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**Economic Returns to Chinese Immigrants in the Enclave and
Mainstream Economy:
The Case of Toronto and Vancouver**

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Abstract

This study uses data from the 2006 Canadian census on male and female immigrants from Mainland China and Hong Kong to measure the differences in economic returns between those working in the enclave economy and those working in the mainstream economy. As in Li and Dong (2007), the distinction between enclave economy and mainstream economy is based on the language most often used at work. The analysis is done for employed and self-employed workers residing in Toronto and Vancouver. The results show that the Chinese immigrants in the enclave economy have lower economic returns than their counterparts in the mainstream economy. They also indicate that immigrants who worked as employed workers have an earnings advantage compared with those who are self-employed in the mainstream economy, and that the economic returns of the Mainland Chinese-born are lower than those of the Hong Kong Chinese-born.

I. Introduction

In the late 1970s, Mainland China began its economic reforms and introduced its open door policy. The government relaxed the restrictions on Chinese people travelling abroad and emigrating. In 1989, student protests and the subsequent Tiananmen Incident also triggered a surge of Mainland Chinese migrants. In the 1990s, in order to join the WTO and to integrate its economy into the wave of globalization, the Chinese government phased out most of the restrictions on nationals living and working abroad. A large number of immigrants from Mainland China, most of whom were professionals and skilled workers, came to Canada.

Chinese immigrants to Canada in recent years have come from different regions, including Mainland China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan. These different geographic regions have very different political, social and economic conditions, and those factors have contributed to significant differences between these groups of Chinese immigrants. They speak traditional or simplified Chinese, Cantonese or Mandarin, and these linguistic and cultural differences follow them to Canada.

There is a large geographical diversity of Chinese immigrants in Toronto. Businesses in the center of Toronto's Chinatown are owned and operated mostly by the older generation of immigrants from Southern China. Toronto's eastern Chinatown is owned mainly by Chinese immigrants from Vietnam. Businesses owned by

immigrants from Hong Kong are mainly located in the new suburban shopping center. Chinese immigrants to Canada have different backgrounds, and so one might expect for them to adapt differently to Canadian labor conditions. For example, due to British colonial rule, Hong Kong immigrants generally have good English proficiency, a high level of education, and valuable work experience. Hong Kong education and experience are more readily recognized by Canadian employers. However, qualifications from Mainland Chinese immigrants are less readily recognized.

There are also Chinese immigrants who gathered in the west coast of Canada, giving Vancouver an Asian flavor. Richmond in British Columbia is the North American city with the highest proportion of Asians. 50% of the residents there report themselves as Chinese.

All of that diversity creates conditions for the development of an enclave economy. For example, the older immigrants from Hong Kong can become employers in the enclave economy, while the recent immigrants from Mainland China are likely to be employees. The purpose of this paper is to study the Chinese enclave economy in Canada, which is tied to the model of an interlinked economy under the premise of ethnic social relations, based on a common origin, the same language and similar cultural backgrounds.

This study contains five sections. The first section describes the related literature. The second section introduces the data and presents descriptive statistics based on the

Public Use Microdata File (PUMF) of the 2006 Canadian Census. The third section introduces the empirical strategy, which is based on equations of the natural logarithm earnings that estimate the effect of working in the enclave economy by Chinese immigrants, controlling for work-related characteristics and human capital. Toronto and Vancouver are the top two destinations of those Chinese immigrants in Canada, and this study focuses on the performances of Chinese immigrants from Mainland China and Hong Kong in those two metropolitan areas. The fourth section presents and interprets the empirical results. The fifth section consists of the conclusion.

II. Literature Review

Wilson and Portes (1980) were the first authors to present the immigrant enclave economy thesis, through a comparative analysis of Cuban immigrants in Miami. They proposed a new understanding on how immigrants in North America use their own labor to form a sheltered and exclusive economy, thus providing an alternative path of social mobility through urban concentration and cultural affinity. In addition, those immigrants who join the enclave economy can be the same as those people who were working with a high-wage paying jobs and stable careers in the mainstream economy, benefiting from the investment in human capital in the past. From the worker's perspective, this is an alternative to not having an opportunity to make greater progress because of language and cultural barriers. Due to the ethnic cohesion and cultural characteristics, the immigrant employers can obtain a low-cost labor force

and a captive consumer market based on an ethnic group. However, the ethnically sheltered economy does not lead to deprivation, but is mutually beneficial to both immigrant employers and employees, since the immigrant employers can benefit from it, while providing employment opportunities to other immigrants. Overall, the authors found that Miami's Cuban immigrants received a net advantage of the enclave economy.

Portes and Jensen (1989) proposed a theory of the enclave economy with the following three elements: first, there is the spatial concentration, like a city or region, forming an interconnected economic and business structure. Second, the ethnic entrepreneurs have the ownership and control of the firms; and third, the entrepreneurs rely on the immigrant labor pool whose ethnic and linguistic background is akin to theirs.

