

Labour market outcomes of the children of immigrants in Ontario

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Abstract

Using the 2006 Census, this study examines the labour market outcomes of children of immigrants aged 25 to 34 who are living in Ontario. We find that most groups achieve higher levels of university completion rates than the third generation. Second-generation males, including those from Jamaica, Latin America, East Asia, the Philippines, India, South/Southeast Asia, West Asia and Arab/North African region, the United States, and Eastern Europe have lower earnings than the third generation. Dutch and Portuguese with lower educational attainments are not necessarily disadvantaged in terms of earnings and employment. In terms of income, most second-generation women are not significantly different from their third-generation counterparts.

Keywords: second generation, children of immigrants, labour market, education.

Résumé

À partir des données du recensement de 2006, cette étude examine l'impact du marché du travail sur les enfants d'immigrants âgés de 25 à 34 ans et vivant en Ontario. Nous constatons que la plupart des groupes atteignent un niveau de scolarité universitaire plus élevé que la troisième génération. Les hommes de la deuxième génération, incluant ceux de la Jamaïque, de l'Amérique latine, de l'Asie de l'Est, des Philippines, de l'Inde, de l'Asie du Sud et du Sud-Est, de l'Asie de l'Ouest, du Maghreb, des États-Unis et de l'Europe de l'Est ont des gains inférieurs à ceux de la troisième génération. Les Néerlandais et les Portugais, avec un degré d'instruction inférieur, ne sont pas nécessairement désavantagés en ce qui concerne le revenu et l'emploi. La situation de la plupart des femmes de la deuxième génération n'est pas très différente de leurs homologues de la troisième génération.

Mots clés : deuxième génération, enfants d'immigrants, marché du travail, éducation.

Introduction

The children of immigrants constitute an increasing segment of the Canadian labour force, and it is no wonder that attention to their educational attainment and labour force outcomes has increased dramatically in the last few years. The 2006 Census reports that this group accounts for 15.6 per cent of the population aged 15 years and over (Statistics Canada 2008). Studies on the economic integration of the children of Canadian immigrants have focused mainly on the national level, but to date, little is known about how this process of integration is segmented in the subnational context. Variations in individual and collective resources and in organizational, governmental, and civic sup-

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port will hinge largely on the neighbourhoods, cities, and provinces in which immigrants and their children live (Ellis and Almgren 2009). The way in which these factors are intertwined with labour market structures and opportunities will impact the economic futures of the children of immigrants. In ascertaining the factors that account for these ethnic differences in labour market outcomes, our aim is to extend the literature on immigrant integration by examining how these group differences are further segmented at the subnational level.

Investigating ethnic segmentation in labour market outcomes is especially critical for Ontario, given that this province is the top choice for settlement among immigrants. According to the 2006 Census, foreign-born individuals constitute 28.3 per cent of the province's population, the highest proportion of any of the 10 provinces. In addition, over two-thirds (68.3 per cent) of foreign-born Ontarians live in Toronto (Chui et al. 2007). Immigrants' choice of destination will influence their economic integration because of available employment opportunities, access to language and settlement programs, and support from their ethnic networks (McDonald 2003). The overall settlement picture, however, does not always present successful economic and social assimilation. A number of studies have focused on the labour market disparities among immigrants relative to the native-born, with emphasis on Canada's immigrant gateway cities. It has been documented that living in Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver presents an employment mismatch among immigrants, and that living outside these cities may offer immigrants more appropriate employment commensurate with their educational qualifications (Haan 2008). Descriptive analyses from the 2006 Labour Force Survey show that immigrants in Toronto and Vancouver have higher employment rates than in Montreal. In Ontario, less favourable outcomes are noted among very recent immigrants, particularly among those aged 25–54, with unemployment rates that were 2.5 times higher than their Canadian-born counterparts (Zietsma 2007). According to Warman and Worswick (2004), accounting for the urban effects is essential when comparing the earnings of immigrants and the Canadian-born, as immigrants may fall short relative to the national comparison. Analyzing these differences among the children of immigrants represents the first step in determining whether these wage inequalities will also be apparent among the next generation.

Determining economic integration among the children of immigrants in Ontario is vital for understanding how this province presents opportunities and constraints for each immigrant nationality. The aim of the study is to provide an overview of socioeconomic characteristics of the second generation living in Ontario. We present an analysis of the unemployment rates and incomes of 26 groups of individuals born in Canada who have at least one parent born outside of Canada. We also determine the roles of individual human capital and group-level characteristics and the extent to which these account for group differences in labour force activity in Ontario.

Pathways of integration

Immigration scholars have turned to different models of integration in order to understand the socioeconomic adaptation of the children of immigrants. Proponents of the *straight line assimilation model* purport that the third and higher generations are thought to be the most economically advantaged, so that over time, immigrant groups would acquire a culture that is more similar to that of groups of British origin, and would attain greater socioeconomic mobility with each successive generation (Alba and Nee 1997). Hence, immigrants and their children would have equal access to mainstream opportunity structures, notably educational and labour market institutions (Zhou 1997).

The alternative framework proposed by others, including Portes and Zhou (1993) and Zhou (1997), is based on the concept of segmented pathways of integration for the children of immi-

grants.² The second generation is becoming increasingly diverse. In the 1960s Canada's immigration policy removed national origin as the basis of admission, and instead granted admission to applicants based on their socioeconomic characteristics. Consequently, the countries of origin of the parental generation are increasingly diverse, and parents have come from regions—including Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the Caribbean—that in the past were not sources of immigrants to Canada. This signals the possibility that race and ethnicity have a great deal to do with one's place within a society's socioeconomic strata (Zhou 1997). The question is whether certain ethnic groups have inferior outcomes relative to the children of Canadian-born parents (also known as *the third generation*).

Evidence shows that there is some support, albeit weak, for downward assimilation among the second generation, further raising the question as to why intergenerational transmission of social class position is not apparent among the children of Canadian immigrants (Reitz et al. 2011: 1064). Studies have found higher educational attainment (Palameta 2007; Boyd 2009; Finnie and Mueller 2009) and higher earnings (Aydemir and Sweetman 2008) among the second generation when compared to the third generation. With the exception of Blacks and Filipinos, the second generation achieves intergenerational educational mobility, surpassing their fathers' levels of education (Abada et al. 2009). This suggests that the educational disadvantage that immigrant parents may have is not passed on to their children, so that in the context of the Canadian educational system, children of immigrants are encouraged to attain high levels of education (Aydemir et al. 2008).

Despite the success stories that past studies point to regarding the academic achievements of the second generation, it is important to examine in detail how these translate into labour force outcomes for these individuals, including unemployment and income. The children of immigrants do not have to contend with the lack of foreign credential recognition that their parents would have endured in the labour market, as they would have gone through the Canadian educational system and are more proficient in the official languages. Ethnicity should not be a determining factor in one's place in the labour market (and especially so for visible minority second generation), as they would have had the same educational opportunities as their third-generation counterparts. Recent studies, though, point to some groups that may be at risk for ethnic segmentation in the labour market. For example, first- and second-generation youth from the Americas (except the United States) had lower university participation rates than the third generation (Finnie and Mueller 2009). Moreover, second-generation men from the Caribbean and West Africa earn less than the Canadian average, despite their above-average education (Aydemir et al. 2008). Second-generation visible-minority men were also more likely to be looking for work than their non-visible-minority counterparts (Kunz 2003). This study highlights these differences in socioeconomic achievement by parents' country of origin, and determines the extent to which they are explained by individual human capital, place of residence, and ethnic capital. While we expect differences among these groups with less favourable outcomes to be salient among visible minorities, we do not anticipate the second generation to show signs of pathways to downward assimilation.

