

**Does Regionalisation of Immigration Work in Canada? Comparative Analyses on
Economic Performance of Recent Immigrants in Atlantic Canada and Traditional
Destinations**

by

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Abstract

Despite growing interest in new immigration gateway research, comparative analyses of the economic performance between new and traditional destinations among recent immigrants are limited. As a case study from Atlantic Canada, this research addresses two main questions. First, are earnings disadvantages of recent immigrants relative to their native-born counterparts smaller in Atlantic Canada than Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver (i.e., MTV)? Second, do recent immigrants in Atlantic Canada earn more than recent immigrants in MTV? My analysis of the 2006 Canadian Census data finds recent immigrants' low earnings are less severe in Atlantic Canada than in MTV. Moreover, earnings disadvantages associated with being racial minorities, speaking non-official languages at work or home, and possessing foreign credentials are smaller in Atlantic Canada than in MTV. I also find racial minority recent immigrants in Atlantic Canada earn more than those in MTV. Recent immigrants who speak non-official languages at work in Atlantic Canada earn more than those in MTV. Finally, those who have obtained highest education from Northern Europe earn less in Atlantic Canada than in MTV. Finally, I discuss implications of these findings for policy recommendations and future studies.

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1. Introduction

While immigrants in Canada are considered to contribute to the nation's development, ethnocultural diversity, and population growth, their contributions are mostly limited to three traditional destinations: Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver (MTV). According to the 2011 National Household Survey, from 2006 to 2011, more than 60% of all recent immigrants settled in these three gateway cities (Statistics Canada 2011). Both the federal and provincial governments have acknowledged the unequal distribution of the immigrant population across Canada (Hyndman et al. 2006). In response, Monte Solberg, Canada's former Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, recommended that incoming immigrants settle in non-traditional destinations, where labour markets may be more accessible (Haan 2008). At the same time, provincial governments have developed the Provincial Nominee Programs (PNPs) to attract more immigrants to non-traditional locales to bolster local and regional economies (Seidle 2013). However, research suggests the effectiveness of the PNPs remains dubious. Although nominated immigrants have generally reported higher earnings than their non-nominee counterparts, the retention rates of nominees in their first provinces of settlement do not differ much from those of non-nominees, except for those in Manitoba (Pender and Townsend 2010).

Despite growing interest in the increasing regionalisation of immigration, a more equal regional distribution of immigrants, comparative studies of traditional and non-traditional destinations in Canada remain limited. This void in the literature requires serious consideration for several reasons. For one, the federal and provincial governments view immigrant settlement in non-traditional regions positively, given its potential to

expand the region's cultural diversity, develop local consumer and labour markets, and reduce population strain in MTV (Krahn et al. 2005). However, the labour markets of non-traditional destinations may differ from traditional destinations; recent immigrants in non-traditional destinations may be required to have different skill sets and more specialised knowledge to successfully integrate into the mainstream labour markets (Akbari 2014). Furthermore, research notes that immigrants live more comfortably in traditional destinations because immigrant communities that have been developed there cultivate the use of heritage languages and encourage traditional values brought from their countries of origin (Li 2003). It is therefore important to understand the determinants of immigrants' economic performance in both traditional and non-traditional destinations.

The present research examines how the regionalisation of immigration affects immigrants' economic performance in Canada. It aims to contribute to the emerging field of research on new immigrant destinations (Marrow 2005; Waters and Jiménez 2005). Given the rapid immigrant population growth observed in the Southern and Midwestern U.S. (Manuel et al. 2008), recent qualitative research has examined the economic performance of immigrants in emerging non-traditional U.S. destinations (Crowley et al. 2006; Donato et al. 2007). Yet, despite the growing interest in the U.S. new gateway cities, research on non-traditional destinations for immigrants rarely examines corresponding trends in other major immigrant-receiving countries, such as Canada and the U.K. (Dustmann et al. 2003; Wilson and Phillips 2009). While the findings from the existing U.S. studies clarify how immigrants generally fare economically in non-traditional destinations, new destinations in Canada may provide different labour market outcomes (Akbari 2011).

To this end, I conduct comparative analyses of the labour market performance of recent immigrants in Atlantic Canada (i.e., Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, and Newfoundland and Labrador) and MTV. Atlantic Canada is unique among non-traditional immigrant destinations, for it has historically attracted fewer immigrants than other regions, while its share of immigrants has incrementally increased in recent years (Statistics Canada 2011). Furthermore, among all Canadian regions, Atlantic Canada has the highest percentage of seniors, reflective of the region's declining birth rates and net out-migration (Akbari 2014). At the same time, Atlantic Canada suffers low immigrant retention rates; about 30% of recent immigrants have ultimately relocated to other regions, between six months and two years after their arrival (Ramos and Yoshida 2011). To address these demographic concerns, provincial and municipal governments in Atlantic Canada have implemented immigrant policies aiming to increase the region's immigrant population (Akbari 2009).

Since Atlantic Canada has only recently attracted attention as an immigrant destination, there is an urgent need to understand whether recent immigrants in this region fare better than in traditional regions where immigrants are more populous. As such, the present research seeks to answer the four questions:

- 1) Are the earnings gaps between recent immigrants and their non-immigrant counterparts less in Atlantic Canada than in MTV?
- 2) If so, to what extent can such differences be explained by racial minority status, employment in ethnic businesses, human capital factors, and foreign credentials?
- 3) Do recent immigrants in Atlantic Canada earn more than recent immigrants in MTV?

4) If so, to what extent can these differences be explained by racial minority status, employment in ethnic businesses, human capital factors, and foreign credentials?

This research addresses these questions using data from the master file of the 2006 Canadian Census of Population. It also discusses the implications of findings for Canada's immigrant settlement policies and future research on immigrant economic integration and new immigrant destinations.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Labour Market Experiences of Immigrants in Non-Traditional Destinations

In the U.S., more immigrants recently have settled in places other than traditional destinations, including California, New York, and Florida. From 1990 to 2000, the number of immigrants who settled in the 19 Southern and Midwestern states (North Carolina, Georgia, Nevada, Arkansas, Utah, Tennessee, Nebraska, Colorado, Arizona, Kentucky, South Carolina, Minnesota, Idaho, Kansas, Iowa, Oregon, Alabama, Delaware, and Oklahoma) has ballooned, with growth rates from 101% to as much as 273% (Manuel et al. 2008; Waters and Jiménez 2005).

Research also indicates that immigration policies have influenced recent immigrants' regional settlement. More specifically, most immigrants in these non-traditional destinations come from Mexico and other Latin-American countries (Kochut and Humphreys 2006; Licher and Johnson 2009; Waters and Jiménez 2005), partly due to repeated changes in U.S. immigration policies. In 1986, for example, 2.3 million undocumented Latino immigrants became legal under the Immigration Reform and Control Act. In effect, the registration of immigrants at the state level identified border-crossing

areas popular among immigrants, and in turn, their increased militarisation, which led many immigrants to travel beyond more accessible traditional locations, including Florida and Texas (Manuel et al. 2008; Massey et al. 2002; Waters and Jiménez 2005). In 1994, the California state government passed Proposition 187, which denied undocumented immigrants' access to public social services and required that both local and state officials report these immigrants to Immigration and Naturalization Services. Since Proposition 187 suggested that California was a state hostile to undocumented immigrants, the large portion of such immigrants has opted to settle in non-traditional destinations (Durand et al. 2005).

In addition to examining the influence of immigration policies on regional settlement, research on immigrant destinations has also investigated immigrants' economic performance in non-traditional destinations. Jensen (2006) observes that most immigrants in non-traditional destinations in the U.S. generally have a low level of education, limited knowledge in English, and unspecialised job skills, all of which generally prevent them from securing non-manual labour jobs (Gouveia and Saenz 2000). Other studies corroborate these findings. For example, poultry plants in Georgia are found to hire low-skilled immigrants to minimise wages (Griffith 1995). Employers in North Carolina are also found to prefer hiring low-skilled immigrants to local residents and hire additional immigrants using their personal networks, including their family members and friends (Johnson–Webb 2003). Given that most new immigrants in non-traditional destinations work in jobs requiring lower skills, these immigrants are more likely than their native-born counterparts to suffer economic disadvantages (Crowley et al. 2006; Donato et al. 2007).