Portes and Zhou (1996) further stated that the development of an enclave economy depends on the following two conditions: the growth in the number of immigrants living in urban areas, and the immigrant group's capacity to develop an asylum-type economy. In other words, the culture-specific internal organization and the ethnic social relations are conducive to the formation of immigrant enclave economies.

Waldinger (1994) focused on two types of niches, employment niches and entrepreneurial niches, in which immigrants may be concentrated. Those were distinguished by Logan, Alba and Stults (2003), who believed that the ethnic enclave

economies should also be included, beside employment niches and entrepreneurial niches.

Nee, Anders and Sernau (1994) indicated that, due to the convenience of language, culture understanding and racial support among the new immigrants who have the same ethnic background, so they do not face discrimination as well as the fact that they can have a relatively good chance to become ethnic entrepreneurs, a large number of new immigrants associate themselves with the enclave economy. Therefore, it can be said that the enclave economy is built on the basis of the same race, same language and urban proximity.

There exists a controversy about the enclave economy. Sanders and Nee (1987) questioned the theory proposed by Wilson and Portes (1980). They noticed that the immigrants who participate in the enclave economy have incomes that are lower than those of immigrants who work in the open economy. Therefore, joining the enclave economy has a negative impact on immigrants who work as employees.

Chan and Cheung (1985) stated that personal resources are nevertheless important. Then found that Chinese business owners in Toronto can increase their profit by exploiting certain advantages afforded by the community, such as group solidarity, loyal ethnic customers, and a low-cost labor force.

Marger (1989) investigated East Indian entrepreneurs in Toronto and found that ethnic networks or communal ties were less consequential than class resources in the development of individual business strategies. He concluded that the impact of class resources on the development of business strategies is more important than ethnic networks and community ties, because class resources explain the participation rates of immigrants in businesses. According to Uneke (1994), class resources include wealth, knowledge and education.

Marger and Hoffman (1992) argued that Hong Kong entrepreneurs' successes in Ontario can be attributed to the rapid growth in the number of Chinese immigrants, as well as to the expansion of the consumer market, and to the strategy of setting up labor-intensive businesses with ready access to the network of ethnic agencies. Some related factors, such as the inflow of immigrants and capital outflows, were confirmed by Li (1992) in a study of Chinese firms in Richmond, B.C.

Walton-Roberts and Hiebert (1997), in a research on Vancouver's Indo-Canadian-owned construction businesses, found that family and race-based economic strategies are beneficial to increasing the ownership of construction and building materials businesses. They also found that ethnic networks are conducive to immigrants finding jobs that do not require many qualifications and official language skills, but that they may also lead to long working hours and relatively low wages. Moreover, their study stated that Indo-Canadian entrepreneurs depend on ethnic networks to a

large extent, but that the most successful ones do not confine themselves to the ethnic market.

Teixeira (1998) focused on how the resources of the Portuguese community in Toronto contributed to the establishment, preservation and success of Portugal's real-estate businesses. The empirical evidence shows that both co-ethnic networks and community ties have positive impact on establishing and operating their businesses. Teixeira and Murdie (1997) reached similar conclusions.

Portes and Bach (1985) and Portes and Jensen (1987) noted that in the previous studies of the enclave economy, the ethnic neighborhood should be separated from the enclave economy. Researchers only should pay attention to the social dimension of the enclave economy, rather than to their residential areas. Nevertheless, because previous census data was lacking the information about the social relations between employers and employees, as well as about the relationship between workers and consumers, the application of those methods was the best that could be done. Using data from the 2001 census to analyze whether or not Chinese immigrants participate in the enclave economy, Li and Dong (2007) regarded language at work as proxy for participation by Chinese immigrants in the mainstream or enclave economy. In their study, enclave and mainstream economy were defined by language categories: more precisely, whether non-official languages or official languages were most often used at the place of work in Canadian labor market. If the respondents most often used an

official language at work, they were classified as working in the mainstream economy. If they most often used a non-official language, they were classified as working in the enclave economy.

The traditional approach to studying the enclave economy was to select an urban area in order to observe whether the immigrants join the enclave economy or not according to where they work or live. Portes and Jensen (1989) used such a method to test if Cuban immigrants join the enclave economy. They compared Cuban immigrants who work and live in Miami and Hialeah to those who do not work and live there. They singled out those immigrants who work or live in these two cities to infer participation in the enclave economy in Florida. This traditional method of identifying participants in the enclave economy is based on the assumption that immigrants are very likely to participate in the sheltered economy if they work or live in a city with a significant immigrant enclave. This issue was noted by Portes and Jensen (1989), but they justified their approach by observing that these two cities, Miami and Hialeah, have the highest concentration of Cuban-owned businesses.

