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PROFILE OF LIVE-IN CAREGIVER IMMIGRANTS TO CANADA, 1993-2009

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KEY POINTS:

- There have been significant increases in arrivals through the Live-In caregiver Program (LCP) in the late 2000s, and an increasing number of child dependents arriving to join their parent.
- Data on entry *into* the LCP suggests that high levels of immigration in the LCP category will continue in the coming years.
- Although a majority of principal applicants are aged between 20-40, an increasing minority are aged over 40. In recent years, LCP principal applicants are also more likely to be married than in the past.
- The overwhelming majority of LCP principal applicants are women, and are from the Philippines, although a small proportion of men, and Indian-born immigrants, have arrived in recent years.
- Ontario is heavily over-represented as a destination province for LCP immigrants, while Quebec is under-represented.
- The educational level of LCP principal applicants has increased steadily over the years, and is now very high. In 2009, 63 per cent of LCP principal applicants held a bachelors degree or higher (a much higher proportion than for other immigration categories).

INTRODUCTION TO TIEDI

The [Toronto Immigrant Employment Data Initiative \(TIEDI\)](#) seeks to assist organizations whose mandate includes the better integration of immigrants into Toronto's labour force. Such partner organizations include immigrant service agencies and advocacy groups, labour organizations, regulatory bodies, professional associations, training organizations, and credential assessment agencies.

The purpose of the project is to provide organizations with free access to statistical data and analysis on various aspects of immigrant labour market integration. The goal is to help organizations access the quantitative data they need in order to: identify priorities, develop programs and services, compose proposals and reports, and carrying out advocacy and public education endeavours.

TIEDI provides a unique service in which community organizations' data needs are met by a team of academic researchers and student analysts. Our partners define the data that they need - the project is thus driven by their agendas and not by academic research priorities.

TIEDI is based at York University, with a team of academic researchers drawn from York, the University of Toronto, and Ryerson University. Core members of the project team also include representatives of the Ontario Council of Agencies Serving Immigrants (OCASI), the Toronto Region Immigrant Employment Council (TRIEC) and World Education Services. The project is funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada under its Knowledge Impact in Society program, and by York University.

The datasets used by the project include a range of large-scale surveys such as the Census, the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada, the Ethnic Diversity Survey, the Workplace and Employee Survey, the Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics, the Labour Force Survey and the Permanent Residents Data System.

TIEDI Analytical Reports provide tabulations of data, some brief analysis and contextualization, and some necessary caveats about the limitations of the data and analysis. Since the data presented have not been treated to detailed statistical analysis, any conclusions must be seen as preliminary and as starting points for further, more detailed, research.

For further information, contact the TIEDI Principal Investigator, Dr Philip Kelly (pfkelly@yorku.ca), or the TIEDI Project Coordinator, Stella Park (pstella@yorku.ca).

While the research and analysis presented here are based on data from Citizenship and Immigration Canada, the analysis and interpretation of the data are the sole responsibility of the authors.

RESEARCH QUESTION

How has the demographic (age, marital status, country of origin, province of destination) and educational profile of immigrants in the Live-in Caregiver category changed over time?

LITERATURE REVIEW: BACKGROUND

The Live-in Caregiver Program (LCP)¹ was officially formed in 1992 under the auspices of Citizenship and Immigration Canada. Part of the Temporary Foreign Worker Program, the LCP is structured to meet demands for private, live-in care for children, the elderly, and persons with disabilities. The program offers principal applicants the possibility of permanent residency under the condition that they complete 24 months of live-in care work within a 36-month period. As of April 1st, 2010, following consultations with advocacy groups and a May 2009 report by the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Citizenship and Immigration, live-in caregivers now have up to 48 months to fulfil the mandatory 24-month live-in requirement. Other regulatory and administrative changes around health insurance, medical examinations, workplace safety, recruitment and third party fees, transportation costs, and employment contracts were also implemented.²

Over time, various recruitment methods have been systematically adopted by the Canadian federal government to encourage the migration of foreign domestic workers to Canada. The implementation of the 1950s Caribbean Domestic Scheme officially marked Canada's "gradual transition from a predominantly white labour pool in domestic service to one in which the majority were women of colour" (Macklin 1994, p.16). The LCP's immediate predecessor, the 1981 Foreign Domestic Movement, initiated a surge in the recruitment of Filipino domestic workers in particular. Noted as one of the largest organized exporters of human labour in the world, the Philippines has become the primary source country for live-in caregivers in Canada (San Juan Jr. 2006; Kelly et al. 2009).

The Live-in Caregiver Program and its earlier iterations have been widely critiqued by scholars who have raised important questions around live-in caregiver rights, citizenship status, and belonging within the Canadian nation-state (Giles and Arat-Koc 1994; Macklin 1994; Bakan and Stasiulus 1997; Arat-Koc 2001; Bakan and Stasiulus 2005). Other scholars have framed Canada's institutionalization of highly classed, gendered, and racialized recruitment methods in terms of international labour and human rights violations (Chang 2000; Oxman-Martinez et al. 2001). An extensive report commissioned by Status of Women Canada laid out concrete recommendations to help reform current immigration law, labour law, contract law and social legislation with respect to the Live-in Caregiver Program (Langevin and Belleau 2000). Prompted by deportation threats and a wide range of abuses faced by foreign domestic workers of colour in Canada, the report highlights the exclusion of live-in caregivers from the protection

¹ For further information on Citizenship and Immigration Canada's Live-in Caregiver Program, see <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/work/caregiver/index.asp>

² For more information on recent changes to the Live-in Caregiver Program, see <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/department/media/backgrounders/2010/2010-08-18a.asp>

of certain labour and social legislation due to the overall invisibility and non-recognition of the feminized field of domestic and care labour. Langevin and Belleau's main concern is that the LCP "allows for the exploitation of immigrant workers and should thus be abolished or, at best, improved" (2000). Questions around abolishing or reforming the Live-in Caregiver Program have been, and continue to be, a source of contention among scholars and community-based groups across Canada, particularly in large, urban centres such as Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver (Langevin and Belleau 2000; PWC-BC 1997; Arat-Koc 2001). Moving away from such urban-centered literature, a growing body of work in rural areas and smaller cities in Canada has emerged to reflect other unique challenges faced by live-in caregivers (Spitzer 2009).