Ethnicity as a source of social capital can provide the path for the second generation's educational and labour market success (Portes and Zhou 1993; Feliciano 2005). Ethnic capital refers to an individual's attributes, cultural norms and group-specific institutions that may enhance an ethnic

2. These different pathways include assimilation into mainstream society; upward mobility but with preservation of ethnic identities and the immigrant community's values; and downward assimilation into the underclass or urban poverty (Portes and Zhou 1993; Portes et al. 2005). We do not test the factors purported in the segmented assimilation thesis, including parental human capital, family composition (whether the child grew up in a two-parent household versus a single-parent household), or other forms of social capital and modes of incorporation. The Census does not provide information on the parents of respondents. For these questions, the authors recommend the works of Boyd (2009) and Abada et al. (2009).

group's economic success (Cutler et al. 2005). It requires strong financial and human capital, facilitating the development of middle-class immigrant communities, which inherently serve the needs of their members by providing employment opportunities. In addition, they are well connected to the mainstream society in economic, social, and political terms (Zhou and Lin 2005). A community whose members possess higher than average levels of education provides access and exposure to social, economic, and cultural factors that increase a second-generation individual's productivity (Borjas 1992, 1994). On the other hand, opportunities for the second generation may be dismal for those who grow up in poor inner-city neighbourhoods, due to the lack of exposure to role models who would have been able to reinforce the role of education as a viable alternative to urban poverty and downward assimilation (Wilson 1990; Feliciano 2005). Aside from the parents' own human capital, then, children's educational attainment and labour market outcomes also depend on the average skills of the previous generation of the ethnic group (Borjas 1992, 1993). This study will examine the extent to which ethnic capital may also account for some of these group differences. Our study examines the impact of ethnic capital, as measured by the average percentage of the father's generation finishing university degrees.

Data and methodology

This study is based on the 2006 Census of Canada, and it focuses on the differences in unemployment and income among the children of immigrants in Ontario. The analytical sample included the second generation, aged 25 to 34 years—namely, Canadian-born children of one or two immigrant parents. We also included children who had immigrated to Canada at age 12 or younger, known as *the 1.5 generation*, as they would also have gone through their middle-school years and beyond in the Canadian educational system. We make these generational status distinctions, since the outcomes may very well be affected by language competencies (Oropesa and Landale 1997; Rumbaut 2004). We chose this age group because most would have finished their education by age 35 in 2006, and would be at the entry level of their careers at that point. It should be noted that the results may reflect a transitional stage in their labour force participation, and may not necessarily carry over in their later careers.

Within the selected sample, we categorized individual ethnic groups according to the mother's place of birth—or the father's, if the mother was born in Canada. We identified 26 groups of parents, each with a minimum sample size of at least five hundred people in Ontario, who had immigrated from one of the following countries or regions: United States, Jamaica, other Caribbean countries, Latin America, Scandinavia, Germany, the Netherlands, Greece, Italy, Portugal, the United Kingdom and Ireland, other Western/Southern European countries, Hungary, Poland, Croatia, other former Yugoslavian states, other Eastern European countries, China, other East Asian countries, the Philippines, India, other South/Southeastern Asian countries, Africa, North Africa/Arab region, West Asia/the Middle East, and Australia and Pacific Islands.³ We compared the socioeconomic indicators of each of these groups to our reference group, which consisted of the children of Canadian-born parents, known as *the third generation*. The third generation and higher are those born in Canada, aged 25–34, whose parents (and grandparents) are also born in Canada.⁴

The dependent variables in the study are unemployment status and employment income. For unemployment status, a logit model was used to examine the odds of being unemployed. We restricted

3. Some northern African countries are grouped together with the Arab region, since the criteria for the study are also based on ethnicity, rather than on a purely geographical concept.

4. In this study, we use interchangeably the terms 'children of immigrants' and 'second generation'.

the sample to those who were in the labour force, thus eliminating those who were attending school or staying home to take care of the family. Annual employment income from the 2006 Census consisted of all income, including self-employment (and excluding welfare transfers), with the sample being restricted to those who worked in the civilian sector and who had earned a non-zero income in the reference year. We used ordinary least squares (OLS) in the analysis of the natural logarithm of income. Within each set of regressions, we included sets of explanatory variables and presented changes in group differences in unemployment and earnings outcomes. Model 1 includes the set of explanatory variables related to birthplace of the parents. Model 2 added the second set of explanatory variables—that is, demographic controls, age, age-square, marital status, whether the respondent had children, and generational status. Single (never married) served as the reference category for marital status. Generational status was coded as follows: generation 1.5 (those who had been born outside Canada but who had immigrated at age 12 or younger), generation 2 (those who had been born in Canada, with both parents being immigrants), generation 2.5 (Canadian-born children with one Canadian-born parent and one immigrant parent), and generation 3 (Canadian-born children with both parents being Canadian-born). Due to the equivalence of “generation 3” and the ethnicity group “Canada,” we used generation 2.5 as the reference group for generational status.

The third set of explanatory variables concerned the areas of residence. The 2006 Census listed 13 CMAs (Census Metropolitan Areas) and 27 CAs (Census Agglomerations) in Ontario. The cities include: Ottawa, Kingston-Peterborough, Toronto, Guelph-Kitchener (reference category), Hamilton-Niagara, London, Windsor, Northern and Northwestern Ontario, and non-CMA/CA areas. The fourth set of explanatory variables reflected individual characteristics, such as language most often spoken at home. We categorized the language used by individuals as follows: English and/or French only (reference category), English/French with other non-official languages, and non-official language only. Although the use of a non-official (i.e., minority) language may appear to present a disadvantage, the use of a minority language may also represent a form of social capital, as it reflects access to the individual’s ethnic community and hence greater networks, which can facilitate success in the labour market (Golash-Boza 2005).

Educational level was coded into six groups: less than high school; high school graduates (reference category); trades and apprenticeship; college certificates or diplomas; bachelor’s degree; and certificates, diplomas, and degrees above bachelor’s. Working activity controlled for full-time/part-time working status. Finally, we used the National Occupation Classification (NOC) to sort occupations into 10 groups: management; business, finance, and public administration (reference category); natural and applied sciences; health; social science, education, and government occupations; art, sports, and culture; sales and services; trades and transportation; primary industries; and processing and manufacturing.

The fifth (and last) set of variables was intended to capture “ethnic capital” (Borjas 1992). It has been proposed that the average skills of the previous generation in an ethnic group have a “spillover” effect on the integration of the children of immigrants (Borjas 1993). Therefore, the last model tries to ascertain the impact of ethnic capital as measured by the average percentage of individuals among the respondents’ parents’ generation who have a bachelor’s degree. Following Borjas’ approach (1992, 1994), we derived the average percentage of university completion for male immigrants who had children aged 15 to 24 by country of birth from the 1996 Census. Then we merged the ethnic capital variable with the 2006 Census data by respondents’ father’s (or mother’s, if the father was not an immigrant) country of birth. We anticipate that the second generation of ethnic groups, where the fathers’ generation had higher levels of educational attainment, will be positively associated with lower unemployment and higher earnings.

Results

Descriptive statistics

Table 1 provides the summary statistics for the selected variables in the analysis. The variables *educational attainment*, *unemployment*, and *income* have been broken down by the country of origin of the fathers' generation. Note that we provide a description of the educational attainment to show that some groups with high educational attainment may have more inferior labour market outcomes.

Table 1. Summary characteristics of the two generations by source country, Ontario, 1996 and 2006 (second generation and third generation aged 25–34 in 2006 census and their parents in 1996 census).