Logan, Alba and Stults (2003) used another approximation to determine whether or not an immigrant participates in the enclave economy. They examined the number of employers and workers in a set of industrial sectors. Using the principle of minority overrepresentation by industry, ethnic immigrants working in those industrial sectors, as waged workers or as self-employed, were assumed to have joined the enclave

economy. These two above-mentioned proxies, either through verifying whether the immigrants are working or living in a city or not, or if they participate in the overrepresented industrial sector, have obvious defects. They may include immigrants who actually work or run businesses in non-enclave economy yet work or live in target cities or in the overrepresented industrial sector.

Li and Dong (2007) focused on the Chinese enclave economy in Canada. The concept is based on the interlinked economy under the premise of ethnic social relations, a common ethnic origin, the same language, and similar cultural backgrounds. Moreover, the development of Chinese-owned businesses can be promoted through the use of immigrant labor, and it depends on the fast-growing Chinese immigrant consumer market. One of the Chinese enclave economy's characteristics is that the Chinese language can be widely used in the work place by employers, workers and customers. Therefore, whether the immigrants join the enclave economy or not can be judged through the frequent use a non-official language in the workplace. In contrast, the immigrants in the mainstream economy use an official language at work. In other word, this study uses language, rather than geographical or industrial restrictions, to distinguish the immigrants that are involved in the enclave economy from those that are not. The authors found that Chinese immigrants who worked in the mainstream economy earned much more than their counterparts in the enclave economy. Self-employed Chinese workers earned less than the employed ones in the mainstream economy, but in the enclave sector, some self-employed individuals earned more than

salaried workers. The results are the same for both female and male.

To summarize, there are theories of the enclave economy, with both positive and negative aspects, and there is the measurement issue: where people work, in which sectors, and which language they most often use at work. Most studies found negative effects on wages of working in the enclave economy.

Based on the theoretical framework and empirical methodology of Andrews, Morgan, Sonquist and Klem (1976), my approach is similar to the one employed in Li and Dong (2007), but I use new data from the 2006 census of Canada, and focus on Toronto and Vancouver only. I examine the performance of Mainland China and Hong Kong immigrants in those two metropolitan areas.

III. Data and Descriptive Statistics

This study uses data from the Public Use Microdata File on individuals, 2006 Canadian census, which contains a total of 844,476 records, representing a random sample of 2.7% of the Canadian population. The 2006 census contains 123 variables, of which 83% or 102 variables are from the individual universe, the other 21 variables being from the family, household and dwelling universes. The population living in institutions is not included.

With the opening of China's economy, an increasing number of Chinese people chose to migrate to other countries. Canada is a vast, sparsely populated country; so many Chinese people migrated to Canada. This study focuses on Chinese immigrants in the Toronto and Vancouver Metropolitan Areas. According to the Canadian 2006 Census, about 39.9%, or 191,120 immigrants, from Mainland China decided to settle in Toronto. There are about 47.2%, or 103,090 immigrants, from Hong Kong who made the same choice. Similarly, about 29.3%, or 137,245 immigrants, from Mainland China, and about 34.5%, or 75,775 immigrants, from Hong Kong's decided to settle in Vancouver. Those two areas' populations of Chinese immigrants are much larger than that of other Census Metropolitan Areas (CMAs). According to the 2006 census, the metropolitan areas of Canada are the first choices for Chinese immigrants to live and work. This study does not analyze all CMAs; it only focuses on Chinese immigrants' in the enclave economy and in the mainstream economy in Toronto and Vancouver.

In this study, as in Li and Dong (2007), the concepts of enclave and mainstream economies are defined based on whether non-official languages or official languages (English or French) were most often used at work. If respondents most often used official languages at work, they were classified as working in the mainstream economy. If they most often used non-official languages in the workplace, they were classified as working in the enclave economy. Specifically, based on the immigrant enclave thesis, immigrants who are either employed and self-employed workers who participate in an interrelated economic society have the same minority language and

ethnic affinity. Therefore, a locally protected economy has been developed. Therefore, immigrants' economic returns in enclave or mainstream economy are estimated based on the language which is most often used at work. The male or female Chinese immigrant who was born in Mainland China and most often used an official language at work as an employed worker is used as the reference category. Also, based on the places of birth of the respondent, this study defines two different groups of Chinese immigrants, those who come from Mainland China, and those who come from Hong Kong.

This study focuses on male and female immigrants who belong to a visible minority in the 2006 census, in the age range from 25 to 64 years old. The earnings are comprised of wages and salaries and self-employment income in the range from \$500 to \$200,000 (very small values and very large values are removed because they are considered as outliers). More specifically, respondents with or without paid help, who are not incorporated, belong to the self-employed group. Paid workers, who worked for wages, salary, tips or commission, belong to employed workers group. In this study, the Chinese immigrants who came to Canada throughout 2005 and 2006 have been excluded, since those immigrants would not have opportunity to find a full year job in 2005. Under those restrictions, this study tries to determine whether employed and self-employed workers in the enclave economy earn as much as their counterparts in the mainstream economy. In this study, both full-time and part-time workers are included, because this factor could influence the annual earnings of employed and

self-employed workers.