More recently, attention has shifted to the ways in which the Live-in Caregiver Program has precipitated the mass separation of migrant domestic workers and caregivers from their families (Parrenas 2005; Pratt and PWC-BC 2009). Particular attention has been paid to the physical and emotional challenges faced by Caribbean and Filipino migrant domestic workers who experience long-term family separation from their children (Silvera 1983; Pratt 1997; Pratt and PWC-BC 1998; Pratt 1999; Cohen 2000; Arat-Koc 2001; Parrenas 2008; Kelly et al. 2009; de Leon 2009). Literature has also developed around the settlement and integration of live-in caregivers and their dependants in Canada, which has produced further work on the implications of the systematic de-professionalization or de-skilling of live-in caregivers and other temporary foreign workers (Pratt 1999; PWC-BC 2000; Kelly 2006; Spitzer and Torres 2008; Kelly et al. 2009).

THE DATA: Permanent Resident Data System (PRDS)

The data used in this report is derived from an administrative dataset made available to researchers by Citizenship and Immigration Canada. Known as the Permanent Resident Data System (PRDS) (formerly the Landed Immigrant Data System, or LIDS), it includes anonymous data from the landing cards of each immigrant arriving in Canada between 1980 and 2009. Since this report focuses on immigrant arrivals under the Live-In Caregiver Program (LCP), through which the first landings occurred in 1993, only data from 1993-2009 are used here. (This report does not, therefore, cover arrivals under the predecessors to the Live-In Caregiver program).

The PRDS database provides a rich portrait of immigrants' characteristics at the time of their arrival, including: age, gender, marital status, education, skill level, intended occupation, country of birth, citizenship and last permanent residence, immigration category, and intended province and city of settlement. Furthermore, the dataset represents every immigrant – it is not a sample. At the same time, there are clearly limits to the data – for example, an "intended" province of destination may not be where they stay in the long term. In that sense, the data provides only a snapshot of immigrants at the time of their arrival.

The PRDS data set was filtered in several ways to identify different categories of arrivals under the LCP. First, those in the immigration categories 'Live-In Caregiver' or 'Dependent Abroad of Live-In Caregiver' were selected. We then cross-tabulated these records with their immigration category ('fclas') and by family status variable (f_stat). This allowed us to separate

those that were under the Live-in Caregiver Program (LCP) category to ‘LCP principal applicants’, ‘LCP spouses’ and ‘LCP dependents’. Finally, we separated the LCP dependent category according to their age of arrival in order to create 3 dependent categories: LCP Dependent who arrived aged less than 12 years, LCP Dependent who arrived aged 13-20 years, and LCP Dependent who arrived aged 21+ years. This is important as it enables us to see the number of married dependents (most of whom are husbands, but some may be married children or parents of the caregiver). It also allows us to differentiate children who are arriving as members of the 1.5 generation (under the age of 12) and who will therefore have most of their schooling in Canada, from those who are arriving in the more vulnerable teenage years.

RESULTS

Between 1993 and 2009, 52,493 people landed in Canada as principal applicants under the Live-In Caregiver program (LCP). During the same period, 30,028 dependents of live-in caregivers also arrived. All together, arrivals under the LCP between 1993-2009 constituted 2.1 per cent of all immigrant landings.

Nearly all principal applicants in the caregiver program are women. In 1993, only 2 per cent of principal applicants were men. In the late 2000s the number of male principal applicants grew, but had only reached 5 per cent by 2009.

Table 1 gives the total numbers and percentages arriving as principal applicants and dependents in all years of landing (i.e. 1993-2009). The majority (65 per cent) of LCP principal applicants are not married when they immigrate to Canada. A minority (3,506 in total) are divorced or separated, although this may under-represent the actual number of *de facto* separations, given that divorce is not legally recognized in the Philippines and legal separation is difficult to establish. It is interesting to note, for example, that while 14,750 principal applicants were married when they immigrated, only 9,360 married dependents joined them (and, as noted above, some of that number may have been married children or parents of the caregiver). This could imply that about one-third of married live-in caregivers are not joined by their husbands (although this conclusion should be treated with caution since the data may also reflect the fact that some recent caregiver immigrants simply haven’t *yet* been joined by their spouses).

It is reasonable to assume that those dependents who are aged less than 12, or 13-20 years, are the children of caregivers (the listing of married status for those under 12 is clearly a recording error). All together, 17,792 children joined their parent under the LCP between 1993-2009.

Table 1: Marital status of Live-in-Caregivers and Dependents, 1993-2009

Marital Status	Single	Married/ Common-law	Divorced /Separated /Widowed	Total
LCP, Principal Applicant	34,237	14,750	3,506	52,493
LCP, Spouse	(n/a)	251	(n/a)	251
LCP, Dependent, Age less than 12	8,669	17	(n/a)	8,690
LCP, Dependent, Age 13-20	9,123	53	12	9,188
LCP, Dependent, Age 21+	2,528	9,360	11	11,899
Total, LCP	54,557	24,431	3,533	82,521