	2006 Census							1996 Census		
	Edu- cation	Unemployment rate			Employment income			Edu- cation		
	% with BA and above	All	Male	Fe- male	All	Male	Female	N, 2006	fathers' generation % with BA and above	N, 1996
United States	38.91	6.29	5.51	7.14	38,880	45,086	32,034	19,545	48.25	15,285
Jamaica	24.18	8.23	8.88	7.65	33,283	35,222	31,626	18,050	7.57	20,980
Other Carribean countries	23.16	6.57	6.37	6.79	33,658	36,721	29,885	16,495	14.80	32,755
Latin, Central and South America	30.91	7.56	7.11	7.97	36,559	39,147	34,126	28,345	14.77	19,770
Scandinavia	36.28	5.95	7.24	4.74	37,066	41,268	33,275	5,210	19.48	4,200
Germany	35.47	5.78	5.63	5.94	40,699	46,746	34,481	20,355	24.08	15,655
Netherlands	31.73	3.25	2.36	4.28	40,812	48,336	31,954	23,905	13.61	17,630
Greece	38.41	4.91	4.63	5.22	41,796	45,531	37,672	15,335	3.66	16,345
Italy	32.28	4.25	3.81	4.72	42,419	48,244	36,007	65,815	4.74	73,185
Portugal	17.32	4.16	3.86	4.50	36,706	40,607	32,317	29,390	0.65	35,115
UK/Ireland	33.66	5.08	4.94	5.22	40,848	46,498	34,824	79,565	22.23	67,390
Other Western/Southern Europe	36.69	4.08	4.06	4.10	41,212	46,318	36,231	12,495	17.72	11,090
Hungary	35.63	4.73	6.07	3.28	38,773	43,045	34,382	4,730	22.87	5,245
Poland	41.51	4.86	4.82	4.90	38,860	43,481	33,763	12,540	24.93	20,495
Croatia	37.05	5.58	5.99	5.12	43,915	48,764	38,639	6,180	6.14	7,315
Other former Yugoslavian states	33.87	5.40	5.45	5.35	41,898	46,920	36,529	8,665	15.17	12,410
Other Eastern Europe	50.18	6.08	5.97	6.20	41,720	47,993	34,989	9,955	44.05	15,010
China	69.16	4.86	5.29	4.40	45,923	48,519	43,198	21,515	25.81	43,710
Other Eastern Asia	61.54	5.77	6.58	4.86	40,265	44,259	35,955	5,395	43.50	8,065
Philippines	35.46	4.06	3.13	5.14	36,808	37,428	36,068	11,620	46.25	17,305
India	59.36	5.66	5.10	6.29	43,980	47,202	40,380	19,550	41.98	29,985
Other Southern/Southeastern Asia	48.12	7.76	7.94	7.56	38,644	41,646	35,469	21,245	25.40	34,935
Africa	53.08	6.53	6.76	6.31	41,442	45,427	37,556	10,220	31.74	16,080
Arab/North Africa	40.34	6.64	7.00	6.23	38,857	41,739	35,560	9,865	30.15	14,230
West Asia/Middle East	47.63	6.92	8.15	5.55	40,186	44,100	36,045	6,645	36.71	11,130
Australia and Pacific Islands	45.04	2.41	X*	X*	39,585	46,525	32,067	1,865	37.11	1,830
All children of immigrant parents	37.05	6.12	5.72	6.54	40,099	44,724	35,150	484,495	20.50	567,145
Children of Canadian-born parents	25.22	5.91	5.48	6.38	37,876	43,830	31,472	695,240	17.95	771,080
Total	30.08	5.70	5.37	6.05	38,793	44,198	32,991	1,179,745	19.05	1,338,220

* Sample size too small to report.

The focus of the analysis, however, will be on unemployment and income. The 2006 Census section presents figures for the children of immigrants, while the 1996 portion of the table presents characteristics of the fathers' generation. The most educated group are the children of Chinese immigrants, with 69.2 per cent leading the way for completing at least a bachelor's degree. This is four times the rate of the group with the lowest percentage of individuals holding at least a bachelor's degree—namely, the Portuguese second generation, at 17.3 per cent.

An examination of the background of the fathers' generation (1996 Census) reveals that the second generation and children of Canadian-born parents both surpass the parental generation's educational attainment (see Figure 1). For example, 18.0 per cent of third-generation fathers have completed at least a bachelor's degree (see lower part of Table 1, 1996 Census data). A substantial

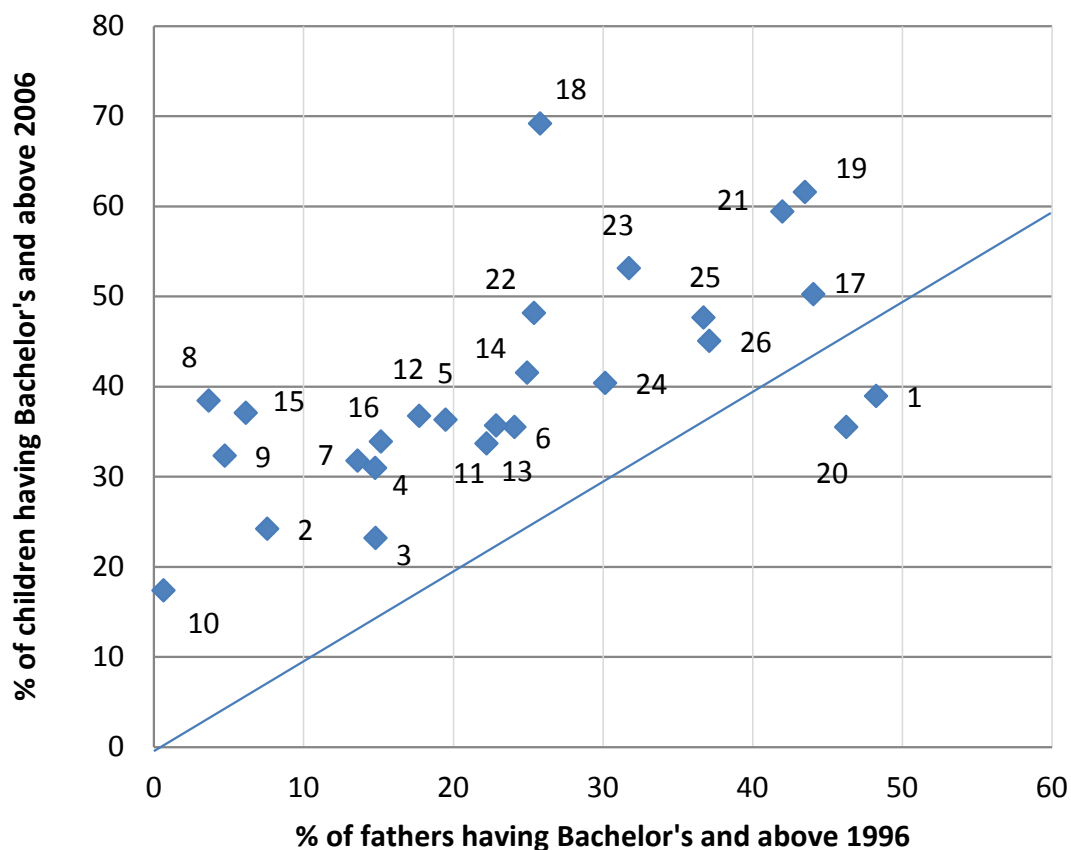


Figure 1. Educational attainment for two generations (1996 & 2006). Except for Filipinos and Americans, the percentage obtaining a Bachelor's degree or above in the next generation exceeds that of the fathers' generation.