Since the number of years of schooling is not contained in the 2006 census, only educational levels can be used. Therefore, the level of education is converted into years of schooling, and the variable EDUC indicates the years of schooling based on the highest certificate, diploma or degree obtained. Also, I will use the variable EDUC to obtain the years of experience variable later. Appendix A1 indicates the details of the definition of EDUC.

In this study, total work experience is defined as age minus five years of pre-school minus EDUC. Foreign work experience is defined as age at immigration minus five years of pre-school minus EDUC. Work experience in Canada is defined as the difference between the total work experience and foreign work experience. The variable AGE_IMM refers to the age at immigration, which is taken as the midpoint of each group.

Table 1 and 2 present the means of selected variables that are included in the comparison groups, for males and females respectively. Whether they worked as self-employed workers or not, there is a gap in age between the immigrants who are in the enclave economy and those in the mainstream economy, both from Mainland China and Hong Kong. Specifically, immigrants from Hong Kong are slightly older than those who came from Mainland China as self-employed in the mainstream economy,

and the immigrants who worked as self-employed were older than the employed workers. Moreover, the self-employed immigrants in the mainstream economy came earlier to Canada than the immigrants in the enclave economy. This explains why the immigrants who worked as self-employed individuals in the mainstream economy always have more Canadian work experience and relatively less foreign experience than their counterparts in the enclave economy. Regardless of gender and place of birth, employed workers in the mainstream economy immigrated to Canada earlier than those in the enclave economy.

In addition, both the self-employed and the employed immigrants in the mainstream economy have more years of schooling than those in the enclave economy, and the former group has a relatively larger number of weeks worked in 2005 than the latter one. In the mainstream economy, the earnings of immigrants who were self-employed or employees are higher than those of their counterparts in the enclave economy. Therefore, for both self-employed and employed immigrants, the higher incomes earned in the mainstream economy can be partly explained by their higher schooling and their relatively longer work experience in Canada.

Considering the place of birth, for the Hong Kong immigrants in the mainstream and the enclave economies, the earnings are higher than those from Mainland China except for female self-employed workers in enclave economy. Therefore, for both the self-employed and the employed immigrants, the higher incomes of Hong Kong

immigrants can be partly explained by factors related to Hong Kong's British colonial rule. Immigrants generally have a high level of English proficiency, and education and work experience gained in Hong Kong are also more easily recognized in the Canadian labor market. Considering the gender, for all the groups, male immigrants have higher earnings than females. This can be partly explained by male immigrants generally having a relatively high level of work experience and background of education.

Table 1 Mean of Selected Variables of Comparative Groups for Male

	Mainland China		Hong Kong	
	Mean	Standard deviation	Mean	Standard deviation
- Self-employed in mainstream economy				
Age	46.0	9.2	48.1	8.6
Age of Immigration	31.3	10.5	26.9	11.7
Years of Foreign Experience	11.6	9.2	8.9	8.9
Years of Canadian Experience	14.0	10.1	18.5	7.8
Weeks Worked in 2005	44.5	11.4	43.9	12.1
Years of Schooling	15.4	2.9	15.6	2.6
Earnings	24404	26321	31760	33700
Sample Size	99		75	
- Self-employed in enclave economy				
Age	48.2	7.3	47.0	8.2
Age of Immigration	35.1	9.5	33.8	9.8
Years of Foreign Experience	17.2	9.6	15.1	9.4
Years of Canadian Experience	12.8	6.8	12.4	5.2
Weeks Worked in 2005	41.4	13.8	41.9	12.6
Years of Schooling	13.2	3.5	14.5	3.2
Earnings	13708	10680	24000	33188
Sample Size	65		22	
- Employed worker in mainstream economy				
Age	42.5	9.3	43.2	9.8
Age of Immigration	30.1	9.6	23.8	11.7
Years of Foreign Experience	9.7	7.6	6.8	8.3
Years of Canadian Experience	11.3	9.5	15.6	8.2
Weeks Worked in 2005	44.9	12.8	47.7	10.0
Years of Schooling	16.5	3.0	15.8	2.4
Earnings	42026	29063	52237	33307
Sample Size	1136		938	

- Employed worker in enclave economy				
Age	45.4	9.4	45.3	9.4
Age of Immigration	33.8	10.2	30.5	10.6
Years of Foreign Experience	16.1	10.2	13.3	9.8
Years of Canadian Experience	11.5	8.2	14.0	7.6
Weeks Worked in 2005	42.6	13.4	45.4	12.8
Years of Schooling	12.8	3.3	13.1	2.8
Earnings	20340	15815	27342	19283
Sample Size	397		161	

Source: Compiled from the 2006 Census of Canada, Public Use Microdata File on Individuals, which is based on a 2.7 per cent probability sample of the population. The data include immigrants from Mainland China and Hong Kong who belonged to a visible minority, with the exception of persons who did not work in 2005, immigrants who arrived in Canada in 2005 or 2006, immigrants under 25 or over 65 years of age, immigrants whose annual earnings was under \$500 or over \$200,000, and the population living in institutions.