While research on immigrants' economic performance in non-traditional

destinations generally focuses on the U.S., the literature offers some evidence from the U.K. and Canada. For example, Dustmann et al. (2003) find that, due to the Greater London's economic situation, immigrants there earn more than their counterparts in other regions. Meanwhile, Bernard (2008) reports that immigrants in Canada fare better in small regions than in large metropolitan areas. However, Haan (2010) indicates that earnings differences between immigrants in non-traditional destinations in Canada and those in MTV are not statistically different.

These findings can partly explain the economic well-being of immigrants in non-traditional destinations; however, the impact of immigrant settlement in Atlantic Canada remains underexplored. To address this research gap, the following section discusses how recent immigrants in Atlantic Canada may have different labour market experience from their counterparts in MTV.

2.2. Theoretical Framework

This section will explore the impacts of human capital, foreign credentials, racial discrimination, and employment in ethnic business on earnings disadvantages among recent immigrants relative to their native-born counterparts.

2.2.1. Human Capital Theory and Beyond

According to human capital theory, a person's earnings vary according to his/her investment in education and job training (Becker 1968). This theory is often applied in research on earning differences between immigrants and their non-immigrant counterparts (Frank 2009). Research generally agrees that recent immigrants are at a disadvantage due to their lack of host country-specific skills, such as official language proficiency and higher

education (Friedberg 2000), both of which are crucial to economic integration. On the one hand, immigrants with thorough knowledge of the host country's language(s) tend to be more efficient in communication, which is crucial to workplace productivity, and in finding jobs better suited to their skills (Boyd and Cao 2009; Chiswick and Miller 2003).¹ On the other hand, immigrants who invest in higher education are better equipped to attain useful skills relevant to the labour market and thereby enjoy higher incomes than less educated immigrants (Kao et al. 2013). Therefore, I expect that, both in Atlantic Canada and MTV, those with higher levels of education and higher levels of host country-language proficiency earn more than the less educated and those with lower levels of language proficiency.

Despite its predominant use in the studies of immigrant economic integration, human capital theory has been criticised for ignoring labour market challenges faced by immigrants with higher levels of human capital (Li 2000). For example, variations in earnings among immigrants with high education tend to correspond to their origin countries; recent immigrants from the U.S. and Western Europe tend to earn more than those from other regions, even after human capital variables are controlled for (Picot 2004; Reitz and Sklar 1997). More recent research reveals that such earnings disparities relate to three factors: non-recognition of foreign credentials in the mainstream labour market, racial discrimination, and immigrants' employment in ethnic businesses (Bauder 2013; Fong and Hou 2013; Li 2003).

2.2.2. Foreign Credentials in Atlantic Canada and MTV

¹ The 1964 Official Language Act began to enforce Canada's multiculturalism, in part by claiming that both English and French are the country's two official languages.

In Canada, lower returns to immigrants' human capital due to under-/non-recognition of foreign credentials in the labour market are considered to contribute to the earnings disadvantages faced by recent immigrants. There are several possible explanations to such earnings disadvantages related to the possession of foreign credentials. First, employers may have discriminatory attitudes toward educational credentials from countries other than Canada. Especially employers in mainstream labour markets, who can act on personal prejudice and/or lack knowledge about foreign educational systems in less developed countries, value foreign credentials less than Canadian ones. This poses as barriers which can lead to lower returns to human capital gained outside of Canada (Aydemir and Skuterud 2004; Boyd and Thomas 2001a).

Second, the devaluation of foreign credentials may be systemic, given that rules and procedures regarding accreditation or certification requirements often pose double standards—one for immigrants, the other for their native-born counterparts—in allowing and denying workers access to skilled labour markets (Boyd and Thomas 2001b).

Finally, Canadian employers nowadays can make hiring decisions based on a large pool of highly educated job candidates, as the proportion of the native born with higher education has increased. Employers may therefore preferably hiring native-born university graduates over their immigrant counterparts because of their unfamiliarity with and bias against overseas educational standards (Aydemir and Skuterud 2004; Basaran and Zong 1998; Reitz 2001). For those reasons, although many immigrants are highly educated with credentials from developing and transitional countries, they tend to earn less than their Canadian-educated counterparts because employers and employment-related institutions

value their overseas credentials less than Canadian ones (Bauder 2003).

Yet, for several reasons, the economic performance of immigrants with foreign credentials may vary depending on whether they are employed in Atlantic Canada or MTV. For example, since the introduction of the Provincial Nominee Programs (PNPs), the number of immigrants who settle in Atlantic Canada has risen noticeably. The PNPs were implemented first in 1998 in three provinces, British Columbia, Manitoba, and Saskatchewan. In Atlantic Canada, Newfoundland and Labrador and New Brunswick first implemented the PNPs in 1999. Three years later, Prince Edward Island and Nova Scotia also introduced these programs to attract newcomers (Pandey and Townsend 2010). With the PNPs, each province welcomes applicants with job skills suitable to local and regional economies, who receive permanent resident status upon being accepted. Furthermore, since the PNPs aim to recruit immigrants who intend to stay in the respective province, the PNP applicants are required to secure at least one approved job offer from sponsored employers before arrival (Pandey and Townsend 2010).

Pandey and Townsend (2010) report that, from 1999 to 2007, 15% of incoming immigrants in Newfoundland and Labrador and Nova Scotia, 30% in New Brunswick, and more than 50% in Prince Edward Island were admitted through the PNPs. These rates are far higher than those in provinces of traditional destinations, such as British Columbia (1.9%) and Ontario (0.2%).² This implies that recent immigrants in Atlantic Canada may have skills and knowledge suitable for local economies, a circumstance that could facilitate these immigrants' economic integration in Atlantic Canada more so than in MTV.

² Quebec has its own immigration policies and does not recruit immigrants through the PNP.

Furthermore, due to shortages in skilled workforce among the native-born population in Atlantic Canada, a trend primarily due to the population's generally lower level of education, it is possible that employers seek certain skills in immigrants, who may be more readily employable (Akbari 2014). By contrast, labour markets in MTV are more competitive, given that these cities historically attract the bulk of native-born recent university graduates and more established immigrants with foreign credentials (Picot and Sweetman 2005). Employers in MTV may therefore hire workers from a larger pool of highly skilled job candidates (Haan 2008). Concomitantly, these findings imply that recent immigrants in Atlantic Canada may experience employment-related discrimination less than immigrants in MTV, given the region's smaller qualified job applicant pool.

Considering employers hire immigrants suitable to the local economy and labour markets are less competitive in Atlantic Canada, this study hypothesises that the impact of foreign credentials is smaller on recent immigrants' earnings in Atlantic Canada than those in MTV. This study also expects that, for recent immigrants, having foreign credentials is less likely to reduce their earnings in Atlantic Canada than in MTV compared with native-born Canadians.

2.2.3. Racial Discrimination in Atlantic Canada and MTV

Racial discrimination poses another potential barrier for the economic integration of recent immigrants in Canada, most of whom are racial minorities (Kaida and Boyd 2011). However, the effect of racial discrimination is difficult to evaluate, since most survey data do not provide direct measures of employers' discriminatory attitudes toward racial minorities (Frank et al. 2013). Most studies treat significant racial variations after

controlling for all the observable demographic, socioeconomic, and human capital factors as the effect of racial discrimination (Li 2008; Pendakur and Pendakur 1998). While some evidence indicates that racial minority status negatively affects immigrants' earnings (Anisef et al. 2013; Pendakur and Pendakur 2000), at least one study (Yoshida and Smith 2005) reports that recent immigrants in Canada, regardless of racial minority status, do not encounter earnings disadvantages, as long as they have completed their education in Canada. At the same time, Reitz (2001) shows that, in addition to the non-recognition of foreign credentials, racial discrimination adds to earnings disparities between recent immigrants and their non-immigrant counterparts.