- | | | |
|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---|
| 1 United States | 10 Portugal | 18 China |
| 2 Jamaica | 11 UK/Ireland | 19 Other Eastern Asia |
| 3 Other Carribean countries | 12 Other Western/
Southern Europe | 20 Philippines |
| 4 Latin, Central and South
America | 13 Hungary | 21 India |
| 5 Scandinavia | 14 Poland | 22 Other Southern/
Southeastern Asia |
| 6 Germany | 15 Croatia | 23 Africa |
| 7 Netherland | 16 Other former Yugoslavian
states | 24 Arabic Region |
| 8 Greece | 17 Other Eastern Europe | 25 West Asia/Middle East |
| 9 Italy | | 26 Australia and Pacific islands |

proportion of the third generation pursued a bachelor's degree (25.2 per cent; see lower part of Table 1, 2006 Census). The same pattern can also be observed among the children of immigrants. The exceptions are American and Filipino immigrant children—the only two groups who do not exceed the university education level of the fathers' generation (see Figure 1). The most educated immigrant males are the Americans (48.3 per cent), followed by Filipinos (46.3 per cent) and Other Eastern Europeans (44.1 per cent; Table 1, 1996 Census).

Differences in unemployment rates point to some groups being disadvantaged in the labour market, especially among men. While the unemployment rates for third-generation men hover at 5.5 per cent (see bottom of Table 1, third column), the percentages of second-generation men of Jamaican and West Asian/Middle Eastern background who are unemployed are 8.9 per cent and 8.2 per cent, respectively. Relatively high unemployment rates are also observed for the Scandinavian second-generation men, at 7.2 per cent. Dutch immigrant men have the lowest unemployment rate (2.4 per cent), followed by Filipinos (3.1 per cent) and Italians (3.8 per cent).

The highest female unemployment rates are observed among Latin Americans (8.0 per cent), followed by Jamaicans (7.7 per cent) and other South/Southeast Asians (7.6 per cent). The children of immigrants to Canada from the United States also have a high unemployment rate, at 7.1 per cent. The groups of women who have the lowest unemployment rates are the Hungarian (3.3 per cent), other Western/Southern Europe (4.1 per cent), and Dutch (4.3 per cent) immigrant children. These rates are lower than those for the female third generation (i.e., female children of Canadian-born parents, at 6.4 per cent). Further group differences in income reveal the disadvantage that some immigrant children face in the labour market. Among males, Jamaican men have the lowest [annual] earnings (\$35,222), a figure which pales in comparison to the earnings of third-generation males (\$43,830). The next-lowest income earners among males are those with Other Caribbean background (\$36,721) and Latin Americans (\$39,147). The highest income earners among men are those of Croatian background (\$48,764) followed by those of Chinese (\$48,519) and Dutch (\$48,336) background. Among women, Chinese second-generation individuals are the highest earners (\$43,198), followed by Indian women (\$40,380). There is little difference in income between the lowest earners (Caribbeans at \$29,885) and the third generation (\$31,472).

Multivariate analysis

Unemployment among males

Table 2 (column i) shows that male unemployment rates are higher for the children of Jamaican, Latin American, South/Southeast Asian, and West Asian immigrants. In contrast, the children of immigrant parents from the Netherlands, Italy, Portugal, the United Kingdom and Ireland, Western/Southern Europe, and the Philippines show lower odds of being unemployed than the children of Canadian-born parents. The rest of the second generation is not significantly different from the third generation in their unemployment rates. Demographic characteristics (column ii) account for lower unemployment rates among the Western/Southern European second generation. In addition, the second generation have lower unemployment rates than the 2.5 generation (those born to one Canadian and one migrant parent). Those who are married and divorced/separated also show lower odds of being unemployed than the single/never married group. Differences in geographical location within Ontario (column iii) reveal lower employment opportunities for men in smaller and medium-sized cities. In comparison to Guelph-Kitchener, for example, the odds of being unemployed are higher—by 28.0 per cent in Hamilton, 38.5 per cent in Kingston, and 21.2 per cent in London. Living in Windsor, Northwestern Ontario, and a non-CMA/CA area also presents an employment

Table 2. Odds ratios of male unemployment of second generation, aged 25–34, Ontario.

	Male				
	Baseline	+ demog	+ city	+ language, education	+ ethnic capital
United States (3rd Gen ref)	0.880	0.913	0.915	0.994	1.823***
Jamaica	1.524***	1.487***	1.733***	1.787***	1.455***
Other Carribean Countries	1.064	1.148	1.242	1.112	1.058
Latin, Central and South America	1.201*	1.205	1.400***	1.521***	1.378***
Scandinavia	1.146	1.191	1.220	1.305	1.305
Germany	0.977	1.037	1.113	1.189	1.274*
Netherlands	0.394***	0.472***	0.469***	0.507**	0.477***
Greece	0.830	0.936	1.055	1.029	0.776
Italy	0.644***	0.742***	0.816*	0.824*	0.635***
Portugal	0.680***	0.781*	0.886	0.730**	0.536***
UK/Ireland	0.820**	0.873*	0.948	1.012	1.051
Other Western/Southern Europe	0.736*	0.788	0.843	0.900	0.895
Hungary	0.954	0.986	1.078	1.135	1.194
Poland	0.786	0.788	0.862	0.909	1.067
Croatia	1.174	1.288	1.370	1.453*	1.148
Other Former Yugoslavian States	0.890	0.978	1.059	1.096	1.009
Other Eastern Europe	1.010	1.087	1.218	1.350*	2.078***
China	0.876	0.848	0.977	1.097	1.209
Other Eastern Asia	1.111	1.095	1.258	1.455	2.136***
Philippines	0.589***	0.579**	0.662*	0.750	1.219
India	0.890	1.012	1.162	1.316*	1.914***
Other Southern/Southeastern Asia	1.329***	1.321**	1.519***	1.604***	1.658***
Africa	1.289	1.277	1.463**	1.739***	2.151***
Arabic Region	1.101	1.106	1.206	1.242	1.324
West Asia/Middle East	1.444*	1.424*	1.662**	1.811***	2.317***
Australia and Pacific Islands	0.748	0.772	0.856	0.917	1.463
Age		0.653***	0.665***	0.673***	0.674***
Age2		1.007***	1.006***	1.006***	1.006***
Married (single never married ref)		0.355***	0.359***	0.407***	0.413***
Divorced/separated /widowed		0.872	0.853*	0.827**	0.833**
With child (no children ref)		1.093*	1.000	0.860***	0.842***
1.5 generation (2.5 ref)		0.889	0.930	0.827*	0.809**
2nd generation		0.880*	0.920	0.922	0.910
Ottawa (Guelph Kitchener ref)			1.112	1.247**	1.236**
Kingston			1.385***	1.391***	1.388**
Toronto			1.105	1.182**	1.196**
Hamilton			1.281***	1.287***	1.230***
London			1.212*	1.244**	1.247**
Windsor			1.885***	1.927***	1.901***
Northwest			1.863***	1.931***	1.894***
Non-CMA/CA area			1.959***	1.757***	1.659***
English/French with other language (Eng French only ref)				1.364*	1.348*
Other language only				1.523***	1.454***
Less than high school (high school ref)				1.724***	1.685***
Trades and apprenticeship				0.968	0.960
College				0.650***	0.651***
Bachelor's				0.569***	0.579***
Above Bachelor's				0.610***	0.622***
% of fathers with BA and above					0.980***
Sample size	105,174				
Pseudo R ²	0.0044	0.0308	0.037	0.0525	0.054

* p<0.05, ** p<0.01, ***p<0.001

disadvantage in comparison to living in Guelph-Kitchener. Controlling for geographical location now shows the employment disadvantage among African men. Speaking only one's own minority language (as opposed to using even just one of the official languages) lowers the odds of being employed. The advantage of obtaining a post-secondary education is evident, as individuals with any kind of education beyond the high school level have lower likelihoods of being unemployed.