Table 2 Mean of Selected Variables of Comparative Groups for Female

	Mainland China		Hong Kong	
	Mean	Standard deviation	Mean	Standard deviation
- Self-employed in mainstream economy				
Age	43.1	8.4	46.5	7.3
Age of Immigration	30.6	8.4	28.5	9.8
Years of Foreign Experience	10.9	7.2	9.4	8.4
Years of Canadian Experience	11.9	8.3	16.2	7.1
Weeks Worked in 2005	42.2	14.6	42.4	11.9
Years of Schooling	15.3	3.0	15.9	2.5
Earnings	16292	17581	20930	23210
Sample Size	72		43	
- Self-employed in enclave economy				
Age	47.7	8.8	46.8	8.5
Age of Immigration	34.5	9.1	32.2	12.0
Years of Foreign Experience	16.4	8.9	15.1	9.9
Years of Canadian Experience	13.0	8.6	13.6	6.0
Weeks Worked in 2005	42.5	13.2	42.0	11.6
Years of Schooling	13.2	3.3	13.0	2.7
Earnings	13674	15407	9955	8197
Sample Size	46		22	
- Employed worker in mainstream economy				
Age	41.3	9.0	43.0	9.4
Age of Immigration	29.0	9.1	23.7	11.0
Years of Foreign Experience	9.3	7.4	6.7	7.9
Years of Canadian Experience	11.2	9.3	16.0	8.2
Weeks Worked in 2005	42.7	13.8	45.8	11.9
Years of Schooling	15.8	2.8	15.4	2.3
Earnings	30614	22426	38215	24581
Sample Size	1175		971	

- Employed worker in enclave economy				
Age	44.6	9.6	44.4	9.1
Age of Immigration	33.5	10.6	29.8	9.0
Years of Foreign Experience	16.5	10.8	12.1	8.9
Years of Canadian Experience	10.9	7.5	13.9	6.7
Weeks Worked in 2005	40.6	13.9	42.7	13.9
Years of Schooling	12.2	3.0	13.3	2.8
Earnings	16398	11096	21159	14318
Sample Size	480		164	

Source: Compiled from the 2006 Census of Canada, Public Use Microdata File on Individuals, which is based on a 2.7 per cent probability sample of the population. The data include immigrants from Mainland China and Hong Kong who belonged to a visible minority, with the exception of persons who did not work in 2005, immigrants who arrived in Canada in 2005 or 2006, immigrants under 25 or over 65 years of age, immigrants whose annual earnings was under \$500 or over \$200,000, and the population living in institutions.

Since this study only focuses on Chinese immigrants in the enclave and mainstream economy, the population of Canadians by birth and the non-permanent residents were not selected from the data file. The different industrial sectors and location of study have also been taken into account for the analysis.

IV. Empirical Strategy

Based on Andrews, Morgan, Sonquist and Klem (1976), I use a procedure similar to the Multiple Classification Analysis (MCA) model. This model is used to estimate the gross and net differences in earnings across the different groups. The technique used in the MCA approach is a least-squares regression equation. In this study, I use as the reference group the employed immigrants from Mainland China who work in the mainstream economy. The natural logarithm of earnings, $\log(E_n)$, is the dependent variable. Appendix A2 defines all variables in the model. The model is expressed as

follows:

$$\log(E_n) = \alpha + \beta(A_{mn}, B_{mn}, C_{mn})$$

Where

E_n = the 2005 earnings of individual n ;

α = the mean of $\log(E_n)$ for the reference group (Employed workers born in Mainland China in the mainstream economy);

A_{mn} = a list of dummy variables, as follows, for male and female Chinese immigrants respectively:

Employed worker in enclave economy

Born in China

Born in Hong Kong

Employed worker in mainstream economy

Born in China (**reference category**)

Born in Hong Kong

Self-employed worker in enclave economy

Born in China

Born in Hong Kong

Self-employed worker in mainstream economy

Born in China

Born in Hong Kong

There are 16 groups in total, for males and females.

B_{mn} = a list of variables that describe work-related characteristics, such as number of weeks worked in 2005, and whether those weeks were mainly full-time (reference category) or part-time.

C_{mn} = a list of variables that describe human capital, such as years of schooling, Canadian work experience, and foreign work experience.