Other studies indicate that a racial hierarchy exists in the labour markets of cities with large immigrant populations. A U.S. study reports that employers in New York consider white workers to have more skills than their non-white counterparts (Pegar et al. 2009). In the Canadian context, Ray and Preston (2009) reveal that in MTV, racial minorities are more likely to experience job-related discrimination than whites. Moreover, an analysis of the 1992 Minority Survey by Dion and Kawakami (1996) find that, in Toronto, racial minority immigrants experience workplace discrimination more often than white immigrants such as Italians, Jews, and Portuguese. Li (2003) corroborates this finding by showing that racial minority immigrants earn less than their white counterparts in MTV.

However, several U.S. studies argue that racial minority immigrants may define themselves more flexibly within a racial hierarchy in non-traditional destinations, since these destinations lack histories and cultures extensively informed by race and ethnicity

(see Hernández-León and Zúñiga 2000; Marrow 2009). Nevertheless, qualitative research shows that racial minority immigrants in Atlantic Canada do indeed face labour market challenges. For example, Ralston (1991) reports that South Asian women in Nova Scotia have been treated differently by employers due to their ethnic and racial backgrounds; fearing racial discrimination, some of the South Asian women stopped seeking employment. Furthermore, as Flint (2008) finds, although most immigrants in rural Nova Scotia are highly skilled, they still encounter difficulties securing employment due to racial discrimination.³ In a recent case study conducted in Newfoundland, Baker (2013) documents how one black immigrant woman felt racially discriminated because she did not receive a job, despite considering herself qualified. This experience ultimately discouraged her from applying to work in the province again. Based on these findings, the current study hypothesises that the impact of racial discrimination on recent immigrants' earnings disadvantages is smaller in Atlantic Canada than in MTV. I also expect that the impact of racial discrimination on earnings of recent immigrants is smaller in Atlantic Canada than in MTV. However, it may be premature to generalise that racial minority immigrants suffer earnings disadvantages in the region, since most are case studies with only a few participants and do not directly estimate immigrants' earnings.

2.2.4. Ethnic Businesses on Earnings in Atlantic Canada and MTV

Since immigrants tend to lack human capital specific to the host country, they often land jobs that pose them few entry barriers (Massey et al. 1993). However, because these

³ It should be noted that New Brunswick may be different from other regions of Atlantic Canada in terms of establishing a racial hierarchy. This is due to the fact that black communities have been established in Nova Scotia after the American Revolution (Boyd 2002).

employees suffer “low prestige, low income, job dissatisfaction, and the absence of return to past human capital investment” (Wilson and Portes 1980, pp. 301), employment in ethnic business in particular is an important source of employment for recent immigrants. While the literature agrees that being employed in ethnic business is economically better off than being unemployed (Zhou 2004), how being employed in ethnic business impacts their earnings remains unclear (Li and Dong 2007).

The enclave economy thesis understands any ethnically sheltered economy as an alternative avenue for upward mobility, since enclave economies tend to place more value on immigrants’ cultural and linguistic knowledge of their origin countries than mainstream labour markets, which indicates that immigrants can obtain jobs without host country-specific human capital (Portes and Sensenbrenner 1993; Wilson and Portes 1980).

Furthermore, Sanders and Nee (1987) suggest that economic benefits from enclave economies occur only among ethnic entrepreneurs and do not apply to wage workers. Earlier research also shows that, in ethnic businesses, employees tend to earn much less than employers (Fong and Hou 2013; Light et al. 1994; Robles and Cordero–Guzmán 2007; Zhou and Logan 1996). While Sanders and Nee (1996) explain the trend by showing that ethnic businesses are often family-oriented and thus not required to pay the family members employed there, evidence also demonstrates ethnic networks sustaining ethnic enclaves generally prevent employees from participating in labour unions (Kwong 2001).

Greater employment opportunities in ethnic businesses exist in ethnic enclaves with immigrant groups, which “concentrate in a distinct spatial location and organise a variety of enterprises serving their own ethnic market and/or the general population” (Portes 1981, pp.

290–291). Though research confirms that ethnic enclaves clearly exist in MTV (Li 2003; Qadeer and Kumar 2006; Warmer 2007), they are scarce in Atlantic Canada, primarily due to the region’s smaller immigrant population (Akbari 2013). Consequently, employment opportunities in ethnic businesses—either self-employed or employed by co-ethnic business owners—in Atlantic Canada are minimal. Given that employees in ethnic businesses tend to earn less, I hypothesise that the impact of being employed in ethnic businesses on recent immigrants’ earnings disadvantages relative to their native-born counterparts is smaller in Atlantic Canada than in MTV. Furthermore, I expect that the impact of being employed in ethnic businesses on recent immigrants’ earnings is smaller in Atlantic Canada than in MTV.

Building upon the findings of previous research, this study uses data from the master file of the 2006 Canadian Census of Population to understand the earnings disadvantages of recent immigrants relative to their native-born counterparts, as well as earnings differences among recent immigrants in Atlantic Canada and MTV. While accounting for demographic and labour market factors, this study pays special attention to the impacts of recent immigrants’ racial discrimination, human capital, and employment in ethnic businesses.

3. Hypotheses

In summary, I will examine the following hypotheses.

1. Both in Atlantic Canada and MTV, those who are more educated and those who have higher levels of host country-language proficiency earn more than those who are less educated and those have lower levels of language proficiency.

2. The impact of foreign credentials is smaller on recent immigrants' earnings in Atlantic Canada than those in MTV.
3. For recent immigrants, having foreign credentials is less likely to reduce earnings in Atlantic Canada than in MTV compared with native-born Canadians.
4. The impact of racial discrimination on recent immigrants' earnings disadvantages is smaller in Atlantic Canada than in MTV.
5. The impact of racial discrimination on earnings of recent immigrants is smaller in Atlantic Canada than in MTV.
6. The impact of being employed in ethnic businesses on recent immigrants' earnings disadvantages relative to their native-born counterparts is smaller in Atlantic Canada than in MTV.
7. The impact of being employed in ethnic businesses on recent immigrants' earnings is smaller in Atlantic Canada than in MTV.

4. Methods

4.1. Data and Sample

This study analyses data from the confidential master file of Canada's 2006 Census, available at the Statistics Canada Research Data Centre at Memorial University of Newfoundland.⁴ Using the confidential Census file benefits this research for three reasons. First, the master file covers 20% of the whole Canadian population, which is much larger than the 2.7% sampling rates for the public use microdata of the Census file. For the present

⁴ Since the Statistics Act requires every Canadian to complete Census questionnaires (the short-form Census), responses represent nearly the entire Canadian population. However, the long-form census, which supplies the master file data, requires at least 20% of the Canadian population to participate.

study, the master file's greater coverage is beneficial, given the study's interest in a small subset of the Canadian population, recent immigrants in Atlantic Canada. Second, the master file has the same set of demographic, social, and economic variables as the public use microdata. However, the variables in the master file have more detailed categories. Finally, it is noteworthy that the 2006 Census was the first Census to ask respondents to indicate where they obtained their highest level of education. The master file is more useful, given that countries of the highest education are not aggregated although they are in the public use microdata (Bolton and Breau 2011).

This study involves two main analyses. First, I examine how recent immigrants' earnings in Atlantic Canada and MTV compare with non-immigrants' earnings in both places. Second, focusing on recent immigrants only, I examine how their earnings differ between Atlantic Canada and MTV. Although the sample for both analyses was restricted to part- and full-time workers aged 25 to 64, the first analysis has two separate samples, workers in Atlantic Canada and MTV. Each sample is composed of three nativity/immigrant status groups: the native born, established immigrants, and recent immigrants. The sample of the second analysis includes recent immigrants living in Atlantic Canada and MTV. Throughout this study, 'recent immigrants' refers to immigrants who arrived in Canada from 1995 to 2005. This cohort of immigrants has experienced substantial earnings disadvantages compared with earlier cohorts, largely because immigrant source regions for Canada shifted from traditional European countries to non-traditional Asian countries in the 1990s (Frank et al. 2013).