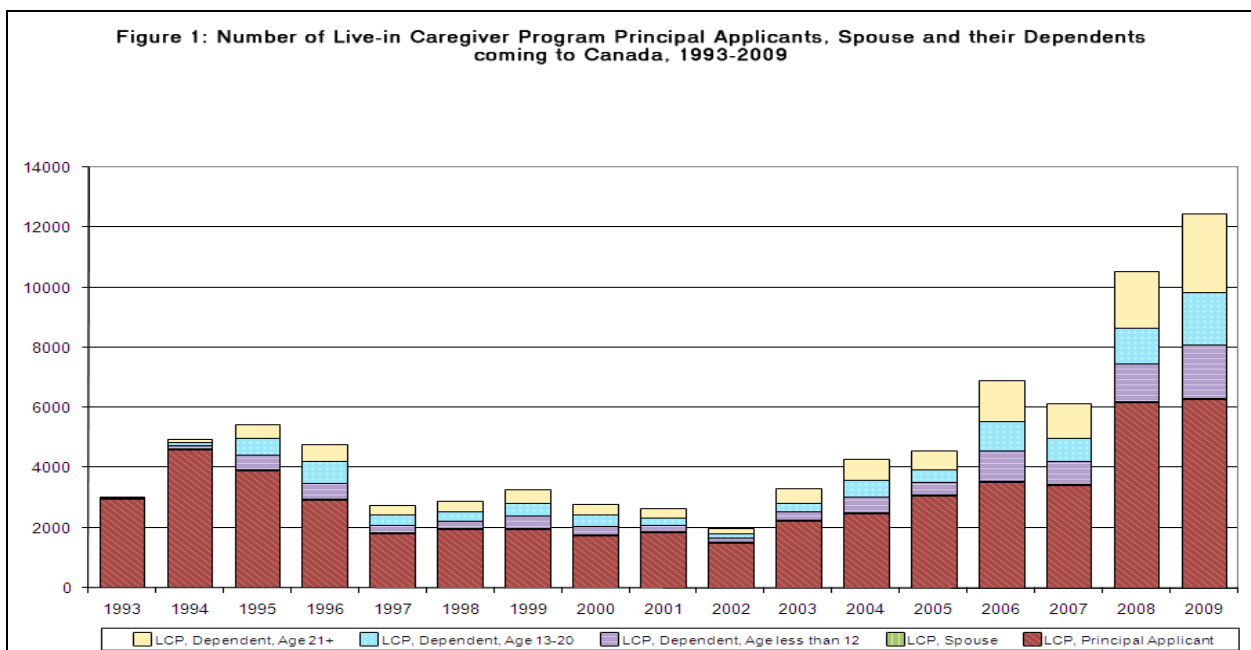
Marital Status	Single	Married/ Common-law	Divorced /Separated /Widowed	Total
LCP, Principal Applicant	65.22	28.10	6.68	100.00
LCP, Spouse	(n/a)	100.00	(n/a)	100.00
LCP, Dependent, Age less than 12	99.76	0.20	(n/a)	100.00
LCP, Dependent, Age 13-20	99.29	0.58	0.13	100.00
LCP, Dependent, Age 21+	21.25	78.66	0.09	100.00
Total, LCP	66.11	29.61	4.28	100.00

(n/a)= number has been suppressed because it is less than 10 cases

Note: The LCP Spouse category appears to be rarely assigned – instead, the spouses of caregivers are usually included as dependents.

Figure 1 shows the trend in total arrivals over time. After an initial peak and then decline in the mid-late 1990s, total LCP arrivals were steady in the late 1990s and early 2000s. From 2003, however, significant growth occurred, increasing from just 3,303 in 2003, to 12,454 in 2009.

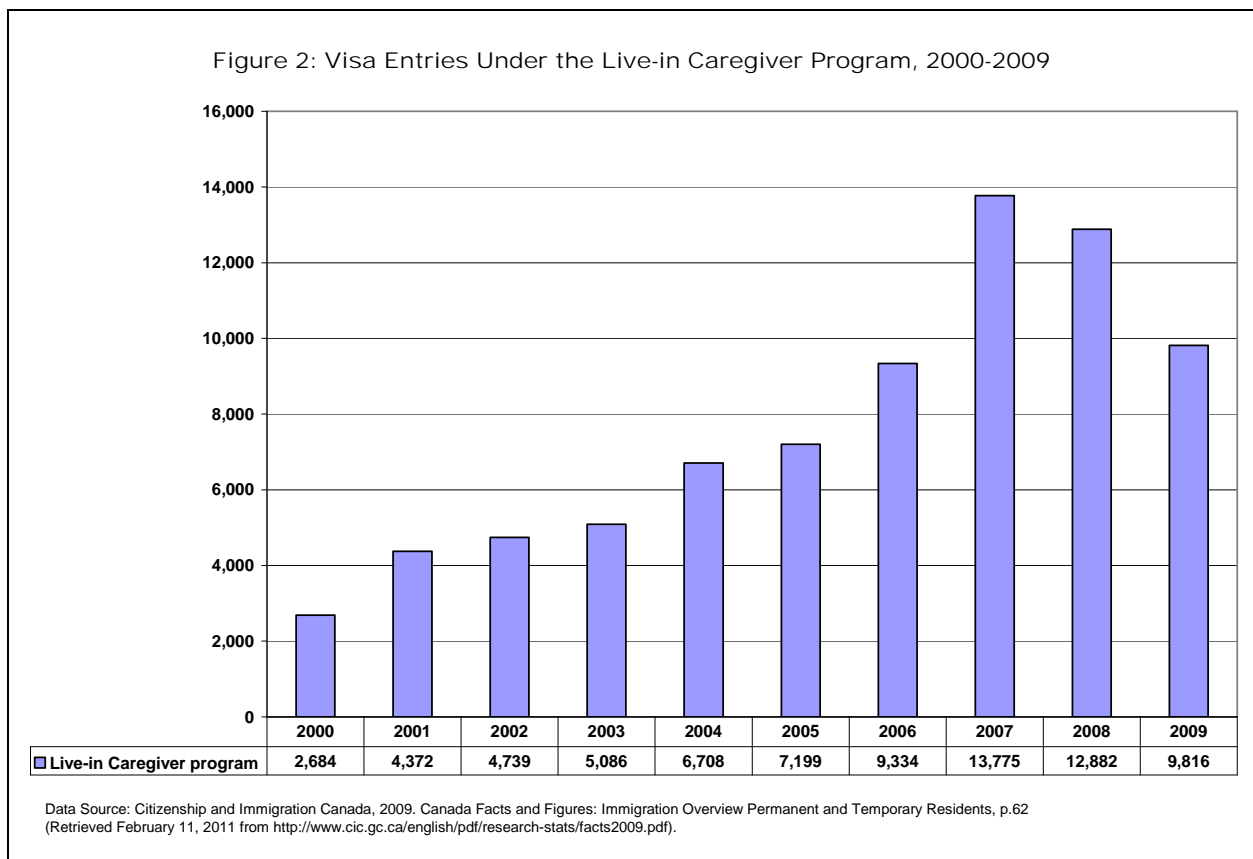
Another important trend has been an increase in the numbers of dependents arriving. In 2000, dependents of all kinds were 37 per cent of arrivals under the LCP. By 2009, dependents were 50 per cent of arrivals. Notably, the number of children arriving as dependents has increased significantly – 2009 saw 1,762 children below 12 years of age arrive to join their mothers, and approximately the same number in their teenage years.