Therefore, I intend to use three models (see appendix table A2 for the definitions of the variables):

Model I:

$$\ln EARN = \alpha + \beta_1 * CH_SEL_OFF + \beta_2 * CH_SEL_NON + \beta_3 * CH_EM_NON + \beta_4 * HK_SEL_OFF + \beta_5 * HK_SEL_NON + \beta_6 * HK_EM_OFF + \beta_7 * HK_EM_NON$$

Model I estimates gross differences of log earnings with respect to the reference group. I use the employed worker who were born in Mainland China and worked in the mainstream economy as the reference group.

Model II:

$$\ln EARN = \alpha + \beta_1 * CH_SEL_OFF + \beta_2 * CH_SEL_NON + \beta_3 * CH_EM_NON + \beta_4 * HK_SEL_OFF + \beta_5 * HK_SEL_NON + \beta_6 * HK_EM_OFF + \beta_7 * HK_EM_NON + \beta_8 * PART_TIME + \beta_9 * WKSWRK$$

Model II is based on the first model to which I add the variables of the number of weeks worked in 2005, and whether these weeks were full-time or part-time. I take the full-time group as the reference category.

Model III:

$$\ln EARN = \alpha + \beta_1 * CH_SELOFF + \beta_2 * CH_SEL_NON + \beta_3 * CH_EM_NON + \beta_4 * HK_SELOFF + \beta_5 * HK_SEL_NON + \beta_6 * HK_EM_OFF + \beta_7 * HK_EM_NON + \beta_8 * PART_TIME + \beta_9 * WKSWRK + \beta_{10} * EDUC + \beta_{11} * CAN_EXP + \beta_{12} * FOR_EXP$$

Model III includes all the variables. It is based on Model II, to which years of schooling, Canadian work experience, and work experience outside Canada are added.

The results are reported in Table 3 for male Chinese immigrants and in Table 4 for female Chinese immigrants. Each table has three panels corresponding to the above three models.

V. Empirical Results

In Table 3-1, based on Model I, self-employed male immigrants in the mainstream economy from Mainland China have a 65% earnings disadvantage compared to the reference group of the employed male immigrants in the mainstream economy from Mainland China. Furthermore, self-employed male immigrants in the mainstream economy from Hong Kong have a 32% earnings disadvantage. Self-employed and employed male immigrants in the enclave economy earn significantly less than their mainstream economy counterparts.

Compared to the employed male immigrants in the mainstream economy from

Mainland China, only the employed male immigrants in the mainstream economy from Hong Kong have an earnings advantage. Thus we can say that in the enclave economy, whether the Chinese male immigrants worked as self-employed or as employees, there is an earning disadvantage compared to the employed male immigrants in mainstream economy from Mainland China.

Moreover, Table 3-1 shows that the employed workers have higher earnings than those who worked as self-employed in the mainstream economy for the immigrants from Hong Kong and Mainland China. Also, in the enclave economy, the difference of earnings between employed and self-employed is quite large.

As we can see from table 3-2, which based on Model II, employed male immigrants in the mainstream economy from Hong Kong have a 22% earnings advantage compared with the employed male immigrants in the mainstream economy from Mainland China, but the earnings advantage is smaller than that in Model I, which was 36%. In addition, the earning advantage of immigrants in the mainstream economy is decreased compared to their counterparts in the enclave economy. Specifically, the earnings gap of the Mainland Chinese-born male immigrants who worked as self-employed in the enclave economy is 81%, which is less than in Model I. In addition, Table 3-2 indicates that self-employed or employed workers who worked part-time have a 67% earnings disadvantage compared to those people who are full-time workers. People could obtain 3% more earnings when they worked one more week

per year. For both Mainland China and Hong Kong immigrants, there still exists an earning disadvantage for those who worked in the enclave economy. However, as we can see from the augmented model II, the difference in earnings among employees is less than the one estimated among self-employed immigrants who work in the enclave economy.

When we move on to Model III in Table 3-3, the earnings differences are further reduced after taking years of schooling and work experiences into account. For instance, the earnings of male self-employed immigrants born in Mainland China in the enclave economy are 5% less than those of immigrants who worked as self-employed in the mainstream economy, which is much less than the 36% gross difference in earnings obtained in the first model. Thus, an important part of the earnings gap can be attributed to differences in work-related characteristics and to differences in the values of the years of schooling and work experience. However, after including all of the independent variables, Table 3-3 shows that employed workers born in Hong Kong who participate in the mainstream economy still earned 21% more than those in the enclave economy.

In Table 3-3, both the years of schooling variable and the Canadian work experience variable have a positive impact on earnings. Each additional year of education can bring a 7% increase in earnings, and each extra year of Canadian work experience causes the earnings to increase by about 1%. However, foreign work experience has

almost no effect in earnings. This may explain why the earnings of the Chinese male immigrants who immigrated to Canada at an older age are lower than those of the younger immigrants; that is, the older immigrants have accumulated more foreign work experience, while the younger ones had more opportunity to accumulate work experience in Canada.