The educational characteristics of the fathers' generation ethnic group (column v) are associated with lower levels of unemployment within the second generation. Even when we account for individual characteristics and the fathers' generation's educational attainment, most groups still show a labour market disadvantage when compared to the third generation. This is especially notable among visible minorities from Jamaica, India, East Asia (excluding China), South/Southeast Asia, Africa, and West Asia/Middle East. Immigrant children from Latin America, the United States, Germany, and Eastern Europe also show higher unemployment rates than children of Canadian-born parents. Controlling for ethnic capital, we note the increase in disadvantage among the American, Eastern European, East Asian, Indian, African, and West Asian second generation. It should be noted that the Italian, Portuguese, and Dutch second generation have lower unemployment rates than their third-generation counterparts.

Unemployment among females

Table 3 (column i) indicates that European groups with lower unemployment rates than the third generation include the Dutch, Italian, Portuguese, U.K./Irish, Western/Southern Europe, Hungarian, and Polish second generation. The Chinese and Australian/Pacific Islands second generation also show lower odds of being unemployed than the children of Canadian-born parents. By contrast, the children of Latin American immigrants are 20.0 per cent more likely to be unemployed than the third generation. The rest of the other groups are not significantly different from the third generation. Accounting for demographic characteristics (column ii) explains the lower unemployment rates among these groups, except for the Dutch and the Portuguese. By contrast (and accounting for demographic characteristics), South/Southeast Asian and Indian and American women have higher unemployment rates than the third generation. Women with children are less likely to be employed than women with no children.

Differences in geographical location within Ontario (column iii) also provide important information concerning women's employment. Living in Kingston, Hamilton, Windsor, Northwestern Ontario, and non-CMA/CA areas increases the odds of being unemployed for women, compared to living in Guelph-Kitchener. We find that geographical differences do not account for any of the group differences in employment rates among women. Column iv shows that the use of a minority language (as opposed to speaking only the official languages) is positively associated with unemployment for women. Having a college education, a bachelor's degree or a higher credential is also beneficial, as these are associated with lower odds of being unemployed in comparison to having only a high school education.

The educational background of the fathers' generation does not explain fully the employment outcomes of second-generation women. Controlling for ethnic capital, we find a slight increase in unemployment among American, Eastern European, Indian, East Asia (excluding China), Indian, and African women, and a slight decrease in the odds of being unemployed among Latin American women. The Dutch and Portuguese second generation are 22.8 per cent and 38.4 per cent less likely to be unemployed, respectively, than the third generation (Table 3, Column V).

Income earned by males

Table 4 (column i) shows that, with the exception of the second-generation individuals of Chinese and Indian and African background, visible-minority men earn less than the third generation. An

Table 3. Odds ratios of female unemployment of second generation, aged 25–34, Ontario.

	Female				
	Baseline	+ demog	+ city	+ language, education	+ ethnic capital
United States (3rd Gen ref)	1.130	1.240*	1.247*	1.275*	1.661***
Jamaica	1.187	1.108	1.167	1.239	1.136
Other Carribean Countries	1.015	1.034	1.070	1.019	1.000
Latin, Central and South America	1.200*	1.305**	1.371***	1.441***	1.382***
Scandinavia	0.668	0.768	0.776	0.814	0.814
Germany	0.913	1.063	1.086	1.125	1.159
Netherlands	0.654***	0.753*	0.756*	0.794*	0.772*
Greece	0.866	1.214	1.263	1.264	1.114
Italy	0.673***	0.890	0.917	0.933	0.831*
Portugal	0.655***	0.735**	0.767*	0.707**	0.616***
UK/Ireland	0.789***	0.910	0.933	0.961	0.977
Other Western/Southern Europe	0.634**	0.764	0.785	0.831	0.830
Hungary	0.569*	0.678	0.701	0.714	0.729
Poland	0.724*	0.858	0.886	0.943	1.007
Croatia	0.761	1.039	1.058	1.102	0.992
Other Former Yugoslavian States	0.889	1.127	1.150	1.171	1.129
Other Eastern Europe	1.006	1.241	1.288	1.372*	1.657**
China	0.658***	0.914	0.953	1.030	1.069
Other Eastern Asia	0.859	1.212	1.258	1.361	1.602*
Philippines	0.754	0.868	0.903	0.966	1.193
India	0.949	1.289*	1.346*	1.413**	1.662***
Other Southern/Southeastern Asia	1.089	1.271*	1.330*	1.369**	1.392**
Africa	0.971	1.186	1.237	1.361*	1.503**
Arabic Region	0.890	1.115	1.160	1.193	1.239
West Asia/Middle East	0.840	1.046	1.090	1.152	1.292
Australia and Pacific Islands	0.284*	0.330	0.334	0.357	0.434
Age		0.653***	0.656***	0.673**	0.672***
Age2		1.006***	1.006***	1.006**	1.006**
Married (single never married ref)		0.603***	0.604***	0.667***	0.672***
Divorced/separated /widowed		0.999	0.997	0.985	0.992
With child (no children ref)		3.153***	3.073***	2.644***	2.622***
1.5 generation (2.5 ref)		1.027	1.038	1.003	0.994
2nd generation		0.938	0.946	0.961	0.955
Ottawa (Guelph Kitchener ref)			0.997	1.067	1.062
Kingston			1.321***	1.361***	1.360***
Toronto			1.047	1.081	1.087
Hamilton			1.138*	1.148*	1.152*
London			0.942	0.967	0.969
Windsor			1.212**	1.239**	1.232**
Northwest			1.172*	1.212**	1.200*
Non-CMA/CA area			1.234***	1.180**	1.153*
English/French with other language (Eng French only ref)				1.318*	1.305*
Other language only				1.068	1.052
Less than high school (high school ref)				1.612***	1.600***
Trades and apprenticeship				1.055	1.056
College				0.733***	0.735***
Bachelor's				0.690***	0.695***
Above Bachelor's				0.707***	0.714***
% of fathers with BA and above					0.992***
Sample size	98,577				
Pseudo R ²	0.0031	0.0359	0.0368	0.0444	0.0446

* p<0.05, ** p<0.01, ***p<0.001

earnings advantage is observed among European groups, specifically those whose parents are from the Netherlands, Italy, the U.K./Ireland, Western and Southern Europe, Croatia, and Eastern Europe. The rest are not significantly different from the children of the Canadian-born. Column ii shows that young immigrants who arrived in Canada at age 12 and younger earn less than the children of one immigrant parent and one Canadian parent (the 2.5 generation). Column iii shows that differences in geographical location within Ontario account for higher earnings among some groups, particularly those whose parents are from Western/Southern and Eastern Europe, South/Southeast Asia, and Africa. Controlling for geographical differences, we note the increase in earnings disadvantage among Jamaican, Other Caribbean, and Latin American men. Those who reside in Ottawa, Kingston, Hamilton, London, Northwestern Ontario, and non-CMA/CA areas have lower earnings than men who live in Guelph-Kitchener. Column iv shows that minority language retention, or speaking one's minority language along with one of the official languages, is not advantageous for males, suggesting that language assimilation can be beneficial in that it points to higher earnings in the labour market. In addition, the pursuit of post-secondary education is clearly an advantage, in that men with post-secondary education have higher incomes than those who obtained only a high school diploma.

The importance of educational background is evident, as these factors explain the higher earnings observed among the U.K./Ireland second generation. We also observe that some groups show an earnings disadvantage when we control for individual background characteristics, particularly for the children of immigrants from Hungary, East Asia, and West Asia/Middle East. Column v shows that controlling for work status and industry occupation accounts for the lower earnings among the Hungarian second generation. It also accounts (though not in its entirety) for the lower earnings among Jamaican men.