4.2. Dependent Variable

For both analyses, the dependent variable is weekly earnings from wage work and self-employment in 2005. The analyses focus only on positive earnings. As a common strategy among economists and sociologists, logarithmic transformation is used to correct for the skewness of the dependent variable.

4.3. Independent Variables

The first analysis includes three sets of independent variables—human capital factors (years of education, host country-language proficiency, and place of highest education obtained), one demographic factor (racial minority status), and one labour market factor (use of language at workplace). First, I examine the impact of education on earnings. While the variable of education is categorical in the 2006 Census data, I recode this variable into a continuous form to avoid multicollinearity with the variable of place of education.⁵ Second, since another important aspect of human capital is host country-language proficiency, this study uses language spoken at home as a proxy for language proficiency. Although the Census file has a variable of knowledge in an official language, it can provide only a subjective aspect of language proficiency. Chiswick and Miller (1999) argue speaking any official language(s) at home is a factor of human capital and an important predictor for earnings among immigrants. Therefore, I use language spoken at home to estimate the impact of language proficiency on earnings (0 = official languages; 1 = non-official

⁵ Following Hou and Coulombe (2010), years of education are assigned as the followings: none (10 years of schooling); high school graduation certificate (12 years); other trades certificate or diploma, registered apprenticeship certificate or diploma, college, CEGEP or other non-university certificate or diploma from a program of three months to less than one year in duration (13 years); college, CEGEP, or other non-university certificate or diploma from a program of one to two years (14 years); college, CEGEP, or other non-university certificate or diploma from a program of more than two years (15 years); certificate or diploma below bachelor (16 years); bachelor's degree (17 years); certificate or diploma above bachelor (18 years); degree in medicine or dentistry, veterinary medicine or optometry (19 years); master's degree (20 years); earned doctorate degree (21 years).

languages).

Furthermore, the 2006 Census is the first Census in Canada to collect information on place of highest education obtained. This allows scholars to examine the impact of foreign credentials on earnings. Previous studies argue that people with educational credentials from the U.S., the U.K., and Western and Northern Europe tend to earn more than those from other regions (Bauder 2013). Given that workers from the U.S. and the U.K. likely speak English as their native language, I combine workers with educational credentials from the U.S. and the U.K. into one group. The Census data also provides information regarding place of highest education obtained for people with at least a postsecondary diploma/certificate/degree; therefore, ‘not applicable’ is assigned to people with only a high-school diploma or less (0 = Canada; 1 = the U.S./the U.K.; 2 = Western/Northern Europe; 3 = other regions; 4 = not applicable).

Moreover, the analysis includes racial minority status (0 = whites; 1 = racial minorities) to examine whether racial minorities experience earnings disadvantages compared with their white counterparts. In any case, it is difficult to assess the impact of racial discrimination on earnings, for employers’ discriminatory attitudes toward racial minorities are not measured in most surveys (Frank et al. 2013). Due to this limitation, this study uses racial minority status as a proxy for racial discrimination. However, it is important to note that other unobserved factors (e.g., motivation and talent) may also influence the impact of racial minority status.

Finally, this analysis examines the impact of employment in ethnic businesses in Atlantic Canada and MTV. Though there are several ways to operationalise ethnic

businesses, this analysis follows Li and Dong's argument (2007), which suggests that using language spoken at work is a precise proxy for participation in ethnic businesses, insofar as the idea accommodates the definition of ethnic enclaves that emphasises the impacts of ethnic networks on economic and social outcomes (e.g., employment, friendship, and family life). Therefore, I use language spoken most often at work as a proxy for employment in ethnic businesses (0 = official languages; 1 = non-official languages).

4.4. Control Variables

The first analysis includes five control variables. It first controls for gender (0 = women; 1 = men), since women more often face earnings disadvantages than men in Canada (Tastsoglou and Preston 2005). It also considers marital status (0 = married/common-law; 1 = widowed/separated/divorced; 2 = single), given that married people tend to earn more than single people (Schoeni 1995). Furthermore, age (measured in completed years) and age square are included as a proxy of work experience, which often curves off towards the end of career span (Murphy and Welch 1990). Moreover, earnings might differ according to type of occupation. For example, white-collar workers earn more than workers in other industries, given that they have more suitable skills for high-paying jobs (Fortin et al. 2012). Therefore, this analysis also controls for type of occupation (0 = blue-collar; 1 = primary sector; 2 = distribution; 3 = white-collar). Finally, it also accounts for employment status (0 = full-time; 1 = part-time) because full-time workers earn more than part-time workers.

The second analysis includes the same five control variables as the first analysis. In addition, I control for the year of immigration because more established immigrants may have more established host-country language skills, given that they have had time to

acquire language proficiency (Frank et al. 2013).

4.5. Analytical Techniques

In the first analysis, I investigate how recent immigrants' earnings in Atlantic Canada and MTV compare with non-immigrants' earnings, using ordinary least squares (OLS) regression models. Sequential models are run separately to accommodate the two labour markets of Atlantic Canada and MTV. Model 1 includes immigration status and control variables. To examine how racial minority status impacts recent immigrants' earnings disadvantages, I add a variable for racial minority status in Model 2. Following Li and Dong's (2007) argument that language at work may be a proxy for working in ethnic businesses, Model 3 examines how being employed in ethnic businesses impacts immigrant earnings by including a variable for language spoken at work. Model 4 considers the economic impacts of human capital factors by including two variables: language spoken at home and years of education. Lastly, Model 5 assesses how immigrants' foreign credentials influence their earnings compared with their native-born counterparts. To this end, I include the place of education variable.

The second analysis runs five OLS regression models to examine the possibility of differential returns to human capital, racial minority status, and employment in ethnic business among recent immigrants between Atlantic Canada and MTV. While Model 1 includes place of residence and other control variables, Models 2–5 sequentially include interaction terms. Model 2 includes an interaction term between place of residence and racial minority status, while Model 3 adds one between place of residence and employment in ethnic businesses. Model 4 includes two human capital-related interaction terms: one

between place of residence and years of education and language spoken at home. Finally, Model 5 includes an interaction term between place of residence and place of highest education obtained.

In both analyses, I apply adjusted weights and report results in percentages using standardised coefficients.⁶ The use of standardised coefficients, instead of unstandardised ones, benefits this study in two ways. First, standardised variables are measured in comparable units of standard deviation, the use of which accommodates the drastically different sample sizes for Atlantic Canada and MTV (Bring 1994). Second, with standardised variables using adjusted weights, the relative effects of predictors can be observed, since the scale of units for independent variables can be ignored. As a result, comparison of coefficients between two samples would be easier in this way (Vittinghoff et al. 2005). A formula for this method can be expressed as follows:

$$Y = \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \dots + \beta_i X_i + \varepsilon$$

in which β , X , i , and ε indicate a standardised coefficient, an independent variable, the number of independent variables, and the error term respectively. To interpret standardised coefficients, a change of 1 unit of standard deviation in X equals β units of standard deviation in Y (Vittinghoff et al. 2005). To facilitate interpretation, coefficients are transformed into percentage differences in earnings.⁷

5. Results

5.1. Earnings Disadvantages of Recent Immigrants in Atlantic Canada and MTV

⁶ Probability weights are assigned to each respondent to represent the target population at two regional levels (i.e., Atlantic Canada and MTV).

⁷ Percentages can be obtained for categorical variable with the formula $P = (\exp(\beta)-1)*100$, while $P = \beta*100$ may be used for continuous variables.