Year of Landing	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	Total
LCP, Principal Applicant	2,969	4,585	3,905	2,924	1,831	1,976	1,959	1,759	1,874	1,521	2,230	2,496	3,063	3,547	3,433	6,157	6,273	52,502
LCP, Spouse	10	25	33	24	12	(n/a)	11	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	15	(n/a)	12	30	30	251
LCP, Dependent, Age less than 12	(n/a)	125	467	527	234	242	409	281	194	128	298	521	443	1,016	766	1,270	1,762	8,691
LCP, Dependent, Age 13-20	13	110	557	715	366	323	416	372	251	149	288	542	410	959	778	1,168	1,771	9,188
LCP, Dependent, Age 21+	12	96	484	568	287	322	466	362	299	183	478	726	621	1,364	1,128	1,885	2,618	11,899
LCP, Total	3,012	4,941	5,446	4,758	2,730	2,868	3,261	2,782	2,627	1,985	3,303	4,291	4,552	6,894	6,117	10,510	12,454	82,531
All Other immigrant categories	253,666	219,413	207,412	221,313	213,308	171,330	186,691	224,673	248,012	227,064	218,043	231,533	257,687	244,745	230,636	236,734	239,724	3,831,984
Total	256,678	224,393	212,869	226,072	216,038	174,198	189,952	227,455	250,639	229,049	221,347	235,825	262,239	251,640	236,753	247,245	252,178	3,914,570

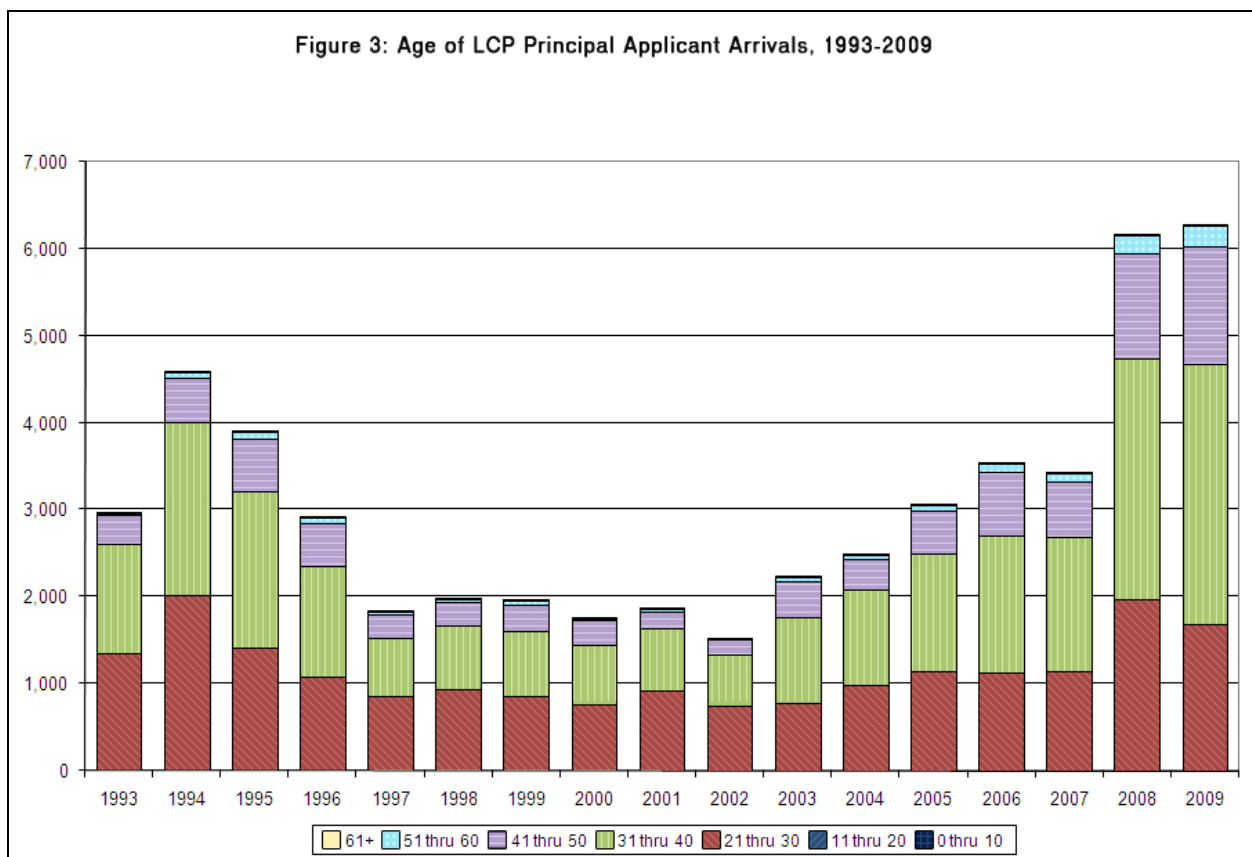
(n/a)= number has been suppressed because it is less than 10 cases

Figure 2 uses a different source of data than the rest of this report. It displays the number of care-givers who have been granted visas to join the program (i.e. they are starting their time in the program, but are still several years away from filing their papers to immigrate). This figure is striking because it shows the magnitude of flows into the LCP in recent years – reaching over 12,000 arrivals in both 2007 and 2008. The implication is that when these participants eventually apply for permanent residency, the numbers ‘landing’ through the LCP will continue at a high level for several years.