Controlling for individual and group-level characteristics (see column vi) shows that most groups retain their lower earnings, and this is notable among some visible minorities, including the second generation whose parents immigrated from Jamaica, East Asian Countries (other than China), the Philippines, India, South/Southeast Asia, the Arab/North African region, and West Asia/Middle East. These differences range from Arab/North Africans and Jamaicans earning about 10 per cent less to East Asians (excluding China) and Filipinos earning around 16 per cent less than the children of Canadian-born parents. We also observe an income disadvantage among the children of American immigrants. We find that other Caribbean youth are not significantly different from the third generation, while we observe a slight increase in earnings advantage among Italian and Portuguese youth. Only a few groups of European men (including those from Portugal, Croatia, and Italy) earn higher incomes than their third-generation counterparts.

Income earned by females

Unlike the case for men, almost all second-generation women show an earnings advantage over the third generation (see Table 5, column i). The earnings of those whose parents are from the United States, the Caribbean, Scandinavian countries, the Netherlands, Hungary, and Australia are not significantly different from the earnings of the children of Canadian-born parents (the third generation). Higher earnings among second-generation women are explained by demographic characteristics (and particularly for women of German, Greek, Polish, Croatian, and Eastern European background). The same pattern is observed among women of South/Southeast Asian, African, Arab/North African, and West Asian backgrounds. Second-generation women whose parents are from the United States and Scandinavian countries have an earnings disadvantage compared to the third generation.

Table 4. Coefficients of male employment income of second generation, aged 25–34, Ontario, 2006.

	Male					
	Baseline	+ demog	+ city	+ lang., education	+ occu- pation	+ ethnic capital
United States (3rd Gen ref)	-0.029	-0.020	-0.039	-0.081***	-0.046*	-0.157***
Jamaica	-0.220***	-0.142***	-0.207***	-0.216***	-0.143***	-0.103***
Other Caribbean Countries	-0.166***	-0.09***	-0.127***	-0.067*	-0.054*	-0.043
Latin, Central and South America	-0.130***	-0.06**	-0.121***	-0.147***	-0.108***	-0.087***
Scandinavia	-0.003	-0.007	-0.015	-0.040	-0.021	-0.018
Germany	0.044	0.022	-0.002	-0.034	-0.002	-0.013
Netherlands	0.117***	0.044*	0.054**	0.022	0.031	0.045**
Greece	0.027	0.001	-0.055*	-0.045	-0.047*	0.010
Italy	0.117***	0.079***	0.030*	0.032*	0.032*	0.084***
Portugal	0.017	0.026	-0.025	0.070***	0.058***	0.120***
UK/Ireland	0.066***	0.056***	0.027*	0.000	0.012	0.007
Other Western/Southern Europe	0.087**	0.083**	0.050	0.024	0.024	0.026
Hungary	-0.066	-0.052	-0.088	-0.111*	-0.066	-0.073
Poland	0.011	0.117***	0.078**	0.051	0.066**	0.040
Croatia	0.177***	0.174***	0.138***	0.114***	0.081**	0.128***
Other Former Yugoslavian States	0.020	0.024	-0.020	-0.035	-0.023	-0.004
Other Eastern Europe	0.069*	0.090**	0.043	-0.019	-0.014	-0.094**
China	0.069**	0.177***	0.118***	0.053*	0.012	-0.002
Other Eastern Asia	-0.115*	-0.024	-0.079	-0.159**	-0.095*	-0.164***
Philippines	-0.124***	-0.011	-0.073**	-0.114***	-0.090***	-0.179***
India	0.023	0.053*	-0.006	-0.063*	-0.081***	-0.149***
Other Southern/Southeastern Asia	-0.066**	0.063*	0.005	-0.024	-0.036	-0.049*
Africa	-0.020	0.083*	0.030	-0.052	-0.012	-0.052
Arabic Region	-0.106**	-0.007	-0.053	-0.069	-0.075*	-0.098**
West Asia/Middle East	-0.138**	-0.027	-0.091	-0.131**	-0.110*	-0.153**
Australia and Pacific Islands	-0.013	0.017	-0.020	-0.058	-0.027	-0.117
Age		0.378***	0.373***	0.369**	0.241***	0.240***
Age2		-0.005***	-0.005***	-0.005**	-0.003***	-0.003***
Married (single never married ref)		0.354***	0.351***	0.296**	0.227***	0.225***
Divorced/separated /widowed		0.067***	0.077**	0.109**	0.067***	0.067***
With child (no children ref)		-0.018***	0.013	0.076**	0.049***	0.051***
1.5 generation (2.5 ref)		-0.057***	-0.075***	-0.019	-0.034*	-0.029*
2nd generation		0.008	-0.010	-0.012	-0.014	-0.020
Ottawa (Guelph Kitchener ref)			-0.037**	-0.095**	-0.059***	-0.058***
Kingston			-0.212***	-0.215**	-0.158***	-0.157***
Toronto			0.013	-0.024*	0.014	0.011
Hamilton			-0.079***	-0.081**	-0.049***	-0.050***
London			-0.092***	-0.101**	-0.075***	-0.076***
Windsor			-0.015	-0.020	0.008	0.010
Northwest			-0.181***	-0.193**	-0.106***	-0.103***
Non-CMA/CA area			-0.248***	-0.198**	-0.153***	-0.147***
Eng./Fr. with other language (Eng./Fr. only ref)				-0.195**	-0.128***	-0.127***
Other language only				-0.216**	-0.178***	-0.173***
Less than high school (high school ref)				-0.248**	-0.205***	-0.202***
Trades and apprenticeship				0.115**	0.097***	0.098***
College				0.188**	0.169***	0.167***
Bachelor's				0.335**	0.313***	0.310***
Above Bachelor's				0.337**	0.358***	0.354***
Fulltime working (part time ref)					1.102***	1.103***
Management (fin. and publ. adm. ref)					0.118***	0.118***
Natural science					0.14***	0.140***
Health					0.155***	0.153***
Social science, education, gov.					-0.133***	-0.133***
Art, sport, culture					-0.285***	-0.285***
Sales, services					-0.122***	-0.121***
Trades					-0.013	-0.013
Primary industry					-0.301***	-0.300***
Manufacturing, processing					0.106***	0.107***
% of fathers with BA and above						0.004***
Constant	10.406***	3.939***	4.098**	4.111***	5.127***	5.0680***
Sample size	94,254	94,254	94,254	94,254	93,480	93,480
R ²	0.0048	0.0973	0.1073	0.1446	0.2778	0.2784
Root MSE	0.8690	0.8276	0.8231	0.8057	0.7259	0.7256

* p<0.05, ** p<0.01, ***p<0.001

Table 5. Coefficients of female employment income of second generation, aged 25–34, Ontario, 2006.