5.1.1. Univariate Analysis

Table 1 shows descriptive statistics for part- and full-time workers aged 25 to 64 in Atlantic Canada and MTV. Logged weekly earnings are slightly less in Atlantic Canada (6.39) than in MTV (6.57). Moreover, it is noteworthy that less than 1% of the sample comprises recent immigrants in Atlantic Canada, while roughly 15% are recent immigrants in MTV. Also, though only 4% of the population in Atlantic Canada are racial minorities, more than 30% are racial minorities in MTV. Furthermore, although only 0.3% of Atlantic Canada's population speaks non-official languages at work, roughly 4% do so in MTV. Similarly, about 1% speak non-official languages at home in Atlantic Canada, while more than 20% do so in MTV. Finally, it is worthwhile to note that less than 1% of the sample in Atlantic Canada obtained their highest level of education from less developed countries, whereas about 13% of the sample in MTV did so. Univariate results show that workers in Atlantic Canada and MTV are different in their demographic and socioeconomic characteristics, including racial minority status, language at work, language at home, and place of education.

[**Table 1 about here**]

5.1.2. Bivariate Analysis

Table 2 shows bivariate results between the covariates and earnings for the Atlantic Canada and MTV samples. These results suggest that, relative to their native-born counterparts, recent immigrants in Atlantic Canada face less earnings disadvantages than those in MTV. Moreover, earnings disadvantages associated with racial minority status are far less in Atlantic Canada than in MTV. In terms of languages spoken at work, speaking non-official

languages is associated with less earnings disadvantages in Atlantic Canada than in MTV. Similarly, speaking non-official languages leads to less earnings disadvantages in Atlantic Canada than in MTV, as does completing education in regions other than Canada. In summary, the earnings disadvantages of recent immigrants are much larger in MTV than in Atlantic Canada. Such disadvantages may possibly be further explained by racial minority status, language spoken at workplace, human capital factors, and place of education.

[Table 2 about here]

5.1.3. Multivariate Analysis

Table 3 shows the earnings disadvantages of recent immigrants relative to their native-born counterparts in Atlantic Canada and MTV. Results from Model 1 suggest that recent immigrants in Atlantic Canada earn only 2% less than their native-born counterparts, whereas in MTV, recent immigrants earn 15% less than their native-born counterparts. This suggests the earnings disadvantages of recent immigrants are more severe in MTV than in Atlantic Canada when demographic and employment characteristics (i.e., gender, age, marital status, employment status, and type of employment) are taken into account.

[Table 3 about here]

Model 1 also demonstrates the impacts of control variables for workers in Atlantic Canada and MTV. For example, I find that women's earnings disadvantages are larger in Atlantic Canada than in MTV. Marital status has similar impacts in both locations; in Atlantic Canada, compared with people who are married or in common-law relationships, those who are widowed, separated, or divorced earn 4% less, while single people earn 6% less. By contrast, in MTV, compared with people who are married or in common-law

relationships, those who are widowed, separated, or divorced earn 4% less, while single people earn 7% less. Finally, type of employment differently affects earnings in Atlantic Canada and MTV. In Atlantic Canada, compared with workers in the blue-collar sector, those in the primary or white-collar sector earn 5% and 14% more, respectively, while those in the distribution sector earn 13% less. By contrast, compared with blue-collar workers, those in the primary and white-collar sectors earn 9% and 11% more, respectively, while workers in the distribution sector earn 9% less.

Model 2 further controls for racial minority status. I find that it impacts earnings more in MTV than in Atlantic Canada. In Atlantic Canada, racial minorities earn 2% less than their white counterparts, while those in MTV earn 7% less. At the same time, controlling for the racial minority status variable increases the percentages for recent immigrants by 0.5% for Atlantic Canada and 4% for MTV. This finding indicates that earnings disadvantages associated with being racial minorities among recent immigrants are greater in MTV than in Atlantic Canada.

Regarding the impact of working in ethnic businesses on earnings in both Atlantic Canada and MTV, Model 3 shows that people in MTV experience greater earnings disadvantages than people in Atlantic Canada. In Atlantic Canada, those who speak non-official languages at work earn only 0.7% less than those who speak an official language at work; in MTV, the figure jumps to 7%. Furthermore, after controlling for languages spoken at work, the percentages for recent immigrants in MTV increase by 1% though it remains unchanged in Atlantic Canada. Altogether, the findings suggest that, for recent immigrants, being employed at ethnic businesses lessens earnings in MTV more than

in Atlantic Canada.

In considering the impacts of human capital factors, Model 4 shows that economic returns to investment in education are greater in Atlantic Canada (1.27) than in MTV (1.23). It also shows that, in Atlantic Canada, those who speak non-official languages at home earn 1% less than those who speak an official language. By contrast, in MTV, recent immigrants who speak non-official languages at home earn 8% less than their counterparts who speak an official language. After controlling for human capital factors, percentages for recent immigrants decrease by 1.7% in Atlantic Canada yet remain unchanged in MTV. These findings indicate that returns to human capital among recent immigrants are greater in Atlantic Canada than in MTV. Furthermore, I find that earnings disadvantages of recent immigrants in Atlantic Canada relative to their native-born counterparts increase after human capital factors are controlled. This indicates possible impacts of foreign versus domestic credentials on earnings. As such, Model 5 might better explain the relationships between earnings disadvantages faced by recent immigrants and foreign credentials.

Further including the place of education variable, Model 5 shows that, in Atlantic Canada, people who obtained their highest level of education in the U.S. or the U.K., Western and Northern Europe, and other regions earn 1.3%, 0.6%, and 1% less respectively than those who obtained their highest education in Canada. Results also suggest that, for MTV, workers educated in Western or Northern Europe and other regions earn 1% and 8% less respectively than those educated in Canada. Moreover, changes in *R*-squared values are larger in MTV than in Atlantic Canada. Clearly, the negative impact of having foreign credentials for recent immigrants is larger in MTV than in Atlantic Canada. After including

Model 5, percentages of earnings disadvantages among recent immigrants for MTV increase by 3%, yet by only 0.6% in Atlantic Canada. These findings suggest that foreign credential issues are more severe in MTV than in Atlantic Canada, particularly since economic returns on investment in education obtained from other regions are higher in Atlantic Canada than in MTV.

5.2. Earnings of Recent Immigrants in Atlantic Canada and MTV

5.2.1. Univariate Analysis

Table 4 shows descriptive statistics of recent immigrants in Atlantic Canada and MTV. Logged earnings of recent immigrants are nearly identical in Atlantic Canada (6.25) and MTV (6.28). In terms of racial minority status, about 50% of recent immigrants in Atlantic Canada are racial minorities, while this figure reaches 75% in MTV. Furthermore, less than 5% of recent immigrants speak non-official languages at work in Atlantic Canada, while about 12% speak non-official languages at work in MTV. Interestingly, a smaller proportion of recent immigrants speak non-official languages at home in Atlantic Canada (40%) than in MTV (70%). Finally, more recent immigrants obtained higher education from more developed regions (e.g., Canada, the U.S., the U.K., Western Europe, and Northern Europe) in Atlantic Canada than in MTV.

[**Table 4 about Here**]

5.2.2. Bivariate Analysis

Table 5 shows bivariate results of earnings among recent immigrants in Atlantic Canada and MTV. Although the earnings of recent immigrants in Atlantic Canada are not statistically different from those in MTV, other explanatory variables are significant. For

example, racial minority recent immigrants earn less than white recent immigrants, and those who speak non-official languages at work earn less than those who speak an official language at work. Human capital factors are also significant; more years of education are associated with higher earnings, while speaking non-official languages at home is associated with lower earnings. Lastly, it is noteworthy that those who completed their education in the U.S., the U.K., Western Europe, or Northern Europe tend to earn more than those educated in Canada. At the same time, holding educational credentials from less developed countries is associated with lower earnings among recent immigrants in Atlantic Canada and MTV.