From Table 4, we can see the results for the female immigrants, and they are akin to those for the males. It is obvious that employed female immigrants from Hong Kong who are in the mainstream economy have an earning advantage. From Table 4-1, we can see that women from Mainland China, and who were self-employed in the enclave economy have an 87% earnings disadvantage compared to the employed female immigrants in the mainstream economy from Mainland China. After adding the variable of the number of weeks worked in 2005, and the variable of full-time or part-time job in Table 4-2, the disadvantage decreases to 73%. After adding all of the independent variables in Table 4-3, the disadvantage decreases to 56%. Employed female immigrants in the mainstream economy from Hong Kong have a 15% earnings advantage compared to the employed female immigrants in the mainstream economy from Mainland China.

In addition, female self-employed immigrants earned less than employed workers in the mainstream economy. In the enclave economy, the women who were self-

employed have a greater earnings disadvantage than the employed ones. Thus, we get a similar result to that for males.

Table 4-2 shows that the variable of the number of weeks worked in 2005 has a positive impact on the earnings of Chinese females, increasing earnings by 3% a year for each extra week of work in 2005. The indicator for part-time work in 2005 has a negative impact on the earnings of Chinese women, decreasing earnings by 66% relative to the case for full-time workers.

Table 4-3 shows that both the variables of years of schooling and Canadian work experience have positive impacts on earnings of Chinese women, increasing earnings by 7% a year for each extra year of schooling, and by 2% for each additional year of work experience gained in Canada. However, foreign work experience has no effect on earnings. Thus, this finding is the same as that of males.

The above analyses suggest that the Chinese immigrants who participated in the enclave economy have an earnings disadvantage relative to the immigrants in the mainstream economy, whether they are self-employed or employed workers. In addition, many factors can lead to the generation of the earning gap, and these differences can be further subdivided. For example, the gap can be engendered by the existence of differences in work-related characteristics, as well as to the years of schooling and the length of Canadian work experience. The remaining earning

difference can be attributed to whether immigrants work in the mainstream economy or the enclave economy. However, the reasons why the immigrants in the mainstream economy have earning advantage are complex. The analyses of Tables 5 and 6 try to provide some further explanations.

Table 5 shows that there are significant differences in the type of industries in which people work in the enclave economy compared to the mainstream economy. Chinese immigrants who are in the enclave economy are highly concentrated in some specific industries. For example, in the enclave economy, about 60% of the Chinese male immigrants and 64% of the female immigrants work in relatively low-paying industry sectors, such as Manufacturing, Retail trade, Accommodation and food services, and Other services (for an analysis of wages by industry, see Gera and Grenier, 1994). On the other hand, in the mainstream economy, there are only 37% of male immigrants and 34% of female immigrants in those industries. Therefore, the relatively low-income sectors are predominant in the enclave economy. In contrast, in the mainstream economy, the relatively high-wage industrial sectors, such as Finance, Insurance, Real estate, Professional, Scientific and technical services, Administrative and support, Education, Health and Public administration, are dominant. In the mainstream economy, about 37% of male immigrants work in those sectors, compared to only 16% of those in the enclave economy. For the female immigrants, about 50% of them work in the professional field in the mainstream economy, compared to 23% in the enclave economy. Overall, the majority of Chinese men and women immigrants

in the enclave economy are concentrated in the low-income sectors.

Table 6 shows the distribution of Chinese immigrants by location of study in both types of economy. For male and female Chinese immigrants in the enclave economy, the percentages who obtained the highest degree, certificate or diploma in Eastern Asia are 71% and 63% respectively, which are much higher than the corresponding percentages of 43% and 45% in the mainstream economy. In contrast, 56% of Chinese males and 54% of Chinese females in the mainstream economy received their highest degree, certificate or diploma in Canada, the U.S or Europe. Those countries' languages are either the same or are culturally close to the Canadian official languages. Only 29% and 36% of males and females in the enclave economy received their education in those countries. These findings can partly explain why most Chinese immigrants who participated in the enclave economy do not often speak the official languages.

Table 3-1 Gross Differences in Log Earnings between the Employed and Self-Employed Workers in the Enclave Economy and in the Mainstream Economy, for Chinese Male Immigrants by Place of Birth, Aged 25-64, Based on **Model I** (Reference group: employed workers in mainstream economy from Mainland China).