Age and Marital Status of LCP Principal Applicants

Another trend in caregiver arrivals is the increasing age of principal applicants (see Figure 3). In 1993, 45 per cent of LCP principal applicants were under the age of 30. By 2009, only 26 per cent were below 30. The proportion of LCP principal immigrants over 40, meanwhile, has grown from 12 per cent in 1993, to 25 per cent in 2009. This is significant because it means immigrants who have completed the caregiver program are entering the open labour market in Canada later in life, when retraining and flexibility are far more difficult. This is, in turn, likely to have implications for their post-LCP employment prospects.

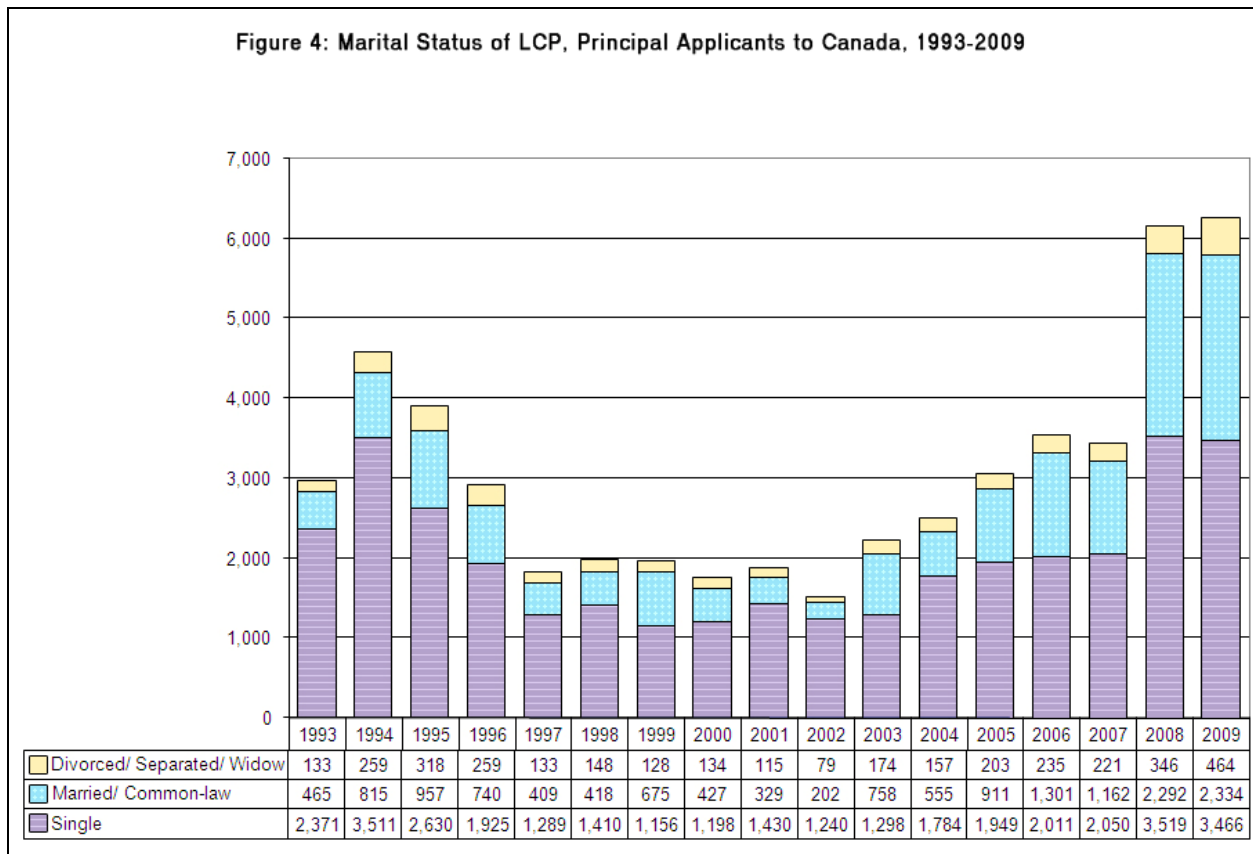


Year of Landing	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	Total
0 thru 10	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)
11 thru 20	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	19
21 thru 30	1,343	2,004	1,409	1,077	843	931	848	751	913	737	774	983	1,140	1,121	1,141	1,964	1,675	19,654
31 thru 40	1,254	1,997	1,802	1,271	668	736	752	680	714	590	980	1,099	1,345	1,579	1,543	2,760	2,999	22,769
41 thru 50	330	503	605	493	269	270	309	294	200	170	415	347	491	720	627	1,221	1,352	8,616
51 thru 60	39	69	82	76	43	37	48	30	43	23	58	63	84	123	113	203	230	1,364
61+	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	17	79
Total	2969	4585	3905	2924	1831	1976	1959	1759	1874	1521	2230	2496	3063	3547	3433	6157	6273	52502