[Table 5 about here]

5.2.3. Multivariate Analysis

Table 6 displays results from the OLS regression models predicting the earnings of recent immigrants in Atlantic Canada and MTV. Model 1 shows that recent immigrants in Atlantic Canada earn less when main effects (i.e., place of residence, racial minority status, language at work, years of education, language at home, and place of education) and control variables (i.e., gender, age at immigration, years of immigration, marital status, employment status, and type of employment) are considered. More specifically, racial minorities earn 4.4% less than whites, while recent immigrants who speak non-official languages at work earn 6.7% less than those who speak an official language. Human capital factors also have statistically significant impacts on the earnings. Recent immigrants with a high level of education earn more than those with a low level of education, while those who speak non-official languages at home earn 6% less than those who speak an official

language. Furthermore, recent immigrants who completed their higher education in the U.S. or the U.K. earn 4.4% more than those educated in Canada, while those educated in other regions earn 3.6% less.

[Table 6 Here]

Model 1 also includes several control variables and shows that recent immigrant men earn 12.4% more than recent immigrant women. Immigrants who arrived in Canada at an older age earn less than those who arrived at younger age, though more recent immigrants earn less than more established immigrants. Interestingly, immigrants who are widowed, separated, or divorced earn 0.5% more than those who are married or in common-law relationships, while those who are single earn 0.5% less. Meanwhile, part-time workers earn 22% less than their full-time counterparts, and workers in the primary or white-collar sector earn more than blue-collar workers, while those in the distribution sector earn 10% less.

Models 2–5 incorporate interaction terms to compare the impacts of main effects in Atlantic Canada and MTV. Model 2 shows that racial minority recent immigrants in Atlantic Canada earn more than those in MTV although in both destinations they earn less than their white counterparts. However, adding interaction terms between human capital factors and place of residence in Model 4 removes the statistically significant impact of racial minority status. While these two interaction terms are not significant partly due to the sample's small size, it is possible that higher earnings of racial minorities in Atlantic Canada are due to higher levels of human capital among recent racial minority immigrants in Atlantic Canada than in MTV. Moreover, Model 3 indicates that recent immigrants who

speak non-official languages at work in Atlantic Canada earn more than their counterparts in MTV, while in both destinations those who speak non-official languages at work generally earn less than those who speak an official language. Model 4 suggests the impacts of human capital factors that differ between Atlantic Canada and MTV are not statistically significant, although recent immigrants in Atlantic Canada experience better economic returns on human capital factors than their MTV counterparts. Given that adding two human capital variables decreases the statistical significance for Atlantic Canada, these two interaction terms may have strong impacts on the earnings of recent immigrants in Atlantic Canada. Lastly, Model 5 indicates that recent immigrants who completed their education in Western or Northern Europe earn less in Atlantic Canada than in MTV. After including place of education in Model 5, the significance level for the Atlantic Canada coefficient also decreases. Results from Model 5 therefore indicate that disparate economic returns on educational credentials from Western and Northern Europe in Atlantic Canada and MTV greatly impact recent immigrants' earnings in Atlantic Canada.

6. Discussion

In Canada, although the federal and provincial governments aim to recruit more immigrants in non-traditional destinations, little is known about the impact of the regionalisation of immigration on the earnings of recent immigrants. To address this gap, the present study has examined what affects the economic performance of recent immigrants in Atlantic Canada and traditional destinations, or MTV, focusing on four factors: human capital, racial discrimination, foreign credentials, and ethnic businesses.

6.1. Earnings Disadvantages of Recent Immigrants in Atlantic Canada and MTV

Results show that recent immigrants' earnings disadvantages compared with the native-born are smaller in Atlantic Canada than in MTV. This finding is consistent with Bernard's study (2008), which finds that recent immigrants achieve more successful economic outcomes in non-traditional than traditional destinations in Canada. However, my finding contradicts other studies of new immigrant destinations in the U.S. and the U.K. Several U.S. studies report that immigrants in non-traditional destinations often secure low-wage jobs requiring manual labour (Crowley et al. 2006; Donato et al. 2007; Griffith 1995; Johnson–Webb 2003). Furthermore, Dustmann et al. (2003) also find that immigrants in Greater London earn more than in the rest of the country. Given that the present study provides opposite findings, it can be argued that the regionalisation of immigration may be an effective immigration and immigrant integration policy in Canada in particular.

Results also indicate that earnings disadvantages faced by racial minority recent immigrants are smaller in Atlantic Canada than in MTV. This is consistent with previous studies which argue that racial hierarchy is firmly established in Canadian gateway cities with large racial minority populations (Dion and Kawakami 1996; Li 2003; Ray and Preston 2009). Furthermore, while several studies find that racial hierarchy is more flexibly defined in non-traditional destinations (Hernández–León and Zúñiga 2000; Marrow 2009), the present study's results stress that, for recent immigrants in Atlantic Canada, being racial minorities generally translates into lower earnings. This finding echoes other studies on Atlantic Canada, which show that immigrants experience employment-related racial discrimination (Becker 2013; Flint 2008; Ralston 1991). Therefore, it can be concluded that earnings disadvantages among racial minority recent immigrants are greater in traditional

destinations, although being racial minorities nevertheless generally associated with lower earnings for recent immigrants in Atlantic Canada.

At the same time, results suggest that recent immigrants who work at ethnic businesses earn less in MTV than their counterparts in Atlantic Canada. This is consistent with theoretical expectations that immigrants who work in ethnic businesses tend to earn less than those in mainstream labour markets. Given that MTV has more ethnic businesses, immigrants lacking human capital specific to the host country are more likely to find employment at ethnic businesses (Portes and Sensenbrenner 1993). By contrast, due to Atlantic Canada's relatively small immigrant population, being employed in an ethnic business in this region has minimal impact (Akbari 2013). Although lower earnings due to being employed in ethnic businesses generally explained by the fact that ethnic networks deter employees from participating in labour unions (Kwong 2001), it can nevertheless be argued that recent immigrants are less likely to face earnings disadvantages when employed in ethnic businesses in Atlantic Canada, given that such ethnic networks are far more limited in scope there than in MTV.

Human capital factors also influence recent immigrants' earnings differently in Atlantic Canada and MTV. For example, the return to an investment in education on earnings is higher in Atlantic Canada than in MTV. Moreover, the earning disadvantage of speaking non-official languages at home is smaller in Atlantic Canada than in MTV. These results support the findings of McDonald (2004), who argues that immigrants' settlement in traditional destinations can largely be explained by their lack of human capital. When newcomers to Canada lack higher education as well as English or French proficiency, they

are likely to stay in MTV, given that ethnic communities in traditional destinations can provide them with the tools necessary to survive in the country (Li 2003). By contrast, Akbari (2011) shows that, with the introduction of the PNPs, recent immigrants in Atlantic Canada tend to have more human capital suitable specifically to local economies. Given that the PNPs were first introduced in 1999, it could be argued that recent immigrants in this study (i.e., those who arrived after 1995) arriving in Atlantic Canada may have been expected to have higher levels of human capital and thus fewer earnings disadvantages than recent immigrants in MTV.

Lastly, the impact of foreign credentials on recent immigrants' earnings is smaller in Atlantic Canada than in MTV. In fact, recent immigrants educated in Western or Northern Europe and other regions earn more in Atlantic Canada than in MTV. However, having completed education in the U.S. or the U.K. poses a statistically significant impact only in Atlantic Canada, which indicates that recent immigrants' lower earnings in Atlantic Canada may stem from their possession of credentials from either of these countries. This could be attributed to several factors. To begin, labour markets are more competitive in MTV than in Atlantic Canada. On top of that, while native-born recent university graduates and immigrants with foreign credentials concentrate in traditional destinations such as MTV, only 15% of the native-born population in Atlantic Canada has a higher education (Akbari 2011). This trend suggests that employers in Atlantic Canada choose from a smaller pool of highly skilled labour. As such, recent immigrants with foreign credentials in Atlantic Canada can generally experience greater economic success than those in MTV. At the same time, another factor may be the PNPs, which in Atlantic Canada work with a large

proportion of recent immigrants whose skills and knowledge often match certain needs in local economies (Pandey and Townsend 2010). However, recent immigrants from the U.S. and the U.K. are less likely to use the PNPs while settling in Atlantic Canada (Akbari 2013), which may partly explain why recent immigrants from these two countries face earnings disadvantages greater than those of recent immigrants educated in Western and Northern Europe and other new immigrant source countries.