	Female					
	Baseline	+ demog	+ city	+ lang., education	+ occu- pation	+ ethnic capital
United States (3rd Gen ref)	0.007	-0.062*	-0.078**	-0.114***	-0.064**	-0.076**
Jamaica	0.071**	0.056*	-0.039	-0.052	-0.042	-0.038
Other Caribbean Countries	0.006	-0.006	-0.060*	-0.012	-0.025	-0.024
Latin, Central and South America	0.178***	0.109***	0.020	-0.010	-0.021	-0.019
Scandinavia	-0.042	-0.117*	-0.133*	-0.162**	-0.132**	-0.132**
Germany	0.107***	0.021	-0.004	-0.034	-0.017	-0.018
Netherlands	0.025	-0.043	-0.025	-0.064**	-0.023	-0.021
Greece	0.212***	0.037	-0.040	-0.048	-0.028	-0.022
Italy	0.227***	0.096***	0.040*	0.030	0.027*	0.033*
Portugal	0.119***	0.071***	0.012	0.080***	0.042*	0.049*
UK/Ireland	0.139***	0.054***	0.026*	0.002	0.007	0.006
Other Western/Southern Europe	0.156***	0.063*	0.028	-0.013	-0.001	-0.001
Hungary	0.097	-0.013	-0.052	-0.068	-0.050	-0.050
Poland	0.130***	0.051	0.010	-0.040	-0.051	-0.053
Croatia	0.207***	0.044	0.022	-0.006	-0.003	0.002
Other Former Yugoslavian States	0.205***	0.077*	0.040	0.029	0.001	0.003
Other Eastern Europe	0.126**	0.024	-0.033	-0.106**	-0.083**	-0.092**
China	0.395***	0.232***	0.147***	0.058*	0.008	0.006
Other Eastern Asia	0.168***	-0.011	-0.089	-0.183**	-0.112**	-0.120**
Philippines	0.229***	0.160***	0.076*	0.031	-0.019	-0.028
India	0.307***	0.158***	0.078**	0.002	-0.018	-0.026
Other Southern/Southeastern Asia	0.126***	0.038	-0.038	-0.082**	-0.114**	-0.115***
Africa	0.175***	0.063	-0.018	-0.112**	-0.127**	-0.132***
Arabic Region	0.136***	0.046	-0.019	-0.047	-0.047	-0.049
West Asia/Middle East	0.127**	0.034	-0.046	-0.091*	-0.058	-0.063
Australia and Pacific Islands	0.033	-0.042	-0.075	-0.128	-0.099	-0.109
Age		0.448***	0.430***	0.403***	0.210**	0.210***
Age2		-0.007***	-0.006***	-0.006***	-0.003**	-0.003***
Married (single never married ref)		0.166***	0.172***	0.114***	0.084**	0.084***
Divorced/separated /widowed		0.015	0.028	0.074***	0.022	0.022
With child (no children ref)		-0.632***	-0.594***	-0.475***	-0.340**	-0.340***
1.5 generation (2.5 ref)		0.030	0.008	0.043**	0.037**	0.037**
2nd generation		0.035**	0.015	0.009	0.016	0.016
Ottawa (Guelph Kitchener ref)			0.155***	0.091***	0.060**	0.060***
Kingston			-0.100***	-0.111***	-0.078**	-0.078***
Toronto			0.151***	0.116***	0.093**	0.092***
Hamilton			-0.056***	-0.057**	-0.023	-0.023
London			0.000	-0.012	-0.009	-0.009
Windsor			-0.009	-0.014	0.024	0.024
Northwest			-0.090***	-0.102***	-0.048**	-0.047**
Non-CMA/CA area			-0.113***	-0.071***	-0.044**	-0.044***
Eng./Fr. with other language (Eng./Fr. only ref)				-0.047**	-0.053	-0.053
Other language only				-0.125***	-0.113**	-0.112***
Less than high school (high school ref)				-0.318***	-0.214**	-0.213***
Trades and apprenticeship				-0.155***	-0.077**	-0.077***
College				0.211***	0.131**	0.131***
Bachelor's				0.423***	0.318**	0.318***
Above Bachelor's				0.437***	0.356**	0.355***
Fulltime working (part time ref)					0.894**	0.894***
Management (fin. and publ. adm. ref)					0.110**	0.110***
Natural science					0.161**	0.161***
Health					0.229**	0.229***
Social science, education, gov.					-0.088**	-0.088***
Art, sport, culture					-0.212**	-0.212***
Sales, services					-0.293**	-0.293***
Trades					-0.116**	-0.116***
Primary industry					-0.382**	-0.382***
Manufacturing, processing					0.053**	0.053**
% of fathers with BA and above						0.00042
Constant	10.01206**	2.728 ***	2.971 ***	3.232 ***	5.57 ***	5.563***
Sample size	88,308	88,308	88,308	88,308	86,966	86,966
R ²	0.0094	0.0983	0.1084	0.1500	0.3209	0.3209
Root MSE	0.9774	0.9326	0.9274	0.9055	0.7742	0.7742

* p<0.05, ** p<0.01, ***p<0.001

From column iii, it is clear that living in Ottawa and Toronto incurs an income advantage when compared to living in Guelph-Kitchener. Second-generation women residing in other areas, including Kingston, Hamilton, Northwestern Ontario, and non-CMA/CA areas face an income disadvantage. The rewards of living in large urban areas are apparent, accounting for higher earnings among women whose parents are from Latin America, Other Western/Southern European Countries, and the Other former Yugoslavian states (excluding Croatia). Also, Jamaicans now show lower earnings, although it is no longer statistically significant once we control for geographical differences.

As expected, second-generation women who have at least a bachelor's degree (see the lower part of Table 5, column iv) have higher earnings than those who have only a high school diploma. Trades/apprenticeship qualifications, however, are associated with lower earnings. Individual background characteristics explain the lower earnings observed among Caribbean women and the higher incomes for those children whose parents are from the Philippines and India. Industry occupational backgrounds explain higher earnings for second-generation women among the children of Chinese immigrants, and lower income for the children of West Asian and Dutch immigrants. Column vi shows that ethnic capital is not significantly related to second-generation women's earnings. Most groups are not significantly different from the third generation when it comes to income. A few, however, earn less than the children of Canadian-born parents, including those whose parents are from the United States, Scandinavia, East Asia (excluding China), South/Southeast Asia, and Africa. The earnings disadvantages are notable among Scandinavian and African second generation, where they earn about 12 per cent less than their third-generation counterparts do. Children of immigrants from Italy and Portugal earn slightly more than the children of Canadian-born parents.

Discussion and conclusion

This study has found differences in unemployment and income by national origin groups among the children of immigrants. While success in educational attainment is notable among the children of immigrants, their labour market outcomes tell a somewhat different story. Second-generation males (especially those from Jamaica, India, East Asian Countries [other than China], South/Southeast Asian Countries, West Asia/Middle East, Latin America, United States, Germany, and Eastern Europe) show higher unemployment rates than the children of Canadian-born parents. We find as well that ethnic capital tends to increase the disadvantage among American, Eastern European, East Asian, Indian, African, and West Asian second generation. The Italian, Portuguese, and Dutch second generation, however, have lower unemployment rates than their third-generation counterparts. For women, children of immigrants from the United States, Latin America, Eastern Europe, India, South/Southeast Asia, and Africa are more likely to be unemployed than the children of Canadian-born parents.

In terms of male income, some groups retain their earnings disadvantage even when we control for ethnic capital and other individual background characteristics. This is particularly so among those whose parents immigrated from Jamaica, Latin America, East Asia (excluding China), the Philippines, India, South/Southeast Asia, Arab/North African Region, West Asian/Middle East, the United States, and Eastern Europe. This finding is similar to that of a recent study (Picot and Hou 2011), which also found second-generation visible-minority men earning less than the third generation, despite having attained higher educational credentials. A few European men, including those from Portugal, Croatia, and Italy, earn higher incomes than their third-generation counterparts. We find that ethnic capital accounts for the slightly higher earnings among the Polish second generation, and the lower incomes among Greek second generation.

Among women, the groups who earn less than the children of Canadian-born parents are those from the United States, Scandinavia, Eastern Europe, East Asia (excluding China), South/Southeast Asia, and Africa. Children of immigrants from Italy and Portugal earn slightly more than the children of Canadian-born parents. Higher earnings among Chinese women and lower incomes among West Asian women are explained by the types of occupations they are involved in. Even though Portuguese second-generation individuals have lower educational attainments than the third generation, this does not necessarily translate into an earnings disadvantage. Further study is warranted regarding occupational segmentation among the children of immigrants, in order to determine why some groups may face more labour market disadvantages than others.