(n/a)= number has been suppressed because it is less than 10 cases

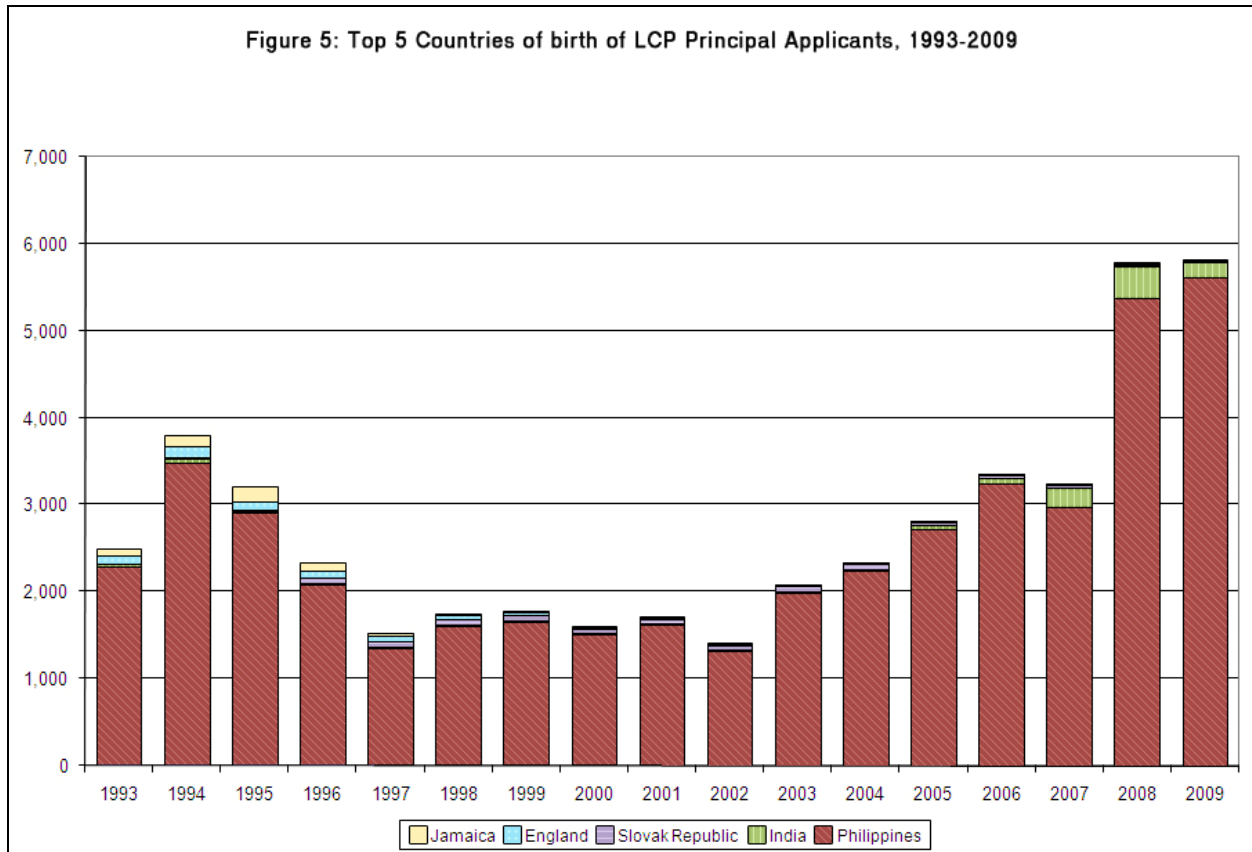
A further trend is shown in Figure 4, which indicates that, in recent years, a much higher proportion of LCP principal applicants are married. Although the majority are still single, the increasing number of married LCP immigrants likely reflects the older age cohort they are drawn from, as noted above. To a certain extent, this pattern explains the larger numbers of children who are arriving as dependents through the program. This highlights the importance of integration and settlement issues for youth who arrive under the program to join mothers from whom they have been separated for long periods of time.

Another pattern evident in Figure 4 is the increase in LCP principal applicants who are divorced, separated or widowed – from 4 per cent in 1993, to 7 per cent in 2009. As noted earlier, divorce or legal separation are not easy to achieve in the Philippines, so the number who are *de facto* separated may in fact be higher. For some, entry into the LCP may have represented an escape from a failed, or even abusive, relationship. But whatever the cause, a further implication is that some children may be re-uniting with a *single* parent when they arrive in Canada.



Country of Birth, and Destination in Canada

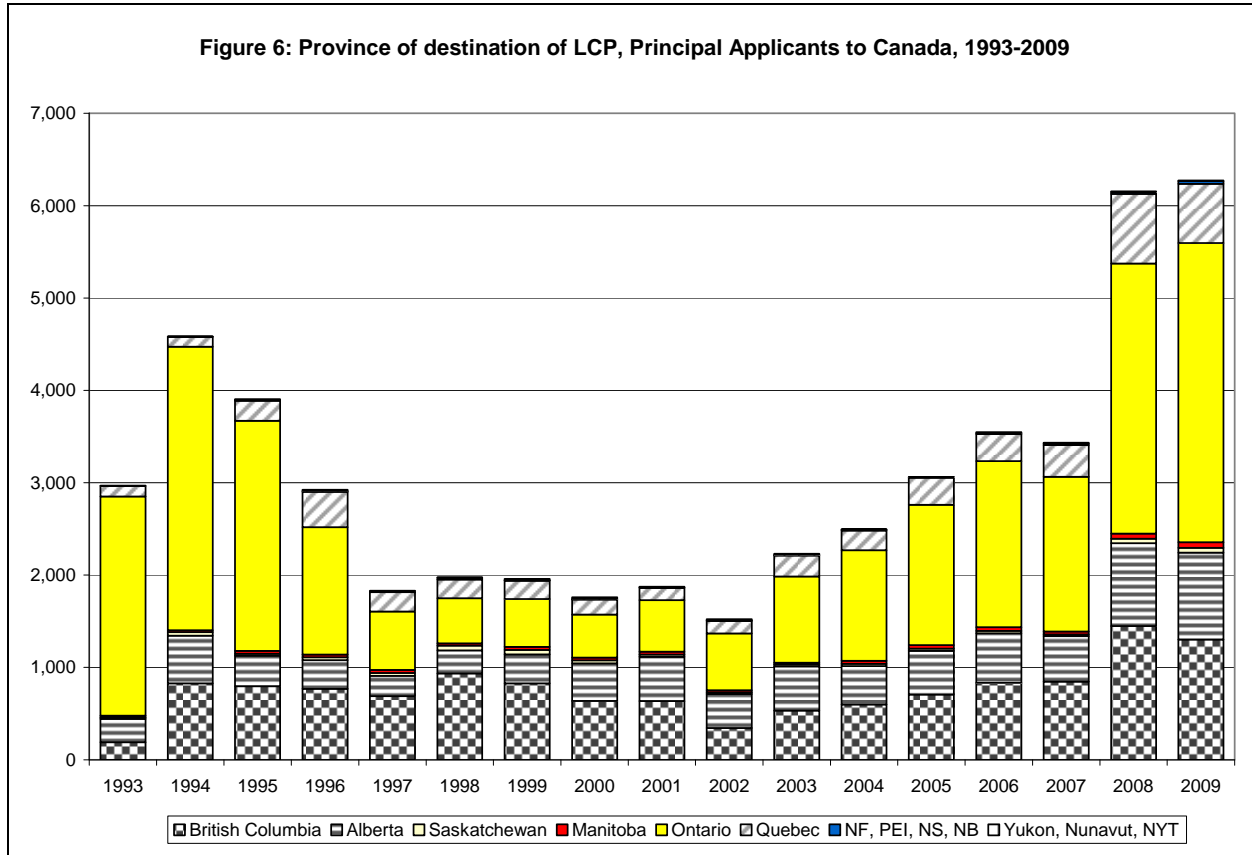
Figure 5 shows the country of birth for principal applicants in the LCP. It is clear that the program has been dominated by individuals from the Philippines. In recent years, arrivals from India have increased, but by 2009 the Philippines still represented almost 90 per cent of arrivals in the program.



Rank	Year of Landing/ Country of Birth	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	Total
1	Philippines	2,288	3,484	2,903	2,069	1,349	1,599	1,660	1,515	1,623	1,316	1,975	2,228	2,709	3,240	2,966	5,376	5,607	43,907
2	India	32	52	29	25	12	13	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	12	27	28	45	69	226	366	183	1,137
3	Slovak Republic	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	62	70	74	65	47	60	65	58	59	53	39	31	16	10	716
4	England	85	131	100	78	52	39	31	18	(n/a)	(n/a)	14	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	603
5	Jamaica	81	122	166	95	42	20	15	13	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	16	594
	Total (All countries)	2,969	4,585	3,905	2,924	1,831	1,976	1,959	1,758	1,874	1,521	2,230	2,496	3,063	3,547	3,433	6,157	6,273	52,502

(n/a)= number has been suppressed because it is less than 10 cases

Figure 6 shows that LCP principal applicants were destined for specific regions of Canada. By 2008 and 2009, Ontario dominated the program (as it had in the mid-1990s). Significant numbers of caregivers are also settling in British Columbia and Alberta. Interestingly, relative to its population size, Quebec is heavily under-represented in the caregiver program – perhaps reflecting the different public sector involvement in daycare provision in the province (and thus less demand for live-in caregivers).