Independent variables	Model I	t-value	F-test
			67.93
- Self-employed in mainstream economy			
Mainland China	-0.6497 (0.0956)	-6.80	
Hong Kong	-0.3192 (0.1089)	-2.93	
- Self-employed in enclave sector			
Mainland China	-1.0062 (0.1166)	-8.63	
Hong Kong	-0.8295 (0.1974)	-4.20	

- Employed worker in mainstream economy			
Hong Kong	0.3641 (0.0388)	9.38	
- Employed worker in enclave sector			
Mainland China	-0.5922 (0.0523)	-11.33	
Hong Kong	-0.2634 (0.0765)	-3.44	
R ²			0.1315
Sample Size	3147		

The figures in parentheses are the standard deviation.

Table 3-2 Net Differences in Log Earnings, Between the Employed and Self-Employed Workers in the Enclave Economy and in the Mainstream Economy, for Chinese Male Immigrants by Place of Birth, Aged 25-64, Based on **Model II** (Reference group: employed workers in mainstream economy from Mainland China).

Independent variables	Model II	t-value	F-test
			224.16
- Self-employed in mainstream economy			
Mainland China	-0.59 (0.0789)	-7.48	
Hong Kong	-0.276 (0.0896)	-3.08	
- Self-employed in enclave sector			
Mainland China	-0.8128 (0.0962)	-8.44	
Hong Kong	-0.6255 (0.1625)	-3.85	
- Employed worker in mainstream economy			
Hong Kong	0.2243 (0.0323)	6.94	
- Employed worker in enclave sector			
Mainland China	-0.506 (0.0434)	-11.67	
Hong Kong	-0.2829 (0.0630)	-4.49	
- Full/part-time weeks worked in 2005			
Part-time	-0.6713 (0.0527)	-12.75	
-Number of weeks worked in 2005	0.0346 (0.0012)	29.41	
R ²			0.3962
Sample Size	3085		

The figures in parentheses are the standard deviation.

Table 3-3 Net Differences in Log Earnings, Between the Employed and Self-Employed Workers in the Enclave Economy and in the Mainstream Economy, for Chinese Male Immigrants by Place of Birth, Aged 25-64, Based on **Model III** (Reference group: employed workers in mainstream economy from Mainland China).

Independent variables	Model III	t-value	F-test
			204.74
- Self-employed in mainstream economy			
Mainland China	-0.5577 (0.0759)	-7.35	
Hong Kong	-0.3237 (0.0866)	-3.74	
- Self-employed in enclave sector			
Mainland China	-0.6028 (0.0937)	-6.43	
Hong Kong	-0.505 (0.1563)	-3.23	
- Employed worker in mainstream economy			
Hong Kong	0.2094 (0.0317)	6.60	
- Employed worker in enclave sector			
Mainland China	-0.2543 (0.0448)	-5.68	
Hong Kong	-0.082 (0.0622)	-1.32	
- Full/part-time weeks worked in 2005			
Part-time	-0.6594 (0.0506)	-13.04	
- Number of weeks worked in 2005	0.0325 (0.0011)	28.46	
- Years of schooling	0.0686 (0.0050)	13.72	
- Years of Canadian work experience	0.0142 (0.0017)	8.44	
- Years of foreign work experience	-0.0018 (0.0017)	-1.03	
R ²			0.4444
Sample Size	3085		

The figures in parentheses are the standard deviation.

Table 4-1 Gross Differences in Log Earnings, Between the Employed and Self-Employed Workers in the Enclave Economy and in the Mainstream Economy, for Chinese Female Immigrants by Place of Birth, Aged 25-64, Based on **Model I** (Reference group: employed workers in mainstream economy from Mainland China).

Independent variables	Model I	t-value	F-test
			56.4

- Self-employed in mainstream economy			
Mainland China	-0.7139 (0.1137)	-6.28	
Hong Kong	-0.5469 (0.1457)	-3.75	
- Self-employed in enclave sector			
Mainland China	-0.8697 (0.1410)	-6.17	
Hong Kong	-1.0223 (0.2021)	-5.06	
- Employed worker in mainstream economy			
Hong Kong	0.3743 (0.0395)	9.47	
- Employed worker in enclave sector			
Mainland China	-0.4512 (0.0500)	-9.03	
Hong Kong	-0.2243 (0.0777)	-2.88	
R ²			0.1115
Sample Size	3154		

The figures in parentheses are the standard deviation.

Table 4-2 Net Differences in Log Earnings, Between the Employed and Self-Employed Workers in the Enclave Economy and in the Mainstream Economy, for Chinese Female Immigrants by Place of Birth, Aged 25-64, Based on **Model II** (Reference group: employed workers in mainstream economy from Mainland China).

Independent variables	Model II	t-value	F-test
			269.1
- Self-employed in mainstream economy			
Mainland China	-0.6707 (0.0881)	-7.62	
Hong Kong	-0.4429 (0.1129)	-3.92	
- Self-employed in enclave sector			
Mainland China	-0.7303 (0.1095)	-6.67	
Hong Kong	-0.9127 (0.1562)	-5.84	
- Employed worker in mainstream economