.

province's main cities are neither big nor small. Also, it is still possible to have lunch with the family and go back to work (balance between family and work). There is little traffic, affordable housing and is one of the provinces with more preserved nature so it is considered as perfect for raising children.

International Treaties and other type of agreements: The province does not maintain a straight relation with any country of origin of its immigrants. Any program that could cause the entrance of a bigger or smaller flow of immigrants is due to three reasons. First, agreements between the Federal Government in order to facilitate the entrance or process of permanent residence to certain immigrants. Second, the international treaties between the Federal Government with other groups or counties and finally, the province's qualities that attract some groups of immigrants but not others. For example, Canada has usually maintained good relations with European countries and its neighbour, the USA. There are two relevant treaties, the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) that allows free mobility of goods and people in an easy way between the USA and Mexico.

The second treaty is the CETA, which is a FTA with the European Union signed on September 16<sup>th</sup>, 2016. This treaty goes beyond the tributary exemption, and it has a really important part which is that it allows the human mobility of workers between both places. A new report says Canada's biggest win under the massive trade deal is that it's negotiation with the European Union (EU) will be to improve labor mobility both in and out of the 28-nation bloc." (Ilika, 2014). These two treaties help in a big way to boost immigration in the country because of its benefits, without forgetting that another reason why immigrants settle in NB are its own characteristics.

In the case of the French immigrants, they obtained a lot of benefits due to the new focus on French speakers by NB. A lot of them migrate to the province because of its facilities and also for the language. At the same time, this is articulated with a French Government program that sends young professionals to work abroad for a year in organizations and business that have agreements with them. The young people are payed by the French Government and after a year, the ones who decide to stay in the province, have bigger possibilities to be chosen as permanent residents under the Canadian Experience or Provincial Nominee Programs. Here, they will have priority for

being French speakers, professionals and for having a year of work experience in Canada.

#### 3.7.2 Micro Factors

## Family Reunification and international students looking for permanent residency:

The situation in which the person or immigrant family is going through determines their permanence or departure. In some cases, immigrants settle successfully, having also an economic prosperity in the chosen destination. In this way, they have a greater chance to reunite their family. One of the most representative countries in terms of amount of immigrants settled in Canada is India. In 2011, 34022 people applied in the different temporary or permanent residence programs and out of whom, 2789 were for the parents and grandparents visa.

In addition, the Atlantic Provinces continue to receive mostly international students from countries such as United Kingdom, United States, China and South Korea. The interesting thing is that in the last 10 years, the number of international students who became permanent residents in NB tripled. From them, the percentage of students who apply for a temporary residence with his or her children and spouse, have greatly increased from 38% in 1999 to 69% in 2009 (Huystee, 2011). In other words, if in 1999, 41 applicants sponsored 22 people as dependents or spouses, for 2009, 44 applicants sponsored 113 dependents or spouses.

For this reason, these statistics lead us to a conclusion: the attraction of international students and their families' levels of retention in the country have increased. One of the largest incentives came from an agreement between the Provincial Government and the Federal Government, which aimed to motivate new international graduates so they apply for permanent residence. The Treaty consists of a series of facilities that allow the graduates to get a year of experience in the province in a much easier way.

**Niches of work:** This is one of the major reasons as to why Asian populations migrate to NB. According to the 2006 national census, this group of immigrants accounted for 16%. Similarly, more than 95% of Asians and a good portion of people from the Middle East strictly immigrate under economic programs (as it was the investors program) or they also come attracted by niches of work in different service sectors. Currently,

Chinese or Korean immigrants manage the majority of international restaurants. The same groups of people also work in industrial sectors such as the mining industry. The hotels, casinos, restaurants and customer service staff come mostly from the Philippines. Finally, before the restrictions on the temporary worker program, most of the fishing industry had Korean staff.

Another reason for the new job openings is the provincial economic growth and also the growth of each city individually. For instance, the metropolitan area of Moncton presents a 17.8% growth from 2001 to 2011, being the fastest growth in all urban areas of the Atlantic Provinces (3 plus corporation, 2015). Therefore, there is an increase of jobs in the sectors listed in table 6. As an example, in 2011 more than 11000 Philippines applied for permanent residence in Canada under the caregiver program. Also, as it was already mentioned, the services sector is a highly attractive industry for different groups of immigrants. Around 4203 new jobs are expected to appear, plus the 9.901 already available, people will be more attracted to stay.