6.2. Earnings of Recent Immigrants in Atlantic Canada and MTV

In the second analysis, I compared earnings of recent immigrants in Atlantic Canada and MTV. At a bivariate level, results indicate that the earnings of recent immigrants in Atlantic Canada do not significantly differ from those in MTV. This finding is consistent with research from the U.K. (Dustmann et al. 2003), which indicates that immigrants in Greater London experience better economic performance than those in other U.K. regions, since London provides the most employment opportunities. It may therefore be the case that workers in MTV generally experience better labour market success than those in Atlantic Canada.

Results also show that recent immigrants working in ethnic businesses in Atlantic Canada earn more than those in MTV. This circumstance may derive from the fact that ethnic businesses are fewer in Atlantic Canada than in traditional destinations (Akbari 2013). Since ethnic networks deter employees from joining labour unions (Kwong 2001), smaller ethnic networks in Atlantic Canada could partly explain why recent immigrants employed in ethnic businesses earn more in Atlantic Canada than in MTV.

7. Conclusion

This study has found that recent immigrants in Canada experience different labour market outcomes between Atlantic Canada and traditional destinations, namely, Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver (MTV). More specifically, I found racial discrimination, employment in ethnic businesses, human capital factors, and foreign credentials differently influence recent immigrants' earnings between these two destinations.

These findings have certain implications for policies related to the regionalisation of immigration in Canada. While recent immigrants' earnings disadvantages are less in Atlantic Canada than in MTV, being racial minorities and having foreign credentials is liable to decrease a recent immigrant's earnings. To respond to these issues, employers in Atlantic Canada are advised to consider implementing workplace policies to minimise racial discrimination in all aspects of employment. Furthermore, given that immigrants who completed their higher education outside Canada earn less than those educated in Canada, provincial governments could work to educate employers in Atlantic Canada about the systems and values of foreign education. For example, World Education Services is a non-profit organisation that evaluates foreign credentials of international students and immigrants in the U.S. and Canada. Employers can possibly use this service to assess the values and systems of higher education outside of Canada.

I also found recent immigrants educated at universities in Western and Northern Europe earn less in Atlantic Canada than in traditional destinations. This issue might be addressed by actively recruiting immigrants from Western and Northern Europe through the PNPs, given that immigrant nominees with skills and knowledge better suited to local economies are likely to earn more than non-nominees. With these and similar policies,

Atlantic Canada could attract and retain more immigrants.

Despite this study's noteworthy findings, some of its limitations should be acknowledged. First, due to the nature of the Census, its data present an issue of unobserved heterogeneity. For example, although immigrants' racial minority status was used to assess the presence of racial discrimination after controlling for all other possible observable factors, such discrimination might be further influenced by unobserved factors, including employer perceptions of how motivated racial minorities are as workers. Moreover, although language spoken at work is used to examine the impact of immigrants' employment in ethnic businesses, Boyd (2009) argues that such may not be accurate, since *linguistic enclave* differs from *ethnic enclave*; the latter emphasises the geographic concentration of immigrants' social networks. Therefore, future studies should examine whether immigrant concentration impacts earnings in Atlantic Canada differently from MTV.

Furthermore, aggregation of data may be a limitation. I have aggregated Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver as traditional destinations. Similarly, due to a small sample size issue, the four Atlantic Canadian provinces were lumped together. Given that these three cities and four provinces have different labour markets and ethnically different immigrant populations, future studies would benefit from analyzing different economic integration outcomes within traditional destinations. Also, given its small number of recent immigrants in the Census data, rather than quantitative methods, qualitative methods may be more useful in assessing how each Atlantic Canadian province provides different labour market among recent immigrants. Therefore, future studies should examine labour market

integration of recent immigrants separately in each province in Atlantic Canada, using qualitative methods.

Moreover, while the PNPs are an important aspect of immigration in Atlantic Canada, the Census file does not include information on the respondent's entry class, such as the PNP, economic immigrants, family class, and refugees. Future studies should address this issue by using alternative datasets, such as the Longitudinal Immigration Database (IMDB) and the 2011 National Household Survey.

While the results generally indicate the positive images of economic integration of racial minority recent immigrants in Atlantic Canada, it is noteworthy that the study only considers economic well-being among those who have part- and full-time jobs. Therefore, future studies should consider those immigrants who leave or do not have occupations in Atlantic Canada and MTV.

Finally, there are other ways to understand economic well-being among recent immigrants, including unemployment status and occupational match (Frank 2013; Haan 2008). While this study indicates that recent immigrants in Atlantic Canada fare well in terms of earnings, it may be that immigrants arriving in this region experience high unemployment rates. Similarly, it may be the case that recent immigrants cannot obtain employment matching their previous or intended occupation in their country of origin. Future studies should therefore use these measurements to investigate the economic well-being of recent immigrants in Atlantic Canada and other non-traditional destinations compared with recent immigrants in MTV.

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9. Tables

Table 1 Descriptive statistics of part- and full-time workers aged 25 to 64 in Atlantic Canada and MTV

	Atlantic Canada		MTV	
	Rounded	%	Rounded	%
Log weekly earnings	6.39	N/A	6.57	N/A
Immigrant status				
Native-born	931,195	96.00	2,777,795	59.02
Established immigrants	29,975	3.09	1,265,960	26.90
Recent immigrants	8,790	0.91	663,015	14.08
Gender				
Female	472,155	48.68	2,280,375	48.45
Male	497,810	51.32	2,426,395	51.55
Age (mean)	43.46	N/A	42.69	N/A
Age squared (mean)	1992.56	N/A	1928.86	N/A
Marital status				
Married/Common-law	603,760	62.25	2,620,535	55.68
Widow/Separated/Divorced	138,000	14.23	657,570	13.97
Single	228,205	23.53	1,428,660	30.35
Racial minority status				
White	928,485	95.72	3,219,895	68.41
Racial minorities	41,475	4.28	1,486,870	31.59
Employment status				
Full-time	835,915	86.18	4,086,590	86.82
Part-time	41,475	13.82	620,180	13.18
Type of occupation				
Blue-collar	241,605	24.91	957,450	20.34
Primary	30,415	3.14	301,330	6.40
Distribution	344,740	35.54	1,777,865	37.77
White-collar	353,205	36.41	1,670,125	35.48
Language at work				
Official	967,430	99.74	4,536,310	96.38
Non-official	2,530	0.26	170,455	3.62
Years of education (mean)	13.60	N/A	14.51	N/A
Language at home				
Official	959,130	98.88	3,657,590	77.71
Non-official	10,830	1.12	1,049,180	22.29
Place of education				

Canada	579,705	59.77	2,505,315	53.23
US/UK	12,585	1.30	122,380	2.60
Western/Northern Europe	2,105	0.22	39,960	0.85
Other regions	5,525	0.57	587,425	12.48
Not applicable	370,050	38.15	1,451,690	30.84

Table 2 Bivariate Associations between Earnings and Selected Independent Variables in Atlantic Canada and MTV

Variables	Atlantic Canada	MTV
	Beta Coefficient	Beta Coefficient
Immigrant status		
Native-born	1.00	1.00
Established immigrants	1.02***	0.936***
Recent immigrants	0.988***	0.850***
Gender		
Female	1.00	1.00
Male	1.28***	1.17***
Age	1.08***	1.08***
Age squared	1.06***	1.07***
Marital status		
Married/Common-law	1.00	1.00
Widowed/Separated/Divorced	0.944***	0.973***
Single	0.899***	0.936***
Racial minority status		
White	1.00	1.00
Racial minorities	0.975***	0.867***
Employment status		
Full-time	1.00	1.00
Part-time	0.710***	0.723***
Type of occupation		
Blue-collar	1.00	1.00
Primary	1.01***	1.07***
Distribution	0.793***	0.854***
White-collar	1.01***	1.03***
Language at work		
Official	1.00	1.00
Non-official	0.988***	0.888***
Years of education	1.29***	1.24***
Language at home		
Official	1.00	1.00
Non-official	0.985***	0.845***
Place of education		
Canada	1.00	1.00
US/UK	0.985***	1.02***
Western/Northern Europe	0.996	0.991***
Other regions	0.991**	0.872***
Not applicable	0.828***	0.828***