Past studies have found little support for segmented assimilation in Canada (Boyd 2002, 2009; Reitz et al. 2011). Our findings point to intergenerational educational mobility for most second generation groups. The less successful labour market outcomes among some groups may signal a path towards stagnant rather than downward mobility. According to Reitz et al (2011: 1064), the declining immigrant success in Canada may not have immediate consequences for the next generation. For some ethnic communities with members of lower educational background or lower socioeconomic standing in general, the shortage of role models and the absence of institutional supports can hinder the pursuit of a higher education (Feliciano 2005).

An important finding pertains to various places of residence within Ontario and the opportunities (or lack thereof) they provide for the children of immigrants. For men, places of residence within Ontario explain the higher incomes among Western/Southern European men. For women, it explained the higher earnings among those whose parents immigrated from Western/Southern Europe and the former Yugoslavian states (excluding Croatia). While living in a first-tier city tends to be associated with higher incomes, reports show increases in the proportion of recent immigrants choosing second- and third-tier cities (Frideres 2006). Several studies have addressed various strategies for recruiting and retaining immigrants in locations outside the traditional immigrant gateway cities. These include Guelph (Mulholland 2006), London (Brochu and Abu-Ayyash 2006), and Sudbury (Black 2006), to name a few.

The 2006 Census also reports that an increasing number of newcomers are choosing to settle outside Toronto, Montreal, or Vancouver. For example, Ottawa-Gatineau remains the fifth choice of destination, attracting 3.2 per cent of recent immigrants, although this actually represents a slight decline from 4 per cent in 2001. While Hamilton's share of newcomers remained at 1.9 per cent, London's increased slightly—from 1 per cent to 1.2 per cent (Chui et al. 2007). A study by Bernard (2008) finds that immigrants in small, less urbanized areas have faster economic integration than those living in large urban areas, suggesting that the development of networks both informal and formal may be critical to the integration of immigrants. The implication of smaller ethnic networks is that immigrants will have to learn the official languages, and hence will overcome the language barrier more quickly. As Appendix 1 shows, these medium-sized cities have lower proportions of second-generation individuals. It is likely that most children of immigrants will remain in places where they are in close proximity to their family networks, and where economic opportunities are widely available. Therefore, in addition to addressing the barriers that immigrants face in these smaller centres, the labour market needs of their adult children will also have to be taken into account.

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Appendix 1. Other characteristics of the second and third generations by source country, Ontario, 2nd and 3rd generation aged 25–34, 2006.

	2006 Census, Ontario CMA/CA city group																
	Marital status				Eng/Fre only	Guelph- Hamilton- Kitchener- Niagara				London Windsor Kingston				North and North- west		Non CMA/CA area	TOTAL
	Married	Divorced/ separated/ widowed	Never married	With child		Ottawa	Toronto	Guelph- Kitchener	Hamilton- Niagara	London	Windsor	Kingston	North	North- west			
United States	37.04	5.32	57.66	35.35	98.9	8.75	37.40	7.01	13.81	5.17	11.10	3.15	4.48	9.16	19,545		
Jamaica	18.34	4.57	77.09	33.38	99.03	2.96	87.56	2.60	3.77	0.80	0.64	0.47	0.61	0.58	18,050		
Other Caribbean countries	38.68	5.33	55.99	36.44	73.33	5.76	57.41	5.97	9.64	5.21	7.61	1.09	0.73	6.55	16,495		
Latin, Central and South America	25.24	5.04	69.71	27.98	98.98	5.24	83.17	3.72	3.60	1.57	0.55	0.67	0.42	1.04	28,345		
Scandinavia	36.85	4.32	58.83	31.86	98.08	6.53	43.95	10.84	6.91	3.45	1.63	6.05	10.94	9.69	5,210		
Germany	39.4	4.99	55.59	35.1	98.7	7.93	41.86	12.01	12.28	4.89	2.95	4.08	4.86	9.16	20,355		
Netherland	53.48	5	41.52	46.04	99.27	5.98	24.39	10.90	18.93	8.76	4.71	4.71	2.57	19.05	23,905		
Greece	39.75	2.15	58.13	25.6	83.99	2.84	79.82	2.93	4.76	2.54	3.78	1.21	0.59	1.50	15,335		
Italy	44.97	3.35	51.68	31.73	93.94	4.03	68.09	3.49	12.16	1.75	4.73	0.66	3.52	1.57	65,815		
Portugal	46.63	4.49	48.88	38.28	84.31	2.19	68.15	8.74	8.42	5.58	2.57	1.57	0.68	2.13	29,390		
UK/Ireland	39.02	5.28	55.7	34.56	99.59	7.59	45.47	10.17	14.06	5.61	3.14	4.17	2.80	6.99	79,565		
Other Western/ Southern Europe	40.14	4.44	55.42	32.73	97.8	8.08	50.46	7.16	10.28	6.40	4.72	3.12	2.20	7.56	12,495		
Hungary	37.32	5.39	57.29	30.23	93.02	6.55	52.54	8.14	16.07	4.97	4.33	1.69	1.48	4.33	4,730		
Poland	31.1	4.11	64.79	23.29	76.59	5.22	59.69	7.50	13.36	4.86	3.43	1.20	2.03	2.71	12,540		
Croatia	39.08	4.21	56.72	25.73	88.19	2.99	56.23	6.15	19.66	2.67	6.39	0.40	2.51	3.16	6,180		
Other former Yugoslavian states	38.14	3.69	58.17	28.97	85.8	2.94	56.09	8.37	17.14	2.83	7.67	0.46	2.02	2.48	8,665		
Other Eastern Europe	36.72	4.72	58.51	26.22	87.64	8.29	62.48	8.09	8.29	2.86	3.26	2.11	2.21	2.41	9,955		
China	23.36	1.79	74.85	11.22	66.58	6.27	85.94	1.84	1.93	1.39	1.09	0.70	0.35	0.51	21,515		
Other Eastern Asia	22.15	1.58	76.27	11.49	84.24	3.43	84.06	2.50	3.89	2.59	0.93	1.85	X	X	5,395		
Philippines	28.44	2.24	69.28	23.88	91.18	3.74	82.79	2.58	4.43	1.25	3.18	0.60	0.60	0.82	11,620		
India	39.1	3.12	57.75	21.23	77.93	4.86	79.97	4.50	5.27	1.92	1.30	0.90	0.38	0.87	19,550		
Other Southern/ Southeastern Asia	28.69	3.67	67.66	20.66	67.33	7.84	76.23	5.08	5.13	2.38	1.98	0.59	0.38	0.42	21,245		
Africa	28.18	3.72	68.1	19.57	88.65	10.42	74.22	3.86	4.70	2.05	1.27	1.32	0.68	1.37	10,220		
Arabic Region	36.14	3.19	60.67	25.54	79.07	19.01	54.13	3.14	5.83	6.34	9.63	0.61	0.51	0.86	9,865		
West Asia/Middle East	30.47	3.76	65.76	20.54	77.2	6.47	79.76	4.89	4.36	1.43	1.28	0.90	X*	X*	6,645		
Australia and Pacific islands	37.8	3.75	58.45	29.76	96.25	9.65	53.35	6.17	13.40	2.41	1.61	3.75	1.88	7.77	1,865		
All children of immigrants parents	37.1	4.16	58.73	30.17	89.92	6.04	62.03	6.40	9.88	3.75	3.63	1.97	2.02	4.27	484,505		
Children of Canadian-born parents	39.92	5.66	54.42	42.17	99.27	10.59	26.65	10.25	11.49	5.87	5.99	6.04	7.33	15.79	695,240		
Total	38.76	5.05	56.19	37.24	95.43	8.72	41.18	8.67	10.83	5.00	5.02	4.37	5.15	11.06	1,179,745		

* Sample size too small to report.