Chart 6. Job openings and major occupations predicted to experience shortages in 5 years

	Replacement	New Growth	Total Openings
Management occupations	5,651	958	6,609
Business, finance and administration occupations	9,496	2,079	11,575
Natural and applied sciences and related occupations	2,458	530	2,988
Health occupations	4327	2,522	6,849
Occupations in social science, education, government service & religion	3971	329	4,300
Occupations in art, culture, recreation and sport	738	99	837
Sales and service occupations	9,901	4,203	14,104
Trades, transport and equipment operators and related occupations	8,475	-215	8,260
Occupations unique to primary industry	1,513	953	2,466
Occupations unique to processing, manufacturing and utilities	2,403	-214	2,189
Total	48,933	11,244	60,177

Chart obtained in New Brunswick Growth Strategy

**Refugee:** Every so often, the countries of birth of NB immigrants change. Many times, an armed conflict is enough to increase the statistics of people moving out of one place

in particular. In 2008 with the global crisis and the constant domestic conflicts in African countries and Middle East, the numbers of immigrants by country of origin have varied. According to Rachel Dimanche, MAGMA's customers come mainly from countries in Africa, Asia, Middle East and Eastern Europe. By 2016, the province is expected to receive an average of 500 people from Syria from a total of 25000 refugees throughout Canada under the promise of Government of Prime Minister Justin Trudeau.

## 3.8 ECUADORIANS IN CANADA

In general, the vast majority of residents or citizens with Latin American roots are settled in 3 large cities: Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver. Out of these three destinations, Toronto remains as the area with more Latino population, receiving more than 30% of the total number of Latin Americans who have entered Canada. On the other hand, there are only 845 Latin Americans and Caribbeans living in NB compared to more than 75000 who reside only in the city of Toronto. From these, in the two metropolitan areas that NB has, 95 people reside in Moncton and 210 in Saint John<sup>25</sup>. According to Jacques Savoir, less than 20 are Ecuadorians (Savoir, 2015). Even though NB is a new destination currently in construction, it has three times more immigrants than 15 years ago. However, the Ecuadorian population continues to be a true minority who unquestionably prefer to keep migrating to the historically region of destination, Ontario.

## 3.8.1 Toronto's case of study

"Immigrants from certain country or ethnic group tend to choose places where there is already a community conformed by other immigrants from the same region or ethnic group" (Bonikowska, Hou, & Picot, 2015).

The concentration of immigrants in Canada is more pronounced than in the United States. Between the beginning of World War I until the end of World War II, States such as Florida, California and Texas became the welcoming bridges for the big flows of immigrants from all over the world. Even since the beginning of the 21st century, cities

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> The metropolitan area of Moncton includes the cities of Riverview, Dieppe and Moncton while the metropolitan area of Saint John includes the city of Saint John, town of New Brunswick Grand Bay-Westfield and Hampton. For more information visit Citizenship and Immigration Canada facts and figures 2006 Census.

such as Miami, Los Angeles, New York, New Jersey, Houston, Illinois, represented two-thirds of all immigrants in the United States. In contrast to Canada, the largest concentration of immigrants was geographically situated in the three metropolitan areas listed above. As it was already mentioned, the actions started by CIC to decentralize immigration outside these areas have become visible. For example, Toronto experienced a decrease of its immigrants despite remaining as one of the top destinations of Canada for immigrants. 22% of its population were second-generation<sup>26</sup> immigrants according to the 2001 census. However, it is still one of the most attractive destinations for the Ecuadorian migrant.

Toronto became an attractive city because of its industrialized cities with large and developed urban areas that constitute a metropolis and thus, represents more economic opportunities. According to an investigation made by Karen M. King and Bruce Newbold (2007), domestic and international migration to or within Canada have similar patterns. Both respond by the differences in unemployment, wages, labour force and similarities in culture. Effectively, there are several agents that influence the decision to leave a place and move to another. In the case of Ecuadorians, aspects such as wages, lower unemployment rates, quality of life, among others, are considered when making a decision. Of equal importance is the demographic arrangement, because it has been shown that new immigrants continue to settle in regions or cities where there is already a broad population of other immigrants especially from the same ethnic group or country of origin.