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

Table 3: Earnings Disadvantages of Recent Immigrants in Atlantic Canada and MTV

	Atlantic Canada					MTV				
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Immigrant status										
Native-born	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Established immigrants	1.01***	1.02***	1.02***	0.995*	0.999	0.919***	0.954***	0.959***	0.981***	0.993***
Recent immigrants	0.985***	0.991***	0.991**	0.975***	0.98***	0.854***	0.885***	0.895***	0.895***	0.925***
Gender										
Female	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Male	1.24***	1.24***	1.24***	1.23***	1.23***	1.14***	1.14***	1.14***	1.13***	1.13***
Age	1.85***	1.86***	1.86***	2.02***	2.02***	1.96***	1.95***	1.95***	1.97***	2.03***
Age squared	0.564***	0.563***	0.563***	0.532***	0.532***	0.539***	0.539***	0.543***	0.543***	0.530***
Marital status										
Married/Common-law	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Widowed/Separated/Divorced	0.960***	0.961***	0.961***	0.971***	0.971***	1.04***	0.961***	0.960***	0.970***	0.967***
Single	0.935***	0.936***	0.936***	0.944***	0.943***	0.928***	0.928***	0.927***	0.928***	0.926***
Racial minority status										
Whites	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Racial minorities	0.977***	0.978***	0.984***	0.985***		0.932***	0.940***	0.953***	0.954***	
Employment status										
Full-time	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Part-time	0.749***	0.749***	0.749***	0.758***	0.758***	0.748***	0.748***	0.750***	0.753***	0.753***
Type of employment										
Blue-collar	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Primary	1.05***	1.05***	1.05***	1.02***	1.02***	1.09***	1.09***	1.09***	1.05***	1.05***
Distribution	0.875***	0.875***	0.875***	0.858***	0.857***	0.913***	0.914***	0.913***	0.900***	0.900***
White-collar	1.13***	1.13***	1.13***	0.990***	1.01***	1.11***	1.11***	1.10***	1.01***	1.00***
Language at work										
Official			1.00	1.00	1.00			1.00	1.00	1.00
Non-official			0.990***	1.00	0.999			0.933***	0.964***	0.960***
Years of education				1.27***	1.29***				1.23***	1.28***
Language at home						1.00	1.00			
Official									1.00	1.00

Non-official		0.988***	0.989***			0.915***	0.930***			
Place of education										
Canada			1.00				1.00			
US/UK			0.988***				1.00			
Western/Northern Europe			0.994*				0.988***			
Other regions			0.99**				0.924***			
Not applicable			1.02***				1.03***			
R-Squared	0.2205	0.2210	0.2211	0.2658	0.2662	0.1949	0.1976	0.2021	0.2433	0.2476

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

Table 4 Descriptive statistics of part- and full-time recent immigrant workers aged 25 to 64 in Atlantic Canada and MTV

	MTV		Atlantic Canada	
	Rounded	%	Rounded	%
Logged weekly earnings	6.25	N/A	6.28	N/A
Gender				
Female	297,460	47.02	3,805	44.40
Male	335,200	52.98	4,765	55.60
Age at immigration	33.96	N/A	34.98	N/A
Years of immigration	2000.1	N/A	2000.4	N/A
Marital status				
Married/Common law	488,335	77.19	6,430	75.03
Widowed/Separated/Divorced	58,580	9.26	845	9.86
Single	85,745	13.55	1,295	15.11
Racial minority status				
White	141,055	22.30	4,180	48.80
Racial minorities	191,605	77.70	4,385	51.20
Employment status				
Full-time	538,855	85.17	7,175	83.77
Part-time	93,805	14.83	1,390	16.23
Type of employment				
Blue-collar	151,275	23.91	1,220	14.24
Primary	35,970	5.69	230	2.68
Distribution	267,645	42.31	3,065	35.76
White-collar	177,765	28.10	4,055	47.32
Language at work				
Official	555,715	87.84	8,170	95.39
Non-official	76,945	12.16	395	4.61
Years of education	15.60	N/A	16.00	N/A
Language at home				
Official	193,295	30.55	4,870	56.83
Non-official	439,365	69.45	3,700	43.17
Place of education				
Canada	89,865	14.2	1,880	21.95
US/UK	30,130	4.76	1,440	16.81
Eastern/Northern Europe	18,125	2.86	675	7.88
Other regions	354,060	55.96	3,175	37.07
Not applicable	140,480	22.20	1,395	16.29

Table 5 Bivariate results on earnings of recent immigrants in Atlantic Canada and MTV

Variables	Beta Coefficients
Place of residence	
MTV	1.00
Atlantic Canada	1.01
Gender	
Female	1.00
Male	1.18***
Age at immigration	0.951***
Years of immigration	0.877***
Marital status	
Married/Common-law	1.00
Widowed/Separated/Divorced	0.987***
Single	1.01***
Racial minority status	
White	1.00
Racial minorities	0.910***
Employment status	
Full-time	1.00
Part-time	0.745***
Type of employment	
Blue-collar	1.00
Primary	1.05***
Distribution	0.853***
White-collar	1.04***
Language at work	
Official	1.00
Non-official	0.868***
Years of education	1.20***
Language at home	
Official	1.00
Non-official	0.894***
Place of education	
Canada	1.00
US/UK	1.08***
Eastern/Northern Europe	1.03***
Other regions	0.933***
Not applicable	0.846***

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

Table 6 Earnings differences among recent immigrants in Atlantic Canada and MTV

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Place of residence					
MTV	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Atlantic Canada	0.988***	0.982***	0.981***	0.968*	0.969†
Gender					
Female	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Male	1.12***	1.12***	1.12***	1.12***	1.12***
Age at immigration	0.982***	0.982***	0.982***	0.982***	0.982***
Years of immigration	0.881***	0.881***	0.881***	0.881***	0.881***
Marital status					
Married	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Widowed/Separated/Divorced	1.01†	1.01†	1.01†	1.01†	1.01†
Single	0.995†	0.995†	0.995†	0.995†	0.995†
Racial minority status					
White	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Racial minorities	0.956***	0.955***	0.955***	0.955***	0.956***
Racial Minority Status ×					
Atlantic Canada		1.01†	1.01†	1.01	1.00
Employment status					
Full-time	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Part-time	0.782***	0.782***	0.782***	0.782***	0.782***
Type of employment					
Blue-collar	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Primary	1.03***	1.03***	1.03***	1.03***	1.03***
Distribution	0.891***	0.891***	0.891***	0.891***	0.891***
White-collar	1.03***	1.03***	1.03***	1.03***	1.03***
Language at work					

Official	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Non-official	0.933***	0.933***	0.933***	0.933***	0.933***
Language at work × Atlantic Canada			1.01 [†]	1.01 [†]	1.01 [†]
Years of education	1.14***	1.14***	1.14***	1.14***	1.14***
Years of education × Atlantic Canada				1.02	1.03
Language at home					
Official	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Non-official	0.940***	0.940***	0.940***	0.940***	0.940***
Language at home × Atlantic Canada				1.02	0.998
Place of education					
Canada	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
US/UK	1.04***	1.04***	1.04***	1.04***	1.04***
Eastern/Northern Europe	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Other regions	0.964***	0.964***	0.964***	0.964***	0.963***
Not applicable	0.989*	0.989*	0.989*	0.989*	0.988*
US/UK × Atlantic Canada					0.995
Eastern/Northern Europe × Atlantic Canada					0.990 [†]
Other regions × Atlantic Canada					0.993
Not applicable × Atlantic Canada					1.00
R-Squared	0.1878	0.1879	0.1879	0.1879	0.1880

[†]<0.1, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.00