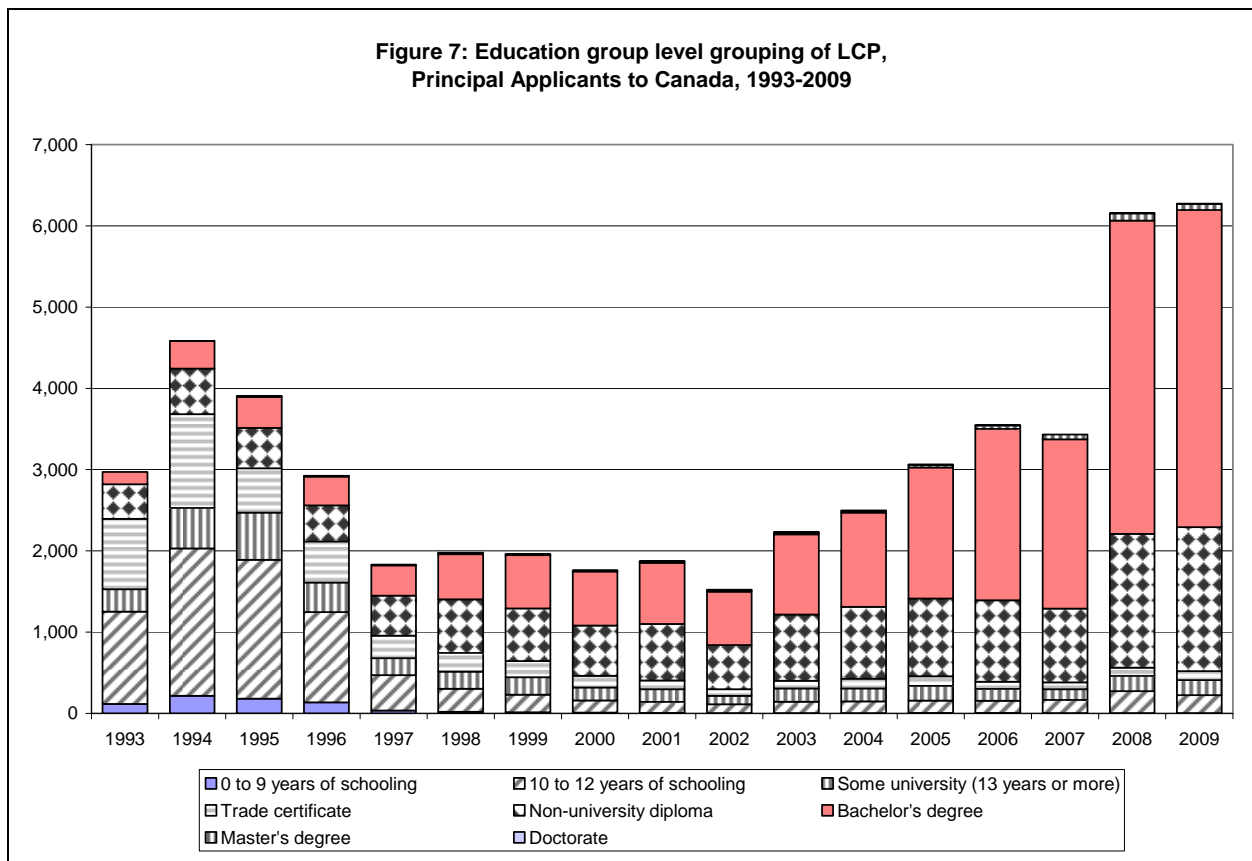
Year of Landing	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	Total (1993-2009)
British Columbia	191	828	796	768	689	935	827	638	635	345	533	598	706	833	847	1,448	1,304	12,921
Alberta	252	516	331	312	220	248	314	406	481	367	477	417	474	536	492	896	937	7,676
Saskatchewan	16	38	21	31	31	54	47	34	23	18	22	25	23	26	18	50	53	530
Manitoba	18	20	32	29	32	24	34	27	30	23	19	33	39	40	31	56	62	549
Ontario	2,373	3,071	2,492	1,378	634	490	519	466	559	613	934	1,196	1,518	1,798	1,677	2,923	3,238	25,879
Quebec	114	106	216	382	209	202	199	165	134	137	226	214	292	294	343	755	642	4,630
NF, PEI, NS, NB	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	11	(n/a)	18	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	11	(n/a)	11	16	20	164
Yukon, Nunavut, NYT	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	13	11	(n/a)	16	18	(n/a)	14	12	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	153
Total	2,969	4,585	3,905	2,924	1,831	1,976	1,959	1,759	1,874	1,521	2,230	2,496	3,063	3,547	3,433	6,157	6,273	52,502

(n/a)= number has been suppressed because it is less than 10 cases

Education Levels of LCP Principal Applicants

High levels of formal education are not a requirement for participants in the live-in caregiver, yet Figure 7 shows that LCP principal applicants are, nevertheless, increasingly well-educated. The proportion with a bachelor's degree or higher at the time of immigration has risen from just 5 per cent in 1993, to 63 per cent in 2009. This is a remarkably high proportion, and far exceeds the proportion of principal applicants in 'economic' categories of immigration who have university degrees (39.5 per cent) (CIC Facts and Figures, 2009: p42).

The table associated with Figure 7 also indicates that from 1993 to 2009, 444 LCP principal applicants had Masters degrees, and 48 had earned doctorates.



Year of Landing \ Level of Education	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	Total (1993-2009)
0 to 9 years of schooling	117	215	182	134	34	18	13	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	757
10 to 12 years of schooling	1,134	1,815	1,706	1,113	436	284	218	152	136	108	142	141	151	149	162	269	220	8,336
Some university (13 years or more)	277	496	582	365	208	211	211	160	155	106	161	160	180	144	130	186	185	3,917
Trade certificate	866	1,154	547	503	279	229	200	143	109	82	94	121	120	89	84	104	111	4,835
Non-university diploma	426	563	496	444	492	661	649	619	696	542	818	886	957	1,004	909	1,644	1,772	13,578
Bachelor's degree	149	337	380	355	373	556	655	666	751	657	986	1,157	1,614	2,108	2,084	3,857	3,902	20,587
Master's degree	(n/a)	(n/a)	10	(n/a)	(n/a)	15	10	11	19	18	22	22	32	43	59	89	74	444
Doctorate	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	(n/a)	48
Total	2,969	4,585	3,905	2,924	1,831	1,976	1,959	1,759	1,874	1,521	2,230	2,496	3,063	3,547	3,433	6,157	6,273	52,502

(n/a) = number has been suppressed because it is less than 10 cases

CONCLUSIONS

The data presented in this report relate to immigrant landings under the live-in caregiver program, which has operated since 1992. The first arrivals under the LCP were in 1993. The data do not provide a profile of those who arrived under earlier schemes for domestic workers. Nor can the data tell us anything about the education, employment or other trajectories experienced by LCP immigrants *after* they have ‘landed’.

It is also important to emphasise that the data presented here relates only to those who have completed the requirements of the LCP and have acquired permanent residency. This report does not therefore provide any information about what proportion of caregivers reach that stage, how long it takes after completing the LCP’s residency requirement, or how long it takes for dependents to re-unite with caregivers in Canada.

Notwithstanding these limitations, the data provide some important insights into immigration through the caregiver program:

- There have been significant increases in arrivals through the LCP in the late 2000s, and an increasing number of child dependents arriving to join their parent.
- Data on entry into the LCP (which occurs several years before immigration) suggests that high levels of immigration in this category will continue in the coming years.
- Although a majority of principal applicants are aged between 20-40, an increasing minority are aged over 40. In recent years, LCP principal applicants are also more likely to be married than in the past.
- The overwhelming majority of caregivers are women, and are from the Philippines, although a small proportion of men, and Indian-born immigrants, have arrived through the program in recent years.
- Ontario is heavily over-represented as a destination province for LCP immigrants, while Quebec is under-represented.
- The educational level of LCP principal applicants has increased steadily over the years, and is now very high. In 2009, 63 per cent of principal applicants held a bachelors degree or higher (a much higher proportion than for other immigration categories).

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