In the case of Ecuadorians, there are 11000 people residing in the metropolitan area of Toronto from 16485 Ecuadorians who reside in all Canada. These are the latest statistics that date from the 2006 census, where it is very important to take into account that these statistics only reflect Ecuadorians with a status of a permanent or temporal residence. In the mid-1800s, another big wave of Ecuadorians moved to Canada but many on them have returned or became Canadian citizens.

These people are considered immigrants from the first generation, and whose children born in Canada are no longer Ecuadorians. In short, more than half of the total numbers of Ecuadorians in Canada live in Toronto. So it is no wonder that they have conformed

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> A second-generation immigrant is a person whose parents or at least one of them was born outside Canada.

their own Football League, attend to the same catholic church, celebrate Latino parties such as on May 24 for Pichincha's Battle, hold a Hispanic International Festival every year and finally, have many associations and blogs online that provide guidance to the Ecuadorian in Toronto.

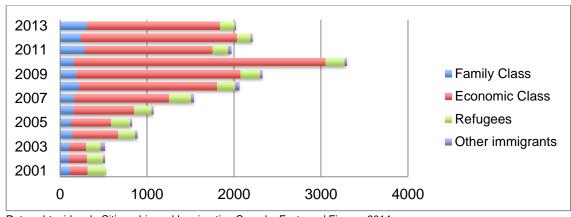
#### 3.9 A NEW DESTINATION IMPLIES NEW CHALLENGES

As it was discussed throughout this chapter, the need for turning to immigration as a solution to the demographic problems of NB is something relatively new. Some aspects such as the population size and the historical low immigration make it harder to achieve the population growth strategies goals in terms of time and complexity. Having received nearly 2000 immigrants per year has been a real breakthrough even though it is not the optimal number because figures still remain low to meet the needs that are coming in the near future. However, if the plans previously mentioned are put into action, they are expected to give positive and beneficial results in the next 5 years.

In an effort to recruit more immigrants, the province uses all its available qualities in order to display itself as a friendly place to raise a family. While the Provincial Government makes strong investments on immigration issues, there are many debates about the special care within the management of each dollar invested. First, a better coordination between all the immigrant organizations that give support and settlement to the newcomers is needed. In the province's largest cities there are at least two or three organizations that every year present their projects to the Provincial Government for funding. The problem is that many times these projects are really similar from one organization to another if not the same.

For example, CAFI offers guidance to French speaking newcomers and MAGMA does the same. Also, even though 3plus focuses more on business matters and it is a 90% private company, they make really similar activities from the ones offered in MAGMA such as entrepreneurship courses. According to Jaques Savoir, there is a waste of resources when the organizations offer repeated activities, in an effort to retain their clients and respond to their annual plan; the organizations prefer not to direct their customers to other organizations. Each of them focuses on keeping their group of clients and there is not much communication between them.

Secondly, even though the province has all the qualities to provide a work-family balance, there are several recommendations that indicate the need to implement more programs to accomplish this family-oriented image that the province is projecting. For example, more investment in daycare centers so they become more reachable and affordable places. In addition, it is important to work on the education systems such as schools and colleges to make them more inclusive. Despite the financial help offered by the Federal Government for upbringing a child, the costs are still too high. This is the case of the vast majority of immigrants (with the exception of the refugee group) who immigrate under economic programs (graphic 18) and who have young children that still cannot enter the public education system. The Government's financial support goes by categories depending on the family's wage. However, the majority of immigrants entering Canada under economic programs do not receive significant support because their salaries reach the average wage.



Graphic 18. NB's permanent residents by program

Datos obtenidos de Citizenship and Immigration Canada, Facts and Figures 2014 Gráfico elaborado por: Carolina Feicán

Finally, the retention percentage is also part of the final evaluation of NB's performance. This is measured by integrating information from people who indicated that they were heading to NB (using migration records by land, air or railway). Then, the numbers are compared with the number of immigrants who pay their taxes within the first or second year of their arrival in NB. Unfortunately, the percentage of retention is not completely accurate because many times people migrate to other provinces, leave the country, die or are not economically active to make a tax return. Therefore, the number of people expected to arrive in NB does not match the number of people who pay their taxes in the province. On the other hand, the records that show people's intentions to head to

NB cannot be the only ones taken into account because there would be an assumption that people who say that they will be choosing NB currently stay there.

Anyway, despite the lack of accuracy of this indicator, it is still extremely valuable to determine the plans and strategy results that are carried out. In 2005, 50% of people who wanted to settle in NB declared their taxes. However, by 2014 the percentage of retention increases to 67%, representing more than half of immigrants who contribute to the tax base. "These figures show a very successful immigration strategy" (Bonikowska, Hou, Picot, 2015). It is important to stress that the tax payment is not the same for all people since it depends on the migratory program that the immigrant is in. For example, the refugees and temporary workers group have practically zero or very low rates of taxes while the economic group of immigrants have higher rates to pay

A report suggests that the usage of retention rates do not represent the province's best efforts in terms of recruitment and retention. This happens because many times people who report to be heading to NB at their entrance to Canada do not even go there or just stay for a few days (Bonikowska, Hou, Picot, 2015). For instance, the increase of 17% in the retention rates over the last 10 years is a positive indicator, accomplished through the Federal Government, Provincial Government and related organizations efforts. The province's success or failure to overcome the population decrease challenge will be fully visible in the near future, but so far the efforts have not been in vain.

## 3.10. Conclusions

The province of New Brunswick has many peculiarities that start to turn it into a new attractive destination for many immigrants from around the world. Among its peculiarities we highlight the demographic problems that have caused the implementation of various action plans and projects to deal with the possible consequences of a small population. The group of projects plus the province's physical qualities display themselves as a big attraction for immigrants especially from Asia and Africa.

The main benefits arise from the Municipal, Provincial and Federal Government work. Even though is not easy to harmonize the objectives and needs of the three institutions, there have been many advances in migratory issues especially from the Federal Government which supports the development of various initiatives in the province. In addition, the new concept of focused migration (attracting immigrants who meet the province's needs), plus the decentralization of immigrants settled in traditional metropolitan areas such as Ontario, are the result of the teamwork between the Government of New Brunswick and the Federal Government. Despite the autonomy of the province, a review of the Canadian immigration system (CIC) was carried out because the measures implemented there will always affect the provincial development directly.

The province has many positive aspects that function as attractive elements, for example job openings, quality of life, work and family environment, support organizations for the immigrant's correct settlement, emotional support, insertion into the labour market, and free language courses. However, there are still challenges and difficulties that should be considered at the same time because they require more work so they do not impact with greater intensity in the near future. It is important that matters such as the renewal of professional qualifications, flexibility in all official languages and diversity in the labour market receive more attention. Finally, from the group of immigrants admitted per year, it is still evident that the number of Ecuadorians moving to the province is extremely scarce. For that reason the Toronto case was analysed in order to show the large concentration of Ecuadorian in this area. It is interesting to see the reasons why even though NB has attractive qualities, Ecuadorians do not feel attracted yet. In the next chapter some of this behaviour will be analysed.

## CHAPTER 4 ECUADORIANS PREFFER TRADITIONAL DESTINATIONS: ¿WHY THEY DO NOT MIGRATE TO NEW BRUNSWICK?

## 4.1 Introduction

"While developing countries need migration to develop and developed countries need immigration to ensure their levels of development, migration will remain unstoppable" (International Organization for Migration, 2008)

After examining the expeller behavior of migrants in Ecuador and the emergence of an attraction force in the province of NB, it is possible to determine that despite being opposite flows (one that incites more outputs and other more entries) the number of Ecuadorians attracted to move and settle to the province of NB keeps being low. The reasons are varied and are directly related to factors both internal and external of the analyzed places. The main reasons why Ecuadorians do not target NB and continue to prefer other destinations even within Canada will be exposed.

## 4.2 RECENT CONSTRUCTION OF NEW BRUNSWICK AS A DESTINATION

First, considering that Canada is historically an attractive country for immigrants from around the world, not all Canadian provinces have received the same volumes of foreigners. This is the reason why NB has received few immigrants compared to Ontario and also because of their current demographic problems, the province has had to take action and solutions to become an attractive destination. According to the figures presented in chapter 3, we can see that the volumes of new immigrants with the intention to reside in NB have increased very fast compared to those received at the beginning of the century. However, the number of Ecuadorians established remains extremely low in comparison to other nationalities, given that the emergence of the province as a potential destination remains a fairly recent event.

## 4.3 TRANSNATIONAL NETWORKS

"Currently immigration is possible thanks to the support of a transnational family, that helps immigrants in both countries" (Ramirez, 2005, p. 137).

The networks allow for links between family, friends, countrymen and acquaintances to function as transmitters of information, resources and various incentives that encourage

others to migrate. Links and connections of migratory networks to Ontario or Quebec are a key factor when concluding why Ecuadorians continue to migrate to these two provinces in greater numbers than to others. According to Claudia Pedone (2004), a vital element in the behavior of a network is the quantity and the way in which information related to destinations flows, creating incentives or disincentives.

In the case of NB, as a potential destination with very little Ecuadorian population, a network does not yet exist. However, it is expected in the future through mechanisms of attraction in the province and federal efforts to avoid the concentration of migrants in traditional areas, to start building migration networks to concentrate significant numbers of immigrants in NB. As discussed in the previous chapter, Toronto remains as a favorite destination chosen by immigrants from all over the world, not only Ecuador. Thanks to the concentration of groups of immigrants, networks have been strengthened, creating socio-spatial and linguistic enclaves that result in support for the immigration network, allowing more people to migrate. Because of this, the best example of how networks have been reproduced over time is Toronto, generating high flows of immigrants.

Image 9. Concentration of Immigrants<sup>1</sup> by zones from 1950 to 1960

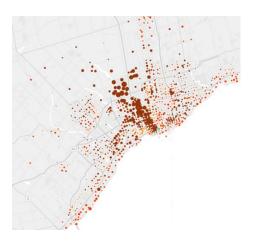
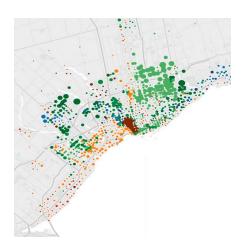


Image 10. Concentration of immigrants by zone from 1980 to 1990



Obtained from CIC: Concentration of immigrants in the different metropolitan areas

As we can see in the figures above, the concentration of migrants is presented by zones and groups. In the first image we can note most immigrants came from Eastern Europe (burgundy color) and secondly, Western Europe (red color). However, over time

we can see an evolution of groups of migrants, there is more diversity and changes in spatial location. In the second figure, we can see that the highest concentration of migrants come from Asia (green color) while groups from Latin America begin to focus on the peripheries of the city (blue color).

The characteristics of the destination plus the conformation of more solid and extensive networks facilitate the migration of people. In the case of NB, the local government with help from the federal government seeks to reproduce these trends and behaviors starting with a migration focused on francophone populations and young professionals. Currently, the concentration of Asian and African migrants is visible. However, the lack of Latin American populations, especially Ecuadorians, makes migration in these areas less likely because of an inexistent strong network to spread information and resources available for Ecuadorians in order to inform them about the destination.

## 4.4 MIGRATION TARGETED BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

The convergence of projects between the Federal and Provincial government can also become a barrier when choosing NB, despite its many attractions. For example, the Canadian government tends to focus more on labor and professional migrations. By 'express entry' they intend to encourage the immigration of professionals, technicians, experts and students around the world, allowing Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) to choose the best migrant profiles.

This event creates a barrier for potential immigrants. On the one hand, there is greater difficulty for a good part of them to qualify and enter Canada legally. Furthermore, some people may have more preparation than others and possibly their waiting times become shorter, accessing to better opportunities. In the case of NB, despite its autonomy as a province, it continues depending on the measures taken by Citizenship and Immigration Canada, so it sticks with the 'express entry' program.

Within the field study conducted by Jacques Ramirez in his book "With or Without Passport", most of Ecuadorians residing in Canada (specifically in Ontario and Quebec) have a high school diploma and are employed in the service or manufacturing sector. Unfortunately, today, under the new recruitment policies of Immigration and Citizenship, these people would not have been considered the most optimal profiles and maybe the possibility of being elected would have been lower. However, it is by the Ecuadorian

pioneers that migratory flows to places where they settled, continue. That's why in destinations like Toronto or Montreal, the Ecuadorian population continues to grow but mainly through family reunification programs and existing links with the migratory network.

## 4.5 EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND

Despite the opening that professional migrants might have, according to the testimony and in-depth interviews, difficulties can be seen in the revalidation of the title and often they represent trouble when finding employment in the migrant's area of specialization. Therefore as explained in the previous chapter, the current demands of jobs in NB are concentrated in the area of services and production as eldercare, restaurants, call centers or manufacturing companies. This can produce for example (in response to the lack of demand in the professional area) that migrants who happen to be lawyers or engineers end up being employed in field different from their professional occupation.

Through interviews, we were able to contact three of the five Ecuadorians residing in the city of Moncton-NB. The first case is Nanci Rosales who is a civil engineer, but the revalidation of her title has been a very long process that caused her trouble finding work in her field and in the meantime she is employed by a company of care givers. The second case is Sandra Leonard, she migrated after marrying a Canadian citizen twenty years ago. Currently, Sandra is happy working at a hardware store because she does not have a tertiary degree. Finally, there is the case of Belen Welch, she migrated to NB for her college education and decided to remain in the province after meeting her husband. Belen has a job according to her profession and says it is much easier when the degree has been obtained in Canada rather than in another country.

Belen mentions that within the program of Canadian experience, candidates for permanent residency are more likely to get it if they have worked for at least one year in the country. In conclusion, the paradox of the academic situation is that in order to enter Canada, you require a very good educational background. However, once you are within the country, it could be really difficult for the professional migrants to find a job according to their major. At the same time, interviewed Ecuadorians did not have Ecuadorian family residing in NB. Every interviewed Ecuadorian decided to stay in the province because they formed a new family with a Canadian citizen with no Ecuadorian or Latin American roots. Finally, we have to remember that NB is the only province that

recognizes both English and French as official languages, representing another possible barrier of admission for Ecuadorians, whereas the native language of the majority is Spanish.

## 4.6 INEQUALITIES

Although Canada is considered one of the first countries to recognize and create a multicultural policy, there are still places, some more than others, where inequality and discrimination is still present. In the case of NB, being a province with historically low immigration flows, the current overload of migrants received requires a special approach and work on education in both the native and immigrant population. There is no existent case of Ecuadorian refugees in the province since that group is usually the most isolated of all. However, according to Jerson Useche partner of the organization of Latinos in the city of Moncton, there are too many stereotypes for the Latin American group where we can include Ecuadorians. In labor terms they are considered little dedicated, uncompetitive and indecisive.

"... Migrants fill vacant jobs, contribute to the functioning of economies and exploit their welfare systems, generating suspicion in being seen as a threat to identity" (Lacomba, 2009, p.340).

Therefore, even though the Ecuadorian immigrant possesses high levels of education, you can witness difficulties when revalidating their professional title or witness obstacles to find employment in their area. Thus including possible stereotypes towards the group of Latin Americans, we can visualize a professional disqualification. Despite this situation, we can mention several changes: first, continuing education is a ceaseless work for migrant organizations throughout NB. Evaluating the work of MAGMA we can see that it develops several activities for the inclusion of new migrants and education in public and private institutions to create greater respect and tolerance within society. Among other changes we have the new government's approach in seeking professionals from around the world that can meet labor shortages in certain specific sectors. This, according to a recent study by Statistics Canada, has given results:

"By the time the migrants have been residing in Canada nine years, about 5.3% of them were already owners of a private company, forming new businesses faster than the Canadian native population, whose percentage is 4.8%" (CBC News, 2016)

It is expected in the following years to reach a greater number of immigrants in the province through continued work and its many attractions. According to the targeted selection of new migrants, Ecuador like many others is part of the countries of interest. Through conferences, trade fairs and advertising in social networks, websites and newspaper ads, they seek for professionals or students who wish to pursue their college career in this country. This work is done by both the province of Quebec independently and the Canadian government trough the CIC. The set of actions developed, aim to increase the number of Ecuadorian immigrants in the future.

## 4.7 Conclusions

Efforts from both the province and the federal government have not generated interest in most of Ecuador's migrant population. Without invalidating the great benefits of the province reflected in the input of greater flows of immigrants from around the world, one must consider that in the case of Ecuador this has not yet been established. Among the most important reasons is the tendency to migrate to places where there is already concentrated Ecuadorian population. NB has low numbers of Latinos and far fewer Ecuadorians. Also, there is no a migratory network in the province yet, which is evident for the lack of Ecuadorian immigrants. Finally, the set of existent barriers is shown as a disincentive, such as the presence of two official languages, and specially the academic requirements for the new potential migrant.

## **CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

"Every immigrant has been 'led' by a family member or close friend and in the future, he or she will try to do the same with another one" (Ramirez & Ramirez, 2015, p.161)

The push-pull principle was the main guideline to work with more accuracy when analyzing the qualities that characterize each of the parts of this case study. On the one side is Ecuador, where the reasons that show why it remains a country that expels migrants were exposed. On the other hand, New Brunswick has qualities that qualify it as an attractive province. The force of attraction involves bringing expelled migrants from a certain country; however it was interesting to watch that this will not always be the case. The principle works but not necessarily everyone should be attracted to the same destinations. This was the case of New Brunswick and Ecuador where a multiplicity of reasons take place to exhibit this behavior.

Recapping the first part of this work, because the study was focusing on the human being and its various processes, the phenomenon of human mobility is highly changing and dynamic. It would be wrong to apply physical principles to a social study because we would be assuming the same behavior should happen at all times and in all cases. However, it cannot be denied that there are common or consistent trends, such as the tendency to migrate from south (expeller region) to north (attractive region), from developing to developed countries, etc. In the end, it should always be taken into account that there may be exceptions and changes in these behaviors.

Ecuadorians continue going mostly to traditional destinations like the United States, some European countries and others in South America. New Brunswick benefits are encouraging but still, they do not have a migratory circle that allows the dissemination of this information to potential migrants residing in Ecuador or other countries. Ecuador remains as an ejector country because of its deficient implementation of current policies and the general discontent of its population, in spite of the multiple returns and migration policy developments. There is still bureaucracy and poor organization in the public aid organizations for migrants that, as a result, generated much expectation at the beginning of the establishment of policies but now they have left several unfinished projects, which have been inefficient or have not reached expected results as explained in chapter two.

Moreover, the process of social integration of new immigrants in NB depends on the coworking between the migrant support organizations and the municipal, provincial and federal governments. In the case of migrant organizations and the government of NB, the actions start to become visible since the establishment of policies pro-migrant and their slow application. The province has several organizations for the integration of new migrants in different fields not only labor.

Governments seek for their policies to have a greater reach when implementing them and despite the existence of some challenges and difficulties that were discussed in Chapter 3, there have been positive results and it is expected that the social integration of the new migrants will improve over time. On the other hand, migrants that arrive in Canada still depend on the networks that allowed their arrival. The role that migration networks perform is important, allowing more Ecuadorians to go where there are already compatriots, which makes it easier for them to help each other. This aspect, along with other reasons of lesser magnitude that are explained in chapter four, continue to make NB unattractive for Ecuadorian migrants.

The larger the network, the larger the meeting spaces are, which is positive and negative at the same time. In the first instance, it allows newcomers to share and help each other when they do not yet know their destination country. However, it is difficult to be completely integrated into a society because the longer they remain in an exclusive circle of migrants, the more delayed it will make their integration into the new society. This happens when socio-spatial enclaves already exist, where each group has their own social structure and language, this goes to the point where they have no need to learn the official language of the country. Advantageously, there are not enough networks in NB, for instance the concentration of immigrants do not cause negative effects on the formation of enclaves. On the contrary, it is positive to meet various plans of action that seek to avoid precisely this event and perform a full integration of new immigrants into the Canadian society.

#### Recommendations

We should generate greater interest from public and private entities on the issue of human mobility. This translates in better monitoring of projects, allocation of more capacity for NGOs that represent migrants to finally capitalize on their life experiences and in particular to make more projects that are not only economic. In other words, stop

having the sole purpose of channeling remittances for production. It should also be a concern to solve the common problems of migrants and find ways to make flexible changes to financial institutions in order to make them more accessible to migrants and their families. In demographic issues, there should be an impulse for a better and greater use of ICT for families.

This thesis does not seek to answer all existing questions or future arising questions on migration flows from Ecuador to Canada or vice versa. However, it is interesting to analyze cases, and understand certain behaviors that occur nowadays in order to further deepen over time. This thesis made visible situations that may or may not continue in the future and that possibly constitute themselves as interesting topics. This study expects to encourage more analysis and research, penetrating slowly into the complexity of migration, which is based on understanding with different eyes; understanding without judging.

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