



METROPOLIS BRITISH COLUMBIA

Centre of Excellence for Research on Immigration and Diversity

Working Paper Series

No. 10 - 10

September 2010

Social Integration of Immigrants and their Children in Canada's Urban Neighbourhoods

**Zheng Wu,
Christoph M. Schimmele,
and Feng Hou**

Series editor: Linda Sheldon, SFU;
Krishna Pendakur, SFU and Daniel Hiebert, UBC, Co-directors

Metropolis British Columbia

Centre of Excellence for Research on Immigration and Diversity

MBC is supported as part of the Metropolis Project, a national strategic initiative funded by SSHRC and the following organizations of the federal government:

- Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency (ACOA)
- Canada Border Services Agency
- Canada Economic Development for the Regions of Quebec (CED-Q)
- Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC)
- Canadian Heritage (PCH)
- Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC)
- Federal Economic Development Initiative for Northern Ontario (FedNor)
- Human Resources and Social Development Canada (HRSD)
- Department of Justice Canada
- Public Health Agency of Canada (PHAC)
- Public Safety and Canada (PSC)
- Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP)
- The Rural Secretariat of Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada (Rural Sec't)
- Statistics Canada (Stats Can)

Metropolis BC also receives funding from the Ministry of Advanced Education and Labour Market Development (ALMD) of the Government of British Columbia. Grants from Simon Fraser University, the University of British Columbia and the University of Victoria provide additional support to the Centre.

Views expressed in this manuscript are those of the author(s) alone. For more information, contact the Co-directors of the Centre, Krishna Pendakur, Department of Economics, SFU (pendakur@sfu.ca) and Daniel Hiebert, Department of Geography, UBC (daniel.hiebert@ubc.ca).

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	5
BACKGROUND	7
• Immigrants, Generational Cohorts, and Integration	7
• Immigrants, Racial Minorities, and Integration	11
• Neighborhood Environment and Integration	17
DATA AND METHODS	22
• Data Sources	22
• Outcome Variables	24
• Independent Variables	27
• Statistical Methods	29
RESULTS	31
CONCLUSION	45
REFERENCES	49
APPENDIX A	57
APPENDIX B	58



METROPOLIS BRITISH COLUMBIA

Centre of Excellence for Research on Immigration and Diversity

Working Paper Series

SOCIAL INTEGRATION OF IMMIGRANTS AND THEIR CHILDREN IN CANADA'S URBAN NEIGHBOURHOODS*

Zheng Wu

Department of Sociology, University of Victoria

Christoph M. Schimmele

Department of Sociology, University of Victoria

Feng Hou

Department of Sociology, University of Victoria

*Financial support from a Metropolis British Columbia grant awarded to the first author is gratefully acknowledged. An early version of this paper was presented at the annual meetings of Canadian Population Society, Montreal, May 31–June 3, 2010. Direct all correspondence to Zheng Wu, Department of Sociology, University of Victoria, Victoria, BC, V8W 3P5, Canada.

INTRODUCTION

When screening immigrant candidates, the emphasis is on individual-level characteristics that are considered essential for successful integration, such as language abilities, education and work-related skills, and family reunification. While these are obviously important considerations, insufficient attention has been directed toward the children of immigrants or the characteristics of the communities (neighborhoods) where immigrants settle. This is problematic because the process of adaptation and integration involves an intersection of an immigrant's country of origin, generational status (e.g., age at immigration), and destination (see Berry 1997). In other words, the success of immigrants and their pathways of integration into mainstream society depend a lot on factors related to their life stage at immigration, their host communities, and their racial status. This shifts the emphasis off of individual-level characteristics and on to geographic units, social interactions, and social groups.

While it has positive long-term benefits, there are also concerns that immigration (ethnic diversification) can undermine social cohesion in the short to medium term (see Putnam 2007, 2009). However, the core problem is not immigration or social diversity per se. The key challenge to the preservation of social cohesion is ensuring the social integration of newcomers and eliminating socially constructed boundaries that create ethno-racial divisions and racial discrimination. The process of social integration embodies both the adaptation of immigrants to their host communities and the adaptation of these communities to immigrant-driven socio-demographic change. If immigrants have restricted or negative interactions with their host communities (members of the dominant group), it cannot be expected that they will achieve a

level of structural integration that is on par with non-immigrants. A lack of integration can decrease their incentive to contribute to collective enterprises or community institutions (Reitz and Banerjee 2009). Hence, promoting the social integration of immigrants and their children is essential for preserving social cohesion.

This study addresses two aspects of the social integration process. The first concerns how immigrants are conceptualized and emphasizes the need to define immigrants in terms of generational cohorts. The literature demonstrates that it is inappropriate to lump all foreign-born people together because this coarse categorization ignores life stage at immigration, which has a bearing on one's abilities and opportunities for integration (Oropesa and Landale 1997; Rumbaut 2004). In addition, it is important to consider the second generation as a distinct group, because growing up in an immigrant-headed household can also shape life chances and level of integration. The second aspect concerns where immigrants settle. Evidence indicates that local contexts are a predictor of immigrant success (e.g., Chiswick and Miller 2005; Ellis and Almgren 2009). In particular, the literature suggests that spatial assimilation is a major indicator of structural integration (e.g., Massey and Denton 1985).

There is a paucity of research on the intersection of immigrants' generational status, racial status, and location of settlement. Do these intersections explain patterned differences in social integration? There are good reasons to believe that ethno-racial status and patterns of settlement (spatial concentration) affect the integration of immigrants (Alba and Nee 1997; Gordon 1964; Massey 1985; Portes and Zhou 1993; Waters and Eschbach 1995). In accordance, a robust definition of immigrants also involves accounting for their ascribed social status and the characteristics of their communities of settlement because these structural conditions also define the immigration experience.

The purpose of this study is to disentangle the effect of generational status from the effects of (a) ethno-racial status and (b) living in a neighbourhood with a high concentration of co-ethnics. The analysis also considers if the effect of generational status on integration varies (c) between visible minorities and whites and (d) across different levels of spatial concentration.

BACKGROUND

Immigrants, Generational Cohorts, and Integration

With the exception of Aboriginals, most Canadians are from stocks of immigrants that arrived during the period of British and French colonization or in the successive waves of immigration. Though numerous individuals are third or higher generation Canadians, about 42 percent of the population (aged fifteen and older) are first or second generation Canadians (Statistics Canada 2003). Following the initial period of colonization, post-Confederation immigration was the basis for the ethno-cultural diversification of the Canadian population and social milieu. The mass immigration from Central/Eastern Europe, Southern Europe, Asia, and other so-called “non-traditional” regions of origin has been a source of continuing debate. The central points of concern are whether these “non-traditional” immigrants (non-Charter groups) can successfully adapt to Canadian society and whether the concomitant increase in ethnic diversity will dilute national unity (Li 2001).

From the Irish Catholic immigration in the nineteenth century to current immigration from Latin America and Asia, Americans have also raised questions about how newcomers would adapt, fearing that these new stocks of immigrants were “inassimilable”—i.e., too different to Americanize and dissolve themselves into the mainstream—and in “critical masses” could under-

mine American values and social cohesion (Rumbaut 1994, 1997). Of course, this emphasis on assimilation (versus integration) implies that adaptation is a one-sided process and that “non-American” traits are both undesirable for host communities and handicaps for the success of immigrants. In this respect, newcomers, especially visible minorities, face the dilemma of adapting to *unreceptive* host communities. In Canada, the putative importance of assimilation has tended to be less overt than it has in the United States, where it is often considered a prerequisite for immigrant success. But the underlying premise of assimilability and its ethnocentric overtones also resonates in Canadian debates about immigration. Li (2001) argues that these debates are essentially racial discourses, with the issue of race (inassimilability) being a hidden subtext in calls for immigration reform and a reduction in immigration quotas.

To be sure, the concept of assimilation (Anglo- or Franco-conformity) emphasizes a socio-demographic homogeneity that is at odds with the cultural mosaic existing in Canada (Richmond 1969). The term “integration” is preferable because it reflects the limited viability of assimilation within the Canadian context and the inherently multicultural essence of Canadian citizenship (Harles 1997). Both assimilation and social integration involve the blending of different groups. While assimilation implies the sequential erosion of strong attachments to ancestral culture, social integration involves a comparatively stronger preservation of cultural differences (Bolt, Özüekren, and Phillips 2010).¹ That said, the issue of Canadianization cannot be tossed aside either, for this process corresponds to commitment to and acceptance within host communities. Above all, what is essential for immigrants and their children is the achievement of parity with the native-born, such as through socioeconomic mobility, spatial integration, and intermarriage (Alba and Nee

1997; Brown 2006; Lee and Boyd 2008; Li 2008; Portes 1995). In the classic hypothesis, the integration of immigrants parallels their parity and social interactions with the native-born (the dominant group) or what Milton Gordon (1964) termed "structural assimilation."

The straight-line hypothesis posits that the assimilation of immigrants unfolds with length of residence and across immigrant generations (Hirschman 1994). The success of immigrants is regarded as an intergenerational process in which subsequent generations of immigrants become less and less distinguishable from the mainstream in socioeconomic mobility, social interactions, and attitudes. The first generation is considered to be handicapped because of their newcomer/foreigner status. Although the level of integration among the first generation increases with length of residence, their newcomer status tends to prevent their full-fledged integration. The first generation remains distinguishable from the dominant group because of their origins in a foreign culture, which ascribes them with an "outsider" status. In contrast, the second and higher generations have the benefit of education and socialization within the host community, and this exposure to the mainstream narrows their difference from the dominant group. In this model, the end stage of assimilation is the generational "Americanization" of immigrants (Gordon 1964; Rumbaut 1997). This end stage involves self-identification as an un-hyphenated American.

Becoming an un-hyphenated Canadian is unlikely to be necessary for structural integration because some level of cultural retention is the premise of multiculturalism (Harles 1997). However, self-identification as Canadian is not unimportant either. The retention of a strictly national-origin identity implies a disconnection between immigrants and their host communities that tends to represent a lack of structural integration (Rumbaut 1997). Social interactions

between immigrants and the Canadian-born foster between-group trust, which is important for establishing mutual feelings of connectedness and solidarity (Schellenberg 2004). In this regard, a weak sense of belonging to Canada could reflect the exclusion or alienation of immigrants from the Canadian mainstream. In Canada, there is a relationship between levels of assimilation (ethnic separation) and exclusion (Hiebert and Ley 2003). Self-identification as Canadian, whether hyphenated or not, is a function of membership in local social networks (having Canadian roots) and perceptions of social acceptance, and an "identificational commitment" to Canadianness comes with feeling secure and "at home" in Canada (Harles 1997; Schellenberg 2004).

While being an intergenerational process, the intergenerational analysis of the integration of immigrants is not straightforward. There is a lack of consensus about how to define immigrants and operationalize immigrant generation. In conventional terms, immigrants are defined according to foreign-born status, but it is becoming increasingly clear that this binary definition (foreign-born versus domestic-born) is an imprecise and inappropriate categorization (Rumbaut 2004). The problem of defining immigrants and immigrant generations surrounds the conceptual and empirical error of (a) lumping together all foreign-born people and (b) treating the domestic-born children of immigrants (the second generation) as non-immigrants. This definition belies the complexities of the immigrant experience and its relationship to different modes of adaptation and identity formation. Of particular interest in this study are the effects of life stage at immigration among the first generation and the consequences of living in an immigrant-headed household among the second.

As Rumbaut (2004) observes, there are sound conceptual reasons for disaggregating immigrants and the domestic-born into generational cohorts, such as first generation (adult immigrants), 1.5 generation (child immigrants),

second generation (children of immigrants), and third or higher generation Canadians. Beyond nativity, issues related to age at arrival and genealogical remove from an immigrant ancestor represent factors that distinguish these cohorts in their abilities (and willingness) to adapt and their opportunities to integrate. In this study, the first generation is split into two groups that distinguish immigrants who arrived in Canada as children (the 1.5 generation) and those who arrived as adults (the first generation). In addition, while not technically immigrants, second generation Canadians are treated as being distinct from other Canadian-born people (the third and higher generations) for two important reasons. The second generation is different from other domestic-born Canadians because of their (a) life experiences growing up in an immigrant-headed household and (b) origins in a different wave of immigration.

Immigrants, Racial Minorities, and Integration

The questions surrounding generational cohorts and the integration process is inseparable from racial status. About 45 percent of first generation Canadians arrived in Canada after 1991, coming largely from non-European countries (Statistics Canada 2007). Of all first generation Canadians, half are visible minorities. About 66 percent of all Canadian visible minorities are foreign-born. In contrast, about 11 percent of all non-minorities are first generation Canadians. In total, visible minorities compose about 53 percent of first generation, 14 percent of second generation, and under 1 percent of third or higher generation Canadians. This is a strong indication of a potential interaction between racial status and generational cohorts that could influence patterns of social integration. Though the adaptation process is intergenerational, whether it always proceeds in a straight-line is questionable (see Gans 1992). The intergenerational progress of the children of earlier waves of immigrants

(pre-1970) to Canada could reflect the prevailing socioeconomic context of immigration and their racial status, rather than a universal process.

The viability of intergenerational progress for the children of more recent (post-1965) waves of immigrants—especially those with non-European origins—is a considerable problem (Gans 1992; Portes et al. 2009; Portes and Zhou 2003; Rumbaut 1994). There is concern about a *second generation decline*, i.e., a new phase of immigration wherein the children of post-1965 immigrants are unable to match the success stories of earlier immigrants. Since the 1970s, labor markets have become tighter, productivity and real wages have declined, and there are fewer opportunities for immigrants to advance themselves (Reitz and Banerjee 2009). Moreover, most recent immigrants are visible minorities and encounter a “color” barrier to integration that most European immigrants did not. How these structural-level changes have affected immigrants and their children in terms of “Canadianization” is not entirely clear, but it suggests that the straight-line model of assimilation is often unrealistic. Immigration researchers have proposed a model of *segmented assimilation*, which incorporates several different modes of adaptation, including the assimilation of the second generation into a racial underclass. However, Boyd (2002) argues that the segmented model of assimilation found in the United States could be less relevant for Canadian immigrants because of country-level differences in the context of immigration. The Canadian context represents both different race relations (no acute black-white racial divide) and a higher proportion of immigrants within the national population. These differences could mediate the integration process via fewer restrictions on labor market and educational prospects and greater access to social capital through co-ethnic networks of support.

Yet, the integration of immigrants in Canada has also become more irregular and difficult because of factors associated with the ethno-racial composition of current immigration streams (see Banting, Courchene, and Seidle 2007). In 1971, the ethno-racial composition of the Canadian population was primarily white—73 percent of the population was of either British or French origin (Fong and Wilkes 2003), whereas just over 1 percent was non-European (excluding Aboriginals), translating into a relatively non-diverse environment. Since the liberalization of immigration policy, immigration has been a driver of racial diversification and socio-demographic transition. Close to one-half of first generation Canadians have non-European origins, in contrast to less than 1 percent of third and higher generations of Canadians (Statistics Canada 2003). The number of visible minorities has increased from one-in-twenty Canadians in 1981 to one-in-six Canadians in 2006 (Statistics Canada 2008a). Of current visible minorities, almost seven-in-ten are foreign-born.

These recent immigrants have encountered barriers to economic mobility, even though their educational attainments exceed the native-born average, which parallel racially based inequalities in labor markets (Reitz and Banerjee 2009). In Canada, racial inequalities, particularly those that affect household income and low-income rates, appear to be a growing problem. In 2002, the mean household income of visible minorities was 23 percent lower than the national average and their low-income rate was double that of non-minorities. This trend toward increasing inequalities is intertwined with immigration, given that the majority of first generation immigrants are visible minorities and that the majority of visible minorities are immigrants. In Canada's immigrant gateway cities (Montréal, Toronto, and Vancouver) feelings of discomfort and discrimination are common among visible minorities, with appreciable differences across cities and between racial groups (Ray and Preston 2009).

In 2002, about one-in-five visible minorities reported experiencing discrimination or unfair treatment in the previous five years (Statistics Canada 2003).

The experience of discrimination among visible minorities differs between first and second generation Canadians (Reitz and Banerjee 2009). Among the first generation, 34 percent of recent (\geq ten years residence) and 36 percent of long-term immigrants reported discrimination. This figure rises to 42 percent for the second generation, suggesting that the children of immigrants struggle more with discrimination than their parents do. Reitz and Banerjee (2009) propose that nativity could shape how these generational cohorts perceive and respond to racial inequalities. They speculate that being a newcomer could temper the expectations of the first generation, making them less reactive to inequalities. The first generation is aware that the onus of adaptation lies with them. Consequently, they could attribute some inequalities to their newcomer status rather than perceiving them as unfair. However, the frame of reference for the second generation is quite different, as Reitz and Banerjee point out. The second generation is, after all, Canadian-born, which could raise their expectations about what is fair and what is not. The second generation has a different connection to Canada, and this could influence how discrimination is perceived.

Reitz and Banerjee (2009) observe several mechanisms through which race (racial discrimination) can influence the interface between immigrants and Canadian society. First are the general inequalities that arise from discrimination. Whether real or perceived, racial discrimination contributes to a sense of unfairness and exclusion. Second, racial hierarchies can influence an individual's decision to invest in collective enterprises. Those who feel excluded from the mainstream could be hesitant to invest themselves in their host communities because of the perception that discrimination will depreciate

the return on their investment. In both respects, racial discrimination can trigger a disengagement from (or even a rejection of) mainstream institutions and values, and lead to a profound alienation from Canadian society. The excluded have fewer incentives to commit themselves to Canada and could thus have relatively weaker feelings of attachment. Third, socioeconomic mobility that is stunted because of discrimination can have structural-level effects on the social integration of immigrants—for example, through preventing spatial assimilation or reducing the resources needed to participate in Canadian society.

For self-identification as Canadian, a reasonable assumption is that the adaption process corresponds to generational status in terms of (a) differences in national loyalties, (b) genealogical remove from an immigrant ancestor, and (c) racial status. Within the first generation, coming from outside Canada could complicate what it means to be Canadian or to belong to Canada. The question “do I belong?” is, perhaps, sharper for immigrants than non-immigrants. At least, this question is less pronounced for the domestic-born whose citizenship was automatic. In contrast, immigrants had to *earn* their citizenship and essentially apply for permission to be Canadian. In addition, their origins in other countries make their national identities less straightforward than for the domestic-born. This too is complicated because of generational status, which reflects exposure to and socialization in foreign cultures. Though it is inappropriate to assume that this is incompatible with feeling Canadian, the challenge lies in negotiating dual identities and gaining mainstream acceptance. The first, 1.5, and second generations have varying exposure to external influences that cannot be dismissed.

As Rumbaut (1994) observes, for third generation (white) Americans, ethnic identities have become “optional” pursuits, as a function of intergenera-

tional mobility and intermarriage, but for others, particularly for visible minorities whose identities are entangled with ascribed status, this is less the case. To different degrees, immigrants and their children face the challenge of fitting together different identities, i.e., Canadian and something else. This “something else” could depend on generational status. The first, 1.5, and second generations have different levels of exposure to being from somewhere else. The first and 1.5 generation differ in terms of the length of their socialization in their home societies. The first generation will likely retain stronger attachments to and markers of (e.g., foreign accents) a foreign culture. However, the 1.5 generation faces the problem of being from neither here nor there, but instead, somewhere in between. Among the second generation, exposure to non-mainstream culture in the household sets them apart from other Canadian-born people.

Previous research indicates that self-identification as Canadian tends to increase across generations (Statistics Canada 2003). In 2002, 40 percent of first generation immigrants claimed Canadian (or another local attachment) in their identities, in comparison with 70 percent of the second generation and 80 percent of the third-plus generation. This seems to support the straight-line model of assimilation, but these figures ignore important socio-demographic differences in the composition of these generational cohorts. In general, 30 percent fewer visible minorities than whites consider themselves as Canadians (Reitz and Banerjee 2009). Among immigrants, the process of becoming Canadian is slower among visible minorities than among whites. While recent immigrants are similar across ethno-racial groups in the percentage that self-identify as Canadian, a considerable gap exists between whites and visible minorities in the second generation who self-identify as Canadian (78 versus 57 percent, respectively). In addition, sense of belonging to Canada

appears to *decrease* from the first to second generation, particularly among visible minorities.

While Rumbaut (1997) demonstrates that American identity formation increases according to generational status, his results are not unequivocally supportive of the straight-line hypothesis of assimilation. He shows that forming American identities is a *reactive* process that appears to correspond to the reception of immigrants within their host communities or societies. For example, on the heels of the passage of Proposition 187 in California—a backlash against illegal immigrants that restricted their access to public resources—numerous immigrants recanted their American or hyphenated-American identities. Between 1992 and 1995, the proportion claiming a non-American national identity (e.g., Mexican) jumped from 44 to 61 percent among the foreign-born and from 16 to 33 percent among the second generation. There was also a sharp decline in the number of immigrants who identified themselves as un-hyphenated Americans. Rumbaut argues that this “boomerang effect” corresponds to a “reactive ethnic consciousness,” which implies that perceptions of exclusion from the mainstream mediate self-identities. This suggests that feelings of belonging are partially ascribed.

Neighborhood Environment and Integration

Rumbaut’s study illustrates that the integration of immigrants is a two-way process. That is, it involves both adaptation on the part of immigrants and reception (acceptance) on the part of their host communities. This suggests that integration is associated with social contacts between newcomers and members of the dominant group. With regard to feelings of exclusion, trust in neighbors reduces the odds of reporting discomfort and discrimination, and as

such, local social ties could generate a sense of belonging among newcomers to Canada (Ray and Preston 2009). Sociologists often conceptualize social integration in terms of spatial assimilation or the level of neighborhood co-residence between heterogeneous groups (Balakrishnan and Hou 1999). Co-residence implies a greater level of contact between different ethnic groups, reducing the social distance between them, whereas residential segregation tends to increase the social isolation of visible minorities or other marginalized groups. Although the spatial concentration of particular groups can represent segregation, it can also be conceptualized in neutral terms, e.g., as the unequal distribution of groups that accrues from personal choices, such as preferences for residing in ethnic enclaves (Bolt et al. 2010; Logan, Alba, and Zhang 2002).

The essential question is whether the spatial distribution of immigrants within cities influences their social integration. In numerous respects, the adaption of immigrants is a local process, unfolding at the regional, metropolitan, and neighborhood levels. Visible minorities are not evenly dispersed throughout the national population but are clustered at the regional and sub-regional levels. Almost all immigrants and visible minorities live in urban centers. Hence, the transition in socio-demographic composition is an urban phenomenon and is most pronounced in the Toronto and Vancouver metropolitan areas, where 60 percent of Canada's visible minorities reside. In both of these sub-regions, visible minorities comprise upwards of 40 percent of the urban population. In Toronto, Vancouver, and Montréal, the number of neighborhoods consisting of at least 30 percent of a particular visible minority group (e.g., South Asians, Chinese, Blacks) increased from 6 neighborhoods in 1981 to 254 neighborhoods in 2001 (Hou and Picot 2004). In this respect, immigration is a factor propelling a demographic transition and changing the so-

cial geographies of Canadian cities and the urban neighborhoods within them (Hiebert 2000).

Where immigrants settle is not inconsequential. First, neighborhood characteristics shape the opportunities and life chances of their residents, regardless of individual-level differences in socioeconomic status (see Sampson, Morenoff, and Gannon-Rowley 2002). Second, neighborhoods provide an important context for social interactions. For example, mixed-racial neighborhoods provide the potential for cross-cultural interactions that can breakdown racial stereotypes and prejudice (Fong and Wilkes 2003). This contact can forge social ties between different groups that lead to acceptance and integration. Third, the concentration of immigrants in poor neighborhoods can have serious consequences for their structural and social integration into the Canadian mainstream. A breakdown of social institutions and social cohesion is a hallmark of poor neighborhoods (Massey 1990; Sampson, Morenoff, and Gannon-Rowley 2002). This breakdown, in conjunction with the pervasive lack of educational and employment opportunities, can have consequences that lead to a reduction of social integration over time.

In Canada, the spatial concentration of co-ethnics has become an increasing concern with post-1970 waves of immigration from non-European countries. To date, Canadian cities have avoided US-levels of segregation (Fong 1996). The ethno-racial diversification of Canadian cities came largely after the introduction of multiculturalism, which represented a sort of ideological bulwark against such acute patterns of exclusion. However, immigrant-driven ethnic diversification has contributed to the spatial concentration of ethnic groups in Canada, either through voluntary or involuntary processes (Bauder and Sharpe 2002). Moreover, there is evidence of an overrepresentation of immigrants in low-income neighborhoods (Kazemipur and Halli 2000).

The spatial concentration of these groups is unlikely to decrease in the foreseeable future because of constraints related to local structural contexts, such as labor markets and housing stocks (Fong and Wilkes 2003). This may result in both exclusion from the mainstream and a subsequent rejection of mainstream values. On one hand, spatial concentration could sanction further exclusion because it contributes to perceptions of racial differences and fosters inter-racial tension (Balakrishnan and Hou 1999). In accordance, the “racial difference” that spatial concentration produces (e.g., different manners of speech, attitudes, and values) could become the terms of exclusion. On the other hand, the experience of spatial concentration can also transform attitudes. For example, the rejection of mainstream values within oppositional sub-cultures is a form of self-exclusion common in segregated populations (see Rumbaut 1994).

The long-standing assumption is that spatial concentration is a barrier to the integration of immigrants (Gordon 1964; Kazemipur and Halli 2000). This is largely why spatial assimilation is such a prominent topic in the literature. In the classic model, spatial assimilation is considered to be an important marker of immigrant socioeconomic success and integration into host communities. The spatial assimilation model posits that segregation is a function of group differences in socioeconomic status (Massey 1985). Since numerous immigrants enter host communities with limited socioeconomic resources, these people move into “transitional” neighborhoods with cheap housing and co-ethnic support networks. With socioeconomic success and length of residence (and across generations), immigrants are able to re-locate to neighborhoods with better housing and amenities, which implies greater co-residence and social interaction with members of the dominant group. However, because of racial discrimination in housing markets, not all immigrants can convert so-

cioeconomic success into residential mobility (Hou 2006; Massey and Denton 1987).

There is considerable debate over whether the spatial concentration of co-ethnics is good or bad for the integration of immigrants (Balakrishnan and Hou 1999; Bolt, Özüekren, and Phillips 2010; Murdie and Ghosh 2010; Musterd and Ostendorf 2009). The assumptions about the relationship between spatial concentration and integration are largely based on the US experience, which represents a racial context that might not be germane to Canada or other countries. Of course, in the United States, the spatial concentration of co-ethnics has largely had negative effects for both the segregated and the general public. Segregation has produced numerous social problems and is analogous with a concentration of socioeconomic disadvantage, the reproduction of poverty, and a racial underclass (Massey and Denton 1993). As has been long observed, residential segregation is a barrier to numerous dimensions of social integration in the United States, such as English language acquisition, citizenship, occupational mobility, and intermarriage (Lieberson 1963; Marston and van Valey 1979; Roof 1972).

RESEARCH PROBLEMS

This study addresses several research questions related to the social integration of immigrants and their children. These questions probe the complexities of the integration process, which we presume differs according to (a) immigrant generation, (b) neighborhood of settlement, and (c) racial status.

Problem 1: Does social integration increase across immigrant generations as the straight-line hypothesis suggests? Or is there evidence of a non-linear effect, such as the segmented model of assimilation suggests?

Problem 2: To what extent are differences in social integration between generational cohorts of immigrants attributable to individual-level characteristics, such as ethnic background? Are there differences between visible minorities and whites in generational patterns of social integration?

Problem 3: Does living in an ethnic enclave mediate intergenerational patterns of social integration? Does the influence of generational cohorts differ by the level of concentration of co-ethnics?

We define social integration in terms of sense of belonging to Canada and experiences of feeling out of place in Canada. These are key dimensions of adaption to and acceptance within Canada.

DATA AND METHODS

Data Sources

The empirical analysis uses cross-sectional data from the 2002 Ethnic Diversity Survey (EDS) and the 2001 Canadian Census. The individual-level data are from the EDS. The EDS is a post-censal survey, with respondents selected from those who completed the long form of the 2001 Census questionnaire (sent to one-in-five households). The long-form questionnaire contains questions about country of birth, date of immigration, parent's country of birth, ancestral background, and other socio-demographic characteristics. This permits the identification of first generation, 1.5 generation, second generation, and third generation or higher Canadians (Statistics Canada 2008c). The EDS is a nationally representative sample of over 42,476 Canadians aged fifteen years and older living in private households in the ten provinces.² The EDS over-sampled people of non-European ancestry to facilitate the anal-

ysis of ethnic/racial minorities. Further details on the EDS instrument design and sampling are available in Statistics Canada publications elsewhere (e.g., Statistics Canada 2005).

The EDS was designed to collect data on the ethno-cultural backgrounds of Canadians and their participation in social life and the economy (Statistics Canada 2003). The EDS is a rich data source for examining social integration and whether patterns of social participation correspond with differences in ethno-racial background. Since this study considers “neighborhood effects” on the relationship between immigrant generation and perceived social integration, the study sample is restricted to respondents living in neighborhoods nested in Census Metropolitan Areas (CMA). Statistics Canada (2006) defines a CMA as “one or more adjacent municipalities situated around a major urban core” with at least 100,000 inhabitants. As noted above, CMAs are where most immigrants and visible minorities live. The study also excludes cases (amounting to about 2 percent of all EDS respondents) missing data on the dependent variables. The study sample consists of 21,150 respondents in 4,027 neighborhoods in twenty-seven CMAs.

The 2001 Canadian Census (20 percent sample microdata file) provides the data for the neighborhood-level variables and is a reliable source for deriving information about a variety of neighborhood characteristics. Following previous studies, this study defines neighborhoods as census tracts, which are small areas that represent “natural” neighborhoods in terms of socioeconomic and demographic characteristics (see Alba, Logan, and Stults 2000; Hou 2006). In Canada, a typical census tract neighborhood contains approximately 4,000 residents. Using the 20 percent sample microdata file (long-form respondents) reduces this number accordingly. In this study, the estimates of the neighborhood-level variables are based on an average sample

size of about 800 respondents per census tract neighborhood. Using common geographic identifiers in the Census and EDS, the derived neighborhood-level data is merged with the individual-level data.

Outcome Variables

The empirical analysis considers two indicators of social integration. These indicators are: (a) sense of belonging to Canada and (b) feeling out of place in Canada. The question about sense of belonging to Canada is important because it is a measure of whether immigrants (and visible minorities) feel “at home” in Canada (or adopt a Canadian identity), which is a global indicator of social integration in the sense that it corresponds to having roots in host communities. A strong sense of belonging is an outcome of having robust social networks and it is, therefore, associated with social cohesion and community well-being (Schellenberg 2004). The respondents were asked: “using a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 is not strong at all and 5 is very strong, how strong is your sense of belonging to Canada?” As Table 1 shows, the average level of sense of belonging to Canada is high (4.28), but has considerable variability (SD = 1.02). The second indicator of social integration asked: “How often do you feel uncomfortable or out of place in Canada now because of your ethnicity, culture, race, skin colour, language, accent or religion? Is it (1) all of the time, (2) most of the time, (3) some of the time, (4) rarely, or (5) never?” This question is an important dimension of perceived social acceptance and those who feel out of place in Canada also tend to feel vulnerable to discrimination (exclusion) based on their ethnic/racial background (Reitz and Banerjee 2009). Among all Canadians, the average level of feeling out of place is low, falling between rarely and never (the response set is reversed for the variable in the regression analysis).

TABLE 1: VARIABLE DEFINITIONS AND DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS FOR VARIABLES USED IN THE ANALYSIS

VARIABLE	DEFINITION/CODING	MEAN OR %	S.D.
Response variables			
Belonging to Canada	Ordinal scale in 5 levels: 1 = not strong at all, ..., 5 = very strong	4.28	1.02
Feel uncomfortable or out of place	Ordinal scale in 5 levels: 1 = never, ..., 5 = all of the time	1.45	0.77
Individual-level characteristics			
Immigrant generation			
First generation	First generation of immigrants	21.8%	—
1.5 generation	Immigrants arriving at age 12 or younger	8.8%	—
Second generation	Second generation of immigrants	19.5%	—
Third generation or higher	Third or higher order of generations	50.0%	—
Location			
Toronto	Dummy variable (1 = yes, 0 = no)	26.9%	—
Montréal	Dummy variable (1 = yes, 0 = no)	14.9%	—
Vancouver	Dummy variable (1 = yes, 0 = no)	12.2%	—
Other large CMAs ^a	Dummy variable (1 = yes, 0 = no)	27.0%	—
Small CMAs	Reference category	19.0%	—
Age	Age in years (range: 15 - 96)	39.1	13.2
Female	Dummy variable (1 = female, 0 = male)	50.7%	—
Marital status			
Widowed	Dummy variable (1 = yes, 0 = no)	1.5%	—
Divorced or separated	Dummy variable (1 = yes, 0 = no)	8.5%	—
Single	Dummy variable (1 = yes, 0 = no)	32.8%	—
Married	Reference category	57.3%	—
Education			
University degree or higher	Dummy variable (1 = yes, 0 = no)	27.4%	—
Some postsecondary educ	Dummy variable (1 = yes, 0 = no)	33.7%	—
Secondary education or less	Reference category	39.0%	—
Family income			
Lowest income	Dummy variable (1 = <\$20,000, 0 = no)	2.3%	—
Low middle income	Dummy variable (1 = \$20,000 - 39,999, 0 = no)	8.1%	—
Middle income	Dummy variable (1 = \$40,000 - 59,999, 0 = no)	12.6%	—
Upper middle income	Dummy variable (1 = \$60,000 - 99,999, 0 = no)	22.7%	—
Income not reported	Dummy variable (1 = yes, 0 = no)	34.2%	—
Highest income	Reference category (>= \$100,000)	20.1%	—

TABLE 1: CONTINUED

VARIABLE	DEFINITION/CODING	MEAN OR %	S.D.
Home language	Dummy variable (1 = home language not English or French, 0 = otherwise)	7.5%	—
Racial grouping			
Blacks	Dummy variable (1 = yes, 0 = no)	3.8%	—
Chinese	Dummy variable (1 = yes, 0 = no)	6.7%	—
South Asian	Dummy variable (1 = yes, 0 = no)	5.7%	—
Filipinos	Dummy variable (1 = yes, 0 = no)	2.1%	—
Latin American	Dummy variable (1 = yes, 0 = no)	1.6%	—
South East Asian	Dummy variable (1 = yes, 0 = no)	1.1%	—
Korean	Dummy variable (1 = yes, 0 = no)	0.7%	—
Japanese	Dummy variable (1 = yes, 0 = no)	0.4%	—
West Asian	Dummy variable (1 = yes, 0 = no)	2.0%	—
Portuguese	Dummy variable (1 = yes, 0 = no)	2.0%	—
Jewish	Dummy variable (1 = yes, 0 = no)	1.0%	—
Polish	Dummy variable (1 = yes, 0 = no)	1.9%	—
Dutch	Dummy variable (1 = yes, 0 = no)	1.5%	—
Ukraine	Dummy variable (1 = yes, 0 = no)	2.5%	—
Aboriginals	Dummy variable (1 = yes, 0 = no)	2.0%	—
Italian	Dummy variable (1 = yes, 0 = no)	5.4%	—
German	Dummy variable (1 = yes, 0 = no)	5.3%	—
French	Dummy variable (1 = yes, 0 = no)	14.3%	—
British	Reference category	40.1%	—
Neighborhood-level characteristics			
Ethnic enclave	% of own ethnic group (range: 0 - 0.853)	0.235	0.184
Income inequality	Income inequality (range: 0.704 - 11.7)	1.710	0.688
Low-income rate	Low-income rate (range: 0 - 0.827)	0.167	0.111
% with university degrees	% with university degrees (range: 0 - 0.665)	0.197	0.112
% of non-movers	% of non-movers (range: 0 - 0.877)	0.557	0.126
Population density	Logged population density (range: 0.200 - 11.1)	7.564	1.418
<i>N</i>		21,150	

Note: Weighted means and percentages, unweighted *N*.

Data sources: the 2001 census 20% sample micro data file and the 2002 Ethnic Diversity Survey .

^aOther Large CMAs include Ottawa, Calgary, Edmonton, Winnipeg, and Hamilton.

Both indicators of social integration are ordinal scales and are modeled as continuous variables. However, we experimented with alternative modeling strategies, considering that these are discrete and not truly continuous variables. To test whether this is appropriate, we re-estimated the main models (the final models in Tables 2 and 3) with ordered logistic regressions instead (see Appendix B). The results from this analysis are similar to the findings from the main models. This demonstrates that it is not unreasonable to treat the outcome variables as continuous variables. We choose to measure them as continuous variables because the regression coefficients in these models have OLS interpretations.

Independent Variables

The main independent variables of interest are immigrant generation and neighborhood-level concentration of co-ethnics. Immigrant generation is defined and measured as a four-level categorical variable: (a) first generation, (b) 1.5 generation, (c) second generation, and (d) third or higher generation Canadians (reference group). The first generation refers to people who immigrated to Canada at age thirteen or older. The 1.5 generation refers to immigrants who came to Canada at age twelve or younger. These cut-offs for distinguishing first generation from 1.5 generation immigrants are consistent with the literature (see Lee and Boyd 2008). First generation Canadians comprise 21.8 percent of people living in CMAs and 1.5 generation Canadians comprise almost 9 percent.³ The second generation refers to domestic-born Canadians with at least one immigrant parent. Almost 20 percent of the study sample are second generation Canadians. Third generation Canadians refers to people whose parents were Canadian-born. These people comprise half of the study sample.

The analysis considers several neighborhood-level characteristics that could mediate/moderate the relationship between immigrant status and the outcome variables. Of primary concern is the ethnic composition of neighborhoods. This variable is measured as the proportion of co-ethnics in the neighborhood. The proportion of co-ethnics ranges between 0 and 85 percent. Other neighborhood-level characteristics include aggregate socioeconomic status, population turnover, and population density. These neighborhood-level variables are commonly used in the neighborhood effects literature (see Morenoff, Sampson, and Raudenbush 2001). Neighborhood socioeconomic status is defined as (a) income inequality (the coefficient of variation), (b) the percent of households at the low-income rate (using Statistics Canada cut-offs), and (c) the percentage of residents with a university degree. Neighborhood turnover is measured according to the percentage of non-movers (past five years). A high amount of neighborhood turnover could impair social integration inasmuch as it could impede the formation of local social networks (Sampson and Graif 2009). Population density is a logarithm of population size per square kilometer.

The regression models also consider several individual- and household-level characteristics that could influence the relationship between immigrant generation and social integration. Ethnic/racial status is chief among these variables, which is a well-established indicator of social integration (Reitz and Banerjee 2009). About 83 percent of Canadian visible minorities are foreign-born and almost all of these people live in CMAs (Statistics Canada 2008b). The analysis considers nineteen different (self-reported) ethnic/racial groups. The analysis also considers the effects of location, age, sex, marital status, education, family income, and home language. Table 1 provides the definitions and descriptive statistics for all variables.

Statistical Methods

When examining neighborhood effects, it is possible that endogeneity of residential choices could bias the regression estimates (Dustmann and Preston 2001; Putnam 2007). For example, if people with a relatively weak sense of belonging to Canada prefer to reside in relatively co-ethnically homogeneous neighborhoods, then a potentially negative association between sense of belonging and living in such a neighborhood would be over-estimated. In other words, self-selection in neighborhood choices could give the erroneous impression that living in an ethnic enclave reduces a person's sense of belonging to Canada. Similarly, if people with a weak sense of belonging to Canada prefer to avoid enclaves, then a potentially negative association between enclaves and sense of belonging could be under-estimated. Hence, it is necessary to correct for such potential "sorting effects" to avoid incorrectly attributing individual-level effects to contextual effects.

To address the problem of endogeneity of neighborhood choice, this study uses an instrumental variable (IV) approach (see Dustmann and Preston 2001). The choice of the instrumental variable in this study is based on the notion that the need to remain close to the workplace and the desire to remain close to social networks is a constraint on choice of location. To be sure, individuals or households can move into specific neighborhoods in response to their preference for particular local characteristics, but their mobility is also often constrained *across* regions. In their study of the relationship between attitudes toward ethnic minorities and local-level ethnic group composition, Dustmann and Preston (2001) used ethnic composition at the district level (averaging 120,000 residents) as an instrument for ethnic composition at the ward level (averaging 5,000 residents). Their results demonstrate that there

is indeed a sorting effect into wards. When ward-level data of ethnic composition are employed, the relationship between neighborhood effects and attitudes is biased.

Following Dustmann and Preston (2001), this study uses percent of co-ethnics measured at the municipality level (averaging 110,000 residents) as the instrument for percent of co-ethnics measured at the census tract level. The procedure is equivalent to estimating a two-stage model:

$$\text{Stage 1: } E_{ij} = a^* + b^* X_i + c^* Z_j + m^* E_k + n_i$$

$$\text{Stage 2: } Y_i = a + bX_i + cZ_j + m\hat{E}_{ij} + e_i$$

where E_{ij} and E_k are the proportions of co-ethnics at the neighborhood and municipality level, respectively; X_i denotes individual-level characteristics; Z_j refers to neighborhood-level variables; and Y_i is the outcome variable. The parameters a , b , c , i , and m (with or without superscripts) are the regression coefficients associated with the corresponding variables. \hat{E}_{ij} is the predicted value from the stage 1 model. The predicted value is a linear combination of their municipality level counterparts and other exogenous variables in the stage 2 model. To evaluate the viability (strength) of this instrument, we performed the Cragg-Donald test (see Davidson and Schaffer 1993). The test shows that we have a strong instrument. Further tests show that there is no significant difference between the coefficients of the IV regression and the standard OLS.

In the regression models, robust standard errors were computed to account for the cluster effects (correlated errors within neighborhoods and unequal variances across neighborhoods) that can arise in multi-level data (Steenbergen and Jones 2002). These models are equivalent to a fixed-intercept model with level-1 covariates within the framework of hierarchical liner

models (HLM) (Raudenbush et al. 2000). We estimated the mean outcome for each neighborhood adjusted for differences in individual-level characteristics across neighborhoods and then regressed the mean outcome on neighborhood-level predictors.

In addition, we examined whether there is collinearity between ethnic composition and our other selected neighborhood-level variables (see Appendix A). Except for income inequality, ethnic composition is significantly correlated with all neighborhood-level variables, but the correlations are not strong. The correlations between our selected measures of neighborhood SES (income inequality, neighborhood low-income rate, and percentage of residents with a university degree) are within acceptable limits. There is some overlapping between percentage of residents with a university degree and income inequality ($r = .414$). Otherwise, the correlations between the neighborhood SES variables, although significant, are low. This suggests that collinearity does not pose a serious threat to the efficiency of the regression estimates.

RESULTS

Tables 2 and 3 present the regressions of the outcome variables on immigrant generation and selected individual- and neighborhood-level variables. Within these tables, the analysis proceeds in three steps. Steps 1 and 2 use OLS regression and step 3 uses IV regression. In all models, third generation or higher Canadians are the reference group. The first step examines the bivariate relationship between immigrant generation and the outcome variables. This step estimates the total (gross) effect of immigrant generation on the outcome variable. It examines whether immigrant generation matters for social integration. The second step considers the effects of the selected

individual-level characteristics. The purpose of this step is to examine whether the effect of immigrant generation is attributable to individual-level characteristics, rather than immigrant generation. The third step adds the neighborhood variables to the model. This final step examines whether location of residence mediates the relationship between immigrant generation and social integration.

Table 2 presents the regressions of sense of belonging to Canada (SBC) on immigrant generation and other selected variables. The first model examines the bivariate relationship between immigrant generation and SBC. The findings demonstrate that immigrant generation has a significant effect. Both first and second generation Canadians report having a significantly higher SBC than third or higher generation Canadians. The effect sizes, however, are small, and do not appear to contribute to major differences between these generations. The 1.5 generation are not significantly different from third or higher generation Canadians. These initial findings are counterintuitive. The literature suggests that differences between immigrants and the native-born tend to decrease with generational status and length of residence (Hirschman 1994; Rumbaut 1997). Hence, the intuitive expectation is that third or higher generation should have a comparatively strong SBC, presumably as a function of more “complete” acculturation and long-term settlement.

The next model examines the effect of immigrant status on SBC, adjusting for individual-level characteristics, such as ethnic/racial status, socioeconomic status, home language, and other demographic variables. The effects of immigrant status are non-significant in this model (though non-significant, the signs of the estimates for 1.5 and second generation Canadians are reversed, indicating a somewhat weaker SBC). This model suggests that individual characteristics account for the effect of immigrant generation. In the model, there

TABLE 2: REGRESSIONS OF SENSE OF BELONGING TO CANADA ON IMMIGRANT GENERATION AND SELECTED INDIVIDUAL-LEVEL AND NEIGHBORHOOD-LEVEL VARIABLES: EDS, 2002

INDEPENDENT VARIABLE	OLS REGRESSION		IV REGRESSION
	STEP ONE	STEP TWO	STEP THREE
Immigrant generation			
First generation	0.201 ***	0.012	0.014
1.5 generation	0.027	-0.072	-0.074 *
Second generation	0.083 **	-0.037	-0.039
Third generation or higher ^a			
Location			
Toronto	—	-0.036	-0.034
Montréal	—	-0.423 ***	-0.393 ***
Vancouver	—	-0.082	-0.061
Other large CMAs	—	-0.040	-0.027
Small CMAs ^a			
Age	—	0.013 ***	0.013 ***
Female (1 = yes)	—	0.063 **	0.063 **
Marital status			
Widowed	—	0.027	0.028
Divorced or separated	—	-0.067	-0.060
Single	—	0.009	0.021
Married ^a			
Education			
University degree or higher	—	-0.070 *	-0.057
Some postsecondary education	—	0.009	0.012
Secondary education or less ^a			
Family income			
Lowest income	—	-0.210 **	-0.180 *
Low middle income	—	-0.121 **	-0.096 *
Middle income	—	-0.111 **	-0.097 *
Upper middle income	—	-0.101 **	-0.097 **
Income not reported	—	-0.089 **	-0.072 *
Highest income ^a			
Home language (1 = non-Eng/French)	—	-0.104 **	-0.092 *

TABLE 2: CONTINUED

INDEPENDENT VARIABLE	OLS REGRESSION		IV REGRESSION
	STEP ONE	STEP TWO	STEP THREE
Individual-level characteristics			
Racial grouping			
Blacks	—	0.047	0.046
Chinese	—	-0.193 ***	-0.185 ***
South Asian	—	0.185 ***	0.181 ***
Filipinos	—	0.142 *	0.143 *
Latin American	—	0.017	0.009
South East Asian	—	-0.413 **	-0.411 **
Korean	—	-0.291 *	-0.302 *
Japanese	—	-0.543 ***	-0.573 ***
West Asian	—	0.322 ***	0.322 ***
Portuguese	—	0.142 *	0.132
Jewish	—	-0.133	-0.135
Polish	—	0.042	0.029
Dutch	—	-0.121	-0.149
Ukraine	—	-0.035	-0.063
Aboriginals	—	-0.270 *	-0.282
Italian	—	0.109 **	0.093
German	—	-0.052	-0.063
French	—	-0.534 ***	-0.534 ***
British ^a			
Neighborhood-level characteristics			
Ethnic enclave	—	—	-0.062
Income inequality	—	—	0.032 *
Low-income rate	—	—	-0.533 ***
% with university degrees	—	—	-0.291 *
% of non-movers	—	—	-0.024
Population density	—	—	0.014
Constant	4.214 ***	4.037 ***	4.018 ***
R-squared	0.006 ***	0.102 ***	0.105 ***
Individual level sample size	21,150	21,150	21,150
Number of neighborhoods	4,027	4,027	4,027

Note: Robust standard errors were estimated for significance tests.

^a Reference category.

*** $p < .001$ ** $p < .01$ * $p < .05$

is a lot of heterogeneity among ethnic/racial groups in SBC. Several ethnic/racial groups (e.g., South East Asian, Japanese, and French) have a relatively low (compared to British Canadians) SBC. This finding implies that a relatively strong negative SBC among certain ethnic groups (e.g., French), who are overrepresented in the third or higher generation, may lead to the counterintuitive result observed in the bivariate model.

This model also presents the effects of all other individual-level variables. The cumulative effects of these variables could also account for the significant effect of immigrant generation observed in the bivariate model. In comparison to residents of small CMAs, residents of Montréal have a significantly lower SBC. A person's SBC tends to increase with age. Females have a slightly higher SBC than males. Having a university degree decreases SBC. There is a positive association between high income and SBC. Living in a home where the main home language is not English/French decreases SBC.

The third column in Table 2 presents the IV regressions of SBC on immigrant generation and neighborhood- and individual-level variables. While individual characteristics account for the effects of immigrant generation on SBC, there could still be neighborhood effects that mediate this relationship. In the IV model, the 1.5 generation has a significantly lower SBC than third or higher generation Canadians. The other immigrant generation groups are not significantly different from the reference group. The concentration of co-ethnics does not mediate the relationship between immigrant generation and SBC. Whether a person lives among mostly co-ethnics or mostly among other ethnic groups is inconsequential. The effect of neighborhood socioeconomics is significant. Low neighborhood SES decreases SBC, although income inequality increases SBC.

Table 3 presents the regressions of feeling out of place in Canada on immigrant generation and selected individual- and neighborhood-level variables. The bivariate model indicates that first generation Canadians feel more out of place than third or higher generation Canadians. The other immigrant generation groups are not significantly different from the reference group. The second column in Table 3 demonstrates that this relationship changes when individual-level control variables are introduced into the model. The difference between first generation and third and higher generation Canadians remains significant, although the effect size decreases. This model also indicates that 1.5 generation and second generation Canadians feel somewhat less out of place than the reference group, after adjusting for differences in individual-level characteristics. This model confirms that immigrant generation has a direct and indirect effect on feeling out of place in Canada. The effect is direct and indirect for first generation Canadians, operating partially through individual-level characteristics. For the 1.5 and second generation the effect is indirect, as it operates entirely through individual-level characteristics.

The third column in Table 3 presents the IV regressions. The effects of immigrant generation in this model are similar to the findings reported in the second model. This implies that neighborhood status does not mediate the relationship between immigrant generation and feeling out of place in Canada. As in Table 2, the effect of co-ethnic concentration has a non-significant effect. With the exception of neighborhood turnover (percent of non-movers), the selected neighborhood-level variables have non-significant effects on the outcome variable. In general, what appears to be most important is belonging to a non-European ethnic/racial group. There is a fairly consistent and relatively strong relationship between being a visible minority and reporting feeling out of place in Canada.

TABLE 3: REGRESSIONS OF FEELING OUT OF PLACE ON IMMIGRANT GENERATION AND SELECTED INDIVIDUAL-LEVEL AND NEIGHBORHOOD-LEVEL VARIABLES: EDS, 2002

INDEPENDENT VARIABLE	OLS REGRESSION		IV REGRESSION
	STEP ONE	STEP TWO	STEP THREE
Immigrant generation			
First generation	0.386 ***	0.178 ***	0.174 ***
1.5 generation	0.011	-0.083 **	-0.084 **
Second generation	-0.025	-0.042 *	-0.042 *
Third generation or higher ^a			
Location			
Toronto	—	0.137 ***	0.129 ***
Montréal	—	0.141 ***	0.116 ***
Vancouver	—	0.084 *	0.072 *
Other large CMAs	—	0.058 *	0.044
Small CMAs ^a			
Age	—	-0.001	-0.001
Female (1 = yes)	—	0.015	0.016
Marital status			
Widowed	—	0.029	0.027
Divorced or separated	—	0.056	0.047
Single	—	-0.046	-0.050
Married ^a			
Education			
University degree or higher	—	0.140 ***	0.130 ***
Some postsecondary education	—	0.062 **	0.058 **
Secondary education or less ^a			
Family income			
Lowest income	—	0.179	0.155
Low middle income	—	0.054	0.041
Middle income	—	0.102 ***	0.091 **
Upper middle income	—	0.032	0.024
Income not reported	—	0.035	0.018
Highest income ^a			
Home language (1 = non-Eng/French)	—	-0.016	-0.014

TABLE 3: CONTINUED

INDEPENDENT VARIABLE	OLS REGRESSION		IV REGRESSION
	STEP ONE	STEP TWO	STEP THREE
Individual-level characteristics			
Racial grouping			
Blacks	—	0.415 ***	0.365 ***
Chinese	—	0.300 ***	0.272 ***
South Asian	—	0.222 ***	0.187 ***
Filipinos	—	0.242 ***	0.182 **
Latin American	—	0.078	0.018
South East Asian	—	0.231 **	0.166 *
Korean	—	0.626 ***	0.561 ***
Japanese	—	0.368 ***	0.309 ***
West Asian	—	0.063	0.002
Portuguese	—	-0.204 ***	-0.253 ***
Jewish	—	0.257 ***	0.221 **
Polish	—	0.029	-0.024
Dutch	—	-0.128 ***	-0.181 ***
Ukraine	—	-0.160 ***	-0.217 ***
Aboriginals	—	0.195	0.122
Italian	—	-0.089 **	-0.122 ***
German	—	-0.068 *	-0.124 **
French	—	0.057	0.041
British ^a			
Neighborhood-level characteristics			
Ethnic enclave	—	—	-0.165
Income inequality	—	—	-0.010
Low-income rate	—	—	0.156
% with university degrees	—	—	0.074
% of non-movers	—	—	-0.148 *
Population density	—	—	-0.003
Constant	1.373 ***	1.229 ***	1.395 ***
R-squared	0.041 ***	0.083 ***	0.084 ***
Individual level sample size	21,150	21,150	21,150
Number of neighborhoods	4,027	4,027	4,027

Note: Robust standard errors were estimated for significance tests.

^a Reference category.

*** $p < .001$ ** $p < .01$ * $p < .05$

Table 4 repeats the IV models presented in Table 2 and 3 but runs separate models for whites and visible minorities. This is a more fine-grained approach to determining whether immigrant generation matters for social integration and essentially examines the interactions between immigrant generation and visible minority status. It is possible that a negative (or positive) effect among whites in combination with a positive (or negative) effect among visible minorities could be cancelling each other out in the main analysis, leading to null results. In other words, the main findings could conceal important sub-population differences in the relationship between immigrant generation and the outcome variables. The purpose of Table 4 is to examine whether the effects of immigrant generation on social integration and whether the effect of co-ethnic concentration (and other neighborhood-level characteristics) on this relationship differs between whites and visible minorities.⁴

The first two columns in Table 4 are comparable to the IV regression (final model) in Table 2. This re-analysis estimates separate IV models of SBC for whites and visible minorities, examining the effects of individual- and neighborhood-level characteristics. The results are different, albeit not majorly, from those reported in Table 2. The earlier results indicated that 1.5 generation Canadians had a slightly lower SBC than third or higher generation Canadians, whereas the other immigrant generations were not significantly different from the reference group. In the re-analysis, there are no significant generational differences in SBC among whites. Among visible minorities, second generation Canadians have a weaker SBC than third or higher generation Canadians. First and 1.5 generation Canadians are not significantly different in SBC than the reference group (but the signs on the regression estimates are all negative). For both whites and visible minorities, the effect of co-ethnic concentration is non-significant, which is consistent with Table 2. The previously reported

TABLE 4: INSTRUMENTAL VARIABLE REGRESSIONS OF SENSE OF BELONGING TO CANADA AND FEELING OUT OF PLACE ON IMMIGRANT GENERATION: WHITES AND RACIAL MINORITIES, EDS, 2002

INDEPENDENT VARIABLE	BELONGING TO CANADA		FEELING OUT OF PLACE	
	WHITES	RACIAL MINORITIES	WHITES	RACIAL MINORITIES
Immigrant generation				
First generation	-0.074	-0.141	0.101 **	0.500 ***
1.5 generation	-0.065	-0.234	-0.083 *	0.150
Second generation	-0.016	-0.311 *	-0.043 *	0.173
Third generation or higher ^a				
Location				
Toronto	-0.002	-0.028	0.140 ***	0.050
Montréal	-0.463 ***	-0.091	0.162 ***	-0.068
Vancouver	-0.040	0.006	0.087 *	0.001
Other large CMAs	-0.021	-0.028	0.039	-0.004
Small CMAs ^a				
Age				
Age	0.012 ***	0.016 ***	0.000	-0.004
Female (1 = yes)	0.084 ***	-0.003	-0.005	0.082 *
Marital status				
Widowed	0.090	-0.235	0.108	-0.320 *
Divorced or separated	-0.057	-0.105	0.069	-0.009
Single	0.039	0.025	-0.023	-0.033
Married ^a				
Education				
University degree or higher	-0.079 *	-0.007	0.105 ***	0.205 ***
Some postsecondary education	0.001	0.044	0.047 *	0.093 *
Secondary education or less ^a				
Family income				
Lowest income	-0.243	-0.063	0.045	0.055
Low middle income	-0.120 *	0.009	0.012	0.069
Middle income	-0.100 *	-0.032	0.053	0.175 **
Upper middle income	-0.101 **	-0.026	0.038	-0.039
Income not reported	-0.072	-0.013	-0.002	0.026
Highest income ^a				
Home language (1 = non-Eng/ French)				
	-0.042	-0.123 **	0.121	-0.050

TABLE 4: CONTINUED

INDEPENDENT VARIABLE	BELONGING TO CANADA		FEELING OUT OF PLACE	
	WHITES	RACIAL MINORITIES	WHITES	RACIAL MINORITIES
Individual-level characteristics				
Racial grouping				
Portuguese	0.145 *	—	-0.245 ***	—
Jewish	-0.128	—	0.237 ***	—
Polish	0.025	—	0.006	—
Dutch	-0.181 *	—	-0.147 **	—
Ukraine	-0.081	—	-0.190 ***	—
Italian	0.093	—	-0.115 **	—
German	-0.072	—	-0.096 *	—
French	-0.485 ***	—	0.031	—
British ^a				
Blacks	—	0.174 **	—	0.085
South Asian	—	0.371 ***	—	-0.108 *
Filipinos	—	0.297 ***	—	-0.162 *
Latin American	—	0.117	—	-0.294 ***
South East Asian	—	-0.308 *	—	-0.147
Korean	—	-0.108	—	0.203
Japanese	—	-0.427 *	—	0.053
West Asian	—	0.429 ***	—	-0.331 ***
Chinese ^a				
Neighborhood-level characteristics				
Ethnic enclave	-0.117	-0.186	-0.086	-0.435
Income inequality	0.036	0.023	-0.003	-0.037
Low-income rate	-0.934 ***	0.145	0.213	0.201
% with university degrees	-0.363 *	-0.255	0.029	0.182
% of non-movers	-0.227	0.315	-0.036	-0.250
Population density	0.022	-0.019	-0.001	-0.015
Constant	4.167 ***	3.791 ***	1.252 ***	1.729 ***
R-squared	0.115 ***	0.109 ***	0.032 ***	0.062
Individual level sample size	13,968	6,926	13,968	6,926
Number of neighborhoods	3,670	2,459	3,670	2,459

Note: Robust standard errors were estimated for significance tests.

^a Reference category.

*** $p < .001$ ** $p < .01$ * $p < .05$

negative effect of neighborhood SES is significant only for whites. The effect of low-income for SBC among whites is very strong. Living in a low-income neighborhood decreases SBC by almost a full point (on a 5-point scale), regardless of family income.

The re-analysis paints a rather different picture for feeling out of place in Canada. Consistent with the results presented in Table 3, all first generation Canadians more frequently report feeling out of place in Canada than third or higher generation Canadians. However, the size of the effect is much larger for visible minorities (.500) than for whites (.101). In addition, the positive effect observed among 1.5 and second generation Canadians in Table 3 pertains to whites only, according to the findings from the re-analysis. The effect of co-ethnic concentration and all other neighborhood-level variables are non-significant for both whites and visible minorities.

Table 5 compares the IV findings in Tables 2 and 3 with IV models that consider interaction effects between immigrant generation and co-ethnic concentration. The purpose of this supplementary analysis is to examine whether the effect of immigrant generation changes depending upon the level of co-ethnic concentration. For ease of interpretation, these findings are graphed in Figure 1. Table 5 provides side-by-side comparisons of the previous findings with the findings from the interaction models.

For both outcome variables, the change in R-squared is significant ($p = .024$ for SBC and $p = .005$ for feeling out of place models), and there are significant interactions between immigrant generation and co-ethnic concentration. The side-by-side comparisons in Table 5 demonstrate how these alter the effects of immigrant generation on the outcome variables. The interaction effects can be more clearly seen in Figure 1. For SBC, the effect of co-ethnic

concentration appears to be largely a phenomenon among first generation Canadians. Among first generation Canadians, SBC tends to decrease as the proportion of co-ethnics increases. This suggests that co-ethnic concentration (ethnic enclaves) could be a barrier to forming a Canadian identity among first generation Canadians. There are no significant interaction effects for 1.5 or second generation Canadians. For 1.5, second, and third or higher generation Canadians, SBC appears to be stable across neighborhoods with differing proportions of co-ethnics.

TABLE 5: INTERACTION EFFECTS OF IMMIGRANT GENERATION AND PERCENT OF OWN ETHNIC GROUP ON SENSE OF BELONGING TO CANADA AND FEELING OUT OF PLACE: EDS, 2002

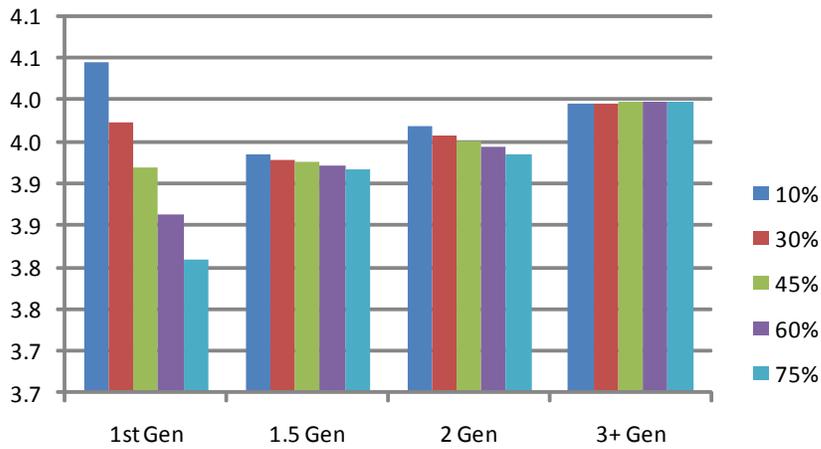
INDEPENDENT VARIABLE	BELONGING TO CANADA		FEELING OUT OF PLACE	
Immigrant generation				
First generation	0.014	0.087	0.174 ***	0.211 ***
1.5 generation	-0.074 *	-0.056	-0.084 **	-0.060
Second generation	-0.039	-0.021	-0.042 *	-0.059
Third generation or higher ^a				
Neighborhood-level characteristics				
Ethnic enclave	-0.062	0.006	-0.165	-0.142
Interactions				
First generation x ethnic enclave	—	-0.369 *	—	-0.207
1.5 generation x ethnic enclave	—	-0.035	—	-0.116
Second generation x ethnic enclave	—	-0.056	—	0.083
Constant	4.018	3.994 ***	1.395 ***	1.385 ***
R-squared	0.105 ***	0.106 ***	0.084 ***	0.085 ***
Change in R-squared	—	0.0004 *	—	0.0006 **
Individual level sample size	21,150	21,150	21,150	21,150
Number of neighborhoods	4,027	4,027	4,027	4,027

Note: Robust standard errors were estimated for significance tests and models control for other variables in Table 2.

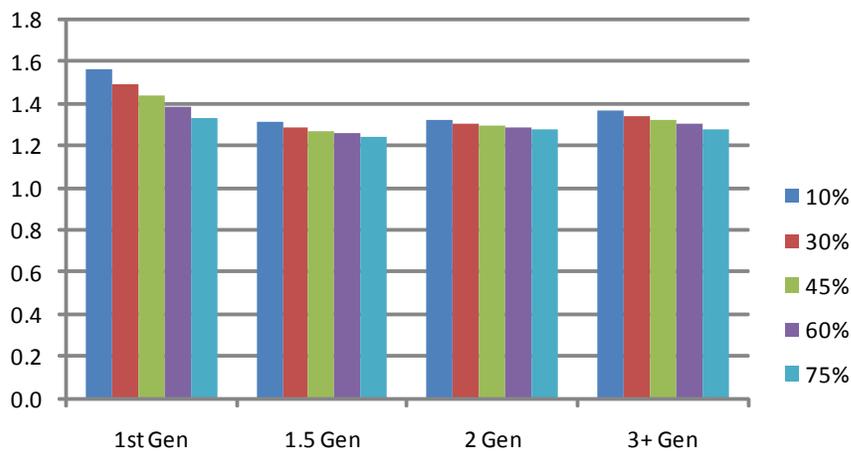
^a Reference category.

*** $p < .001$ ** $p < .01$ * $p < .05$

FIGURE 1: INTERACTION EFFECTS OF IMMIGRANT GENERATION AND ETHNIC ENCLAVE



Sense of belonging to Canada by level of ethnic enclave



Feeling out of place by level of ethnic enclave

Note: Regression estimates are obtained from Table 5.

For feeling out of place, the interaction effects are weak. However, it also appears to be a first generation phenomenon. Among this generation, the frequency of feeling out of place decreases as concentrations of co-ethnics rises. This implies that living in an ethnic enclave could protect first generation Canadians from feeling out of place in Canada, albeit to a minor extent.

CONCLUSION

This study focused on patterns of differences in social integration between generational cohorts of immigrants, focusing on two outcomes: sense of belonging to Canada and feeling out of place in Canada. This examination also involved unpacking this relationship in terms of the context of immigration, looking at neighborhood-level effects and racial differences. The main problems concerned whether (a) generational status influences integration, (b) individual-level characteristics account for this relationship, (c) neighborhood context affects (mediate and moderate) generational differences in integration, and (d) the relationship between immigrant generation and social integration differs between whites and visible minorities. The core finding is that the relationship between immigrant status and integration is not straightforward but depends on a combination of things, including intersections between generational status and place of residence and racial status.

For sense of belonging to Canada (SBC), we found some generational effects, but these correspond to differences in individual-level characteristics, such as racial status and socioeconomic status. These results do not appear to offer support for a generational effect on SBC. Moreover, the instrumental variable regression analysis demonstrates that spatial assimilation is not a factor in SBC, although neighborhood-level SES has significant effects. In particular,

living in a low-income neighborhood, regardless of individual SES, significantly reduces SBC. The results for feeling out of place in Canada were more in line with our expectations. We observed significant generational effects, after adjusting for individual-level characteristics, but neighborhood effects appear to be inconsequential. However, the inconsistencies in our initial findings (Tables 2 and 3) demonstrate the complexities of social integration. After unpacking the models, a much clearer picture started to emerge.

We found a significant interaction between immigrant generation and racial status that influenced both SBC and feeling out of place. Among whites, there are no differences in SBC between the first, 1.5, second, and third or higher generations. For visible minorities, the first and 1.5 generation are similar to the reference group. However, the second generation has a lower SBC than the reference group. This finding contradicts the straight-line hypothesis of assimilation, which suggests that assimilation increases with each successive generation. Although the difference is not huge (.3 on a 5-point scale), the lower SBC among second generation visible minorities could reflect feelings of alienation among them. In the US, there is evidence that suggests negative reception in host communities leads to decreases in American or hyphenated-American identities (Rumbaut 1994). Whether the second generation has a weaker SBC because of a lack of acceptance is unclear from our results, but it is at least a cause for concern.

For feeling out of place, all first generation immigrants are worse off than third or higher generation Canadians. This effect is much stronger for visible minorities than it is for whites. This suggests that racial status is a potential barrier to social integration. Despite multiculturalism, these immigrants appear to encounter greater difficulties in feeling "at home" in Canada because of their skin color, religion, ethnic status, and so forth. While this is not evidence

for an outright lack of acceptance within their host communities, it does indicate that these people face unique challenges in their interactions with other Canadians. That said, it also appears that immigrants adjust over time, and perhaps a portion of their discomfort relates to their newcomer status. Where visible minorities live has no effect on either SBC or feeling out of place. This is consistent with literature that suggests the ethnic mix of neighborhoods does not have a definite effect on social integration (e.g., Musterd 2003).

Our findings (see Figure 1) also demonstrate the contingent nature of whether neighborhood matters or not. Though it does not matter in general, these results conceal important interaction effects, and caution us from making generalizations that fail to account for the complexities of the integration process. Among first generation immigrants, there is a linear relationship between concentration of co-ethnics and sense of belonging to versus feeling out of place in Canada. With spatial assimilation, SBC become stronger among the first generation. The high proportion of visible minorities among the first generation is not a trivial matter, and other Canadian research suggests that concentration of recent immigrants in urban enclaves could be a barrier to their integration (Murdie and Ghosh 2010). However, our findings also suggest a protective effect of enclaves, as feelings of discomfort are the lowest among immigrants living in these neighborhoods, although it is important not to overstate the size of the effect, which is small.

Notes

1. In several places, this study retains the term “assimilation.” This is not intended to suggest that acculturation is necessary or desirable for the successful integration of immigrants. We retain this term to be consistent with the literature.
2. The survey excludes residents of collective dwellings (e.g., nursing homes, prisons), Indian reserves, and Northern and remote areas. The EDS also excludes persons that declared an Aboriginal origin/identity in the 2001 Census. However, in our study sample, there are 800 respondents who reported having Aboriginal origins mixed with other ethnic origins.
3. In 2001, the foreign-born comprise about 18 percent of the national population. The foreign-born comprise 30 percent of our study sample. The foreign-born are overrepresented in our study sample because our analysis is restricted to urban areas, which is where the vast majority of immigrants live.
4. Canada’s Employment Equity Act defines visible minorities as “persons, other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour.” Here the term “racial minorities” refers to all non-Caucasians, including some people of mixed Aboriginal and other ethnic origins.

REFERENCES

- Alba, R. D., J. R. Logan, and B. J. Stults. 2000. The changing neighborhood contexts of the immigrant metropolis. *Social Forces* 79(2): 587–621.
- Alba, R. and V. Nee. 1997. Rethinking assimilation theory for a new era of immigration. *International Migration Review* 31(4): 826–47.
- Balakrishnan, T. R. and F. Hou. 1999. Socioeconomic integration and spatial residential patterns of immigrant groups in Canada. *Population Research and Policy Review* 18: 201–17.
- Banting, K., G., T. J. Courchene, and F. L. Seidle, Eds. 2007. *Belonging? Diversity, recognition, and shared citizenship in Canada*. Montréal: Institute for Research on Public Policy.
- Bauder, H. and B. Sharpe. 2002. Residential segregation of visible minorities in Canada's gateway cities. *Canadian Geographer* 46(3): 204–22.
- Berry, J. W. 1997. Immigration, acculturation, and adaptation. *Applied Psychology: An International Review* 46(1): 6–68.
- Bolt, G., A. S. Özüekren, and D. Phillips. 2010. Linking integration and residential segregation. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 36(2): 169–86.
- Boyd, M. 2002. Educational attainments of immigrant offspring: Success of segmented assimilation? *International Migration Review* 36(4): 1037–60.
- Brown, S. K. 2006. Structural assimilation revisited: Mexican-origin nativity and cross-ethnic primary ties. *Social Forces* 85(1): 75–92.

- Cameron, E., Ed. 2004. *Multiculturalism and immigration in Canada: An introductory reader*. Toronto: Canadian Scholar's Press.
- Chiswick, B. R. and P. W. Miller. 2005. Do enclaves matter in immigrant adjustment? *City and Community* 4(1): 5–35.
- Davidson, R. and J. G. Schaffer. 1993. *Estimation and inference in econometrics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dustmann, C. and I. Preston. 2001. Attitudes to ethnic minorities, ethnic context, and location decisions. *Economic Journal* 111(470): 353–73.
- Ellis, M. and G. Almgren. 2009. Local contexts of immigrant and second-generation integration in the United States. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 35(7): 1059–76.
- Fong, E. 1996. A comparative perspective on racial residential segregation: American and Canadian experiences. *Sociological Quarterly* 37(2): 199–226.
- Fong, E. and R. Wilkes. 2003. Racial and ethnic residential patterns in Canada. *Sociological Forum* 18(4): 577–602.
- Frideres, J. S. 2006. Cities and immigrant integration: The future of second- and third-Tier Centres. *Our Diverse Cities* 2: 3–8.
- Gans, H. 1992. Second-generation decline: Scenarios for the economic and ethnic futures of the post-1965 American immigrants." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 15(2): 173–92.
- Gordon, M. M. 1964. *Assimilation in American life*. New York: Oxford University Press.

- Harles, J. C. 1997. Integration before assimilation: Immigration, multiculturalism, and the Canadian polity. *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 30(4): 711–36.
- Hiebert, D. 2000. Immigration and the changing Canadian city. *Canadian Geographer* 44(1): 25–43.
- Hiebert, D. and D. Ley. 2003. Assimilation, cultural pluralism, and social exclusion among ethnocultural groups in Vancouver. *Urban Geography* 24(1): 16–44.
- Hirschman, C. 1994. Studying immigrant adaptation from the 1990 Population Census: From generational comparisons to the process of “becoming American.” *International Migration Review* 28(4): 690–713.
- Hou, F. 2006. Spatial assimilation of racial minorities in Canada’s immigrant gateway cities. *Urban Studies* 43(7): 1191–1213.
- Hou, F. and T. R. Balakrishnan. 1996. The integration of visible minorities in contemporary Canadian society. *Canadian Journal of Sociology* 21(3): 307–26.
- Hou, F. and G. Picot. 2004. Visible minority neighbourhoods in Toronto, Montréal, and Vancouver. *Canadian Social Trends* Spring: 8–13.
- Kazemipur, A. and S. Halli. 2000. The invisible barrier: Neighborhood poverty and integration of immigrants in Canada. *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 1(1):85–100.
- Lee, S. and M. Boyd. 2008. Marrying out: Comparing the marital and social integration of Asians in the US and Canada. *Social Science Research* 37(1): 311–29.

- Li, P. S. 2001. The racial subtext in Canada's immigration discourse. *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 2(1): 77-97.
- . 2008. Earning disparities between immigrants and native-born Canadians. *Canadian Review of Sociology* 37(3): 289-311.
- Liebertson, S. 1963. *Ethnic patterns in American cities*. New York: Free Press.
- Logan, J. R., R. D. Alba, and W. Zhang. 2002. Immigrant enclaves and ethnic communities in New York and Los Angeles. *American Sociological Review* 67(2): 299-322.
- Marston, W. G. and T. L. van Valey. 1979. The role of residential segregation in the assimilation process. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 441: 13-25.
- Massey, D. S. 1985. Ethnic residential segregation: A theoretical synthesis and empirical review. *Sociology and Social Research* 69(3): 315-50.
- . 1990. American apartheid: Segregation and the making of the underclass. *American Journal of Sociology* 96(2): 329-57.
- Massey, D. S. and N. A. Denton. 1985. Spatial assimilation as a socioeconomic outcome. *American Sociological Review* 50(1): 94-106.
- . 1987. Trends in the residential segregation of Blacks, Hispanics, and Asians: 1970-1980. *American Sociological Review* 52(6): 802-25.
- . 1993. *American Apartheid: Segregation and the making of the underclass*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Morenoff, J. D., R. J. Sampson, and S. W. Raudenbush. 2001. Neighborhood inequality, Collective efficacy, and the spatial dynamics of urban violence. *Criminology* 39(3): 517-60.

- Murdie, R. and S. Ghosh. 2010. Does spatial concentration always mean a lack of integration? Exploring ethnic concentration and integration in Toronto. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 36(2): 293–311.
- Musterd, S. 2003. Segregation and integration: A contested relationship. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 29(4): 623–41.
- Musterd, S. and W. Ostendorf. 2009. Residential segregation and integration in the Netherlands. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 35(9): 1515–32.
- Oropesa, R. S. and N. S. Landale. 1997. In search of the new second generation: Alternative strategies for identifying second generation children and understanding their acquisition of English. *Sociological Perspectives* 40(3): 427–55.
- Portes, A. 1995. Economic sociology and the sociology of immigration: A conceptual overview. In *The economic sociology of immigration: Essays on networks, ethnicity, and entrepreneurship*, ed. A. Portes, 1–41. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Portes, A., P. Fernández-Kelly, and W. Haller. 2009. The adaptation of the immigrant second generation in America: A theoretical overview and recent evidence. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 35(7): 1077–1104.
- Portes, A. and M. Zhou. 1993. The new second generation: Segmented assimilation and its variants. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 530: 74–96.
- Putnam, R. D. 2007. *E pluribus unum*: Diversity and community in the twenty-first century. *Scandinavian Political Studies* 30(2): 137–74.

- . 2009. Diversity, social capital, and immigrant integration. *National Civic Review* 98(1): 3–5.
- Raudenbush, S. W., A. S. Bryk, Y. F. Cheong, and R. T. Congdon. 2000. *HLM5 hierarchical linear and nonlinear modeling*. Lincolnwood: Scientific Software International.
- Ray, B. and V. Preston. 2009. Geographies of discrimination: Variations in perceived discomfort and discrimination in Canada's gateway cities. *Journal of Immigrant and Refugee Studies* 7(3): 228–49.
- Reitz, J. G. and R. Banerjee. 2009. Racial inequality and social integration. In *Multiculturalism and social cohesion: Potentials and challenges of diversity*, ed. J. R. Reitz, R. Breton, K. Kisiel Dion, and K. L. Dion, 123–55. New York: Springer.
- Richmond, A. H. 1969. Immigration and pluralism in Canada. *International Migration Review* 4(1): 5–24.
- Roof, C. W. 1972. Residential segregation of Blacks and racial inequality in southern cities: Toward a causal model. *Social Problems* 19(3): 393–407.
- Rumbaut, R. G. 1994. The crucible within: Ethnic identity, self-esteem, and segmented assimilation among children of immigrants. *International Migration Review* 28(4): 748–94.
- . 1997. Assimilation and its discontents: Between rhetoric and reality. *International Migration Review* 31(4): 923–60.
- . 2004. Ages, life stages, and generational cohorts: Decomposing the immigrant first and second generations in the United States. *International Migration Review* 38(3): 1160–1205.

- Sampson, R. J. and C. Graif. 2009. Neighborhood social capital as differential social organization: Resident and leadership dimensions. *American Behavioral Scientist* 52(11): 1579–1605.
- Sampson, R. J., J. D. Morenoff, and T. Gannon-Rowley. 2002. Assessing “Neighborhood- effects”: Social processes and new directions in research. *Annual Review of Sociology* 28: 443–78.
- Schellenberg, G. 2004. Perceptions of Canadians: A sense of belonging, confidence, and trust.” *Canadian Social Trends* (Winter Issue): 16–21.
- Statistics Canada. 2003. Ethnic diversity survey. *The Daily* (September 29): 2–5.
- . 2005. *Ethnic diversity survey – User guide*. Ottawa: Ministry of Industry.
- . 2006. *Canada year book 2006*. Ottawa: Ministry of Industry.
- . 2007. Immigration and citizenship. <http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2006/rt-td/immcit-eng.cfm>.
- . 2008a. *Canada’s ethnocultural mosaic, 2006 Census*. Ottawa: Ministry of Industry.
- . 2008b. *Canada year book 2008*. Ottawa: Ministry of Industry.
- . 2008c. *Intergenerational educational mobility among the children of Canadian immigrants*. By A. Aydemir, W. Chen, and M. Corak. Analytical Studies Branch Research Paper. Ottawa: Ministry of Industry.
- Steenbergen, M. and B. Jones. 2002. Modeling multilevel data structure. *American Journal of Political Science* 46(1): 218–37.

Walker, B., Ed. 2008. *The history of immigration and racism in Canada: Essential Readings*. Toronto: Canadian Scholars Press.

Waters, M. C. and K. Eschbach. 1995. Immigration and ethnic and racial inequality in the United States. *Annual Review of Sociology* 21: 419–46.

APPENDIX A: THE CORRELATION OF ETHNIC ENCLAVE WITH OTHER NEIGHBOURHOOD VARIABLES

NEIGHBOURHOOD VARIABLES	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
(1) Ethnic Enclave					
(2) Income inequality	0.011				
(3) Low-income rate	-0.183 ***	0.067 ***			
(4) % with university degrees	0.033 ***	0.414 ***	-0.129 ***		
(5) % of non-movers	0.086 ***	-0.106 ***	-0.400 ***	-0.183 ***	
(6) Population density	-0.154 ***	0.011	0.518 ***	0.187 ***	-0.249 ***

Data sources: the 2001 census 20% sample micro data file.

Note: All correlation coefficients are statistically significant at $p < 0.01$.

*** $p < .001$.

APPENDIX B: INSTRUMENTAL VARIABLE ORDERED LOGISTIC REGRESSIONS
OF SENSE OF BELONGING TO CANADA AND FEELING OUT OF PLACE ON
IMMIGRANT GENERATION: EDS, 2002

INDEPENDENT VARIABLE	BELONGING TO CANADA	FEELING OUT OF PLACE
Immigrant generation		
First generation	-0.033	0.449 ***
1.5 generation	-0.215 **	-0.204 *
Second generation	-0.105	-0.087
Third generation or higher ^a		
Location		
Toronto	-0.078	0.363 ***
Montréal	-0.708 ***	0.267 **
Vancouver	-0.114	0.186
Other large CMAs	-0.068	0.115
Small CMAs ^a		
Age	0.030 ***	-0.003
Female (1 = yes)	0.120 **	0.056
Marital status		
Widowed	0.071	-0.075
Divorced or separated	-0.102	0.124
Single	0.042	-0.057
Married ^a		
Education		
University degree or higher	-0.190 ***	0.476 ***
Some postsecondary education	-0.055	0.268 ***
Secondary education or less ^a		
Family income		
Lowest income	-0.283	0.220
Low middle income	-0.106	0.031
Middle income	-0.147	0.228 **
Upper middle income	-0.154 *	0.043
Income not reported	-0.100	-0.039
Highest income ^a		
Home language (1 = non-Eng/French)	-0.206 *	-0.071

APPENDIX B - CONTINUED

INDEPENDENT VARIABLE	BELONGING TO CANADA	FEELING OUT OF PLACE
Racial grouping		
Blacks	0.150	0.873 ***
Chinese	-0.491 ***	0.739 ***
South Asian	0.449 ***	0.513 ***
Filipinos	0.277	0.412 **
Latin American	0.120	0.102
South East Asian	-0.568 *	0.548 **
Korean	-0.643 *	1.129 ***
Japanese	-1.101 ***	0.770 ***
West Asian	0.662 ***	0.061 ***
Portuguese	0.256	-0.837 ***
Jewish	-0.289	0.666 ***
Polish	0.060	-0.075
Dutch	-0.387 *	-0.832 ***
Ukraine	-0.104	-0.958 ***
Aboriginals	-0.420	0.136
Italian	0.199	-0.441 ***
German	-0.156	-0.443 **
French	-0.984 ***	0.082
British ^a		
Neighborhood-level characteristics		
Ethnic enclave	-0.165	-0.571 *
Income inequality	0.061	-0.039
Low-income rate	-0.975 ***	0.439
% with university degrees	-0.545 *	0.327
% of non-movers	-0.042	-0.312
Population density	0.021	-0.004
Intercept1	-2.863	1.132
Intercept2	-2.089	2.207
Intercept3	-0.900	4.278
Intercept4	0.294	5.474
Log Likelihood	-23023	-17567
Individual level sample size	21,097	21,097
Number of neighborhoods	3,912	3,912

Note: Robust standard errors were estimated for significance tests.

^a Reference category.

*** $p < .001$ ** $p < .01$ * $p < .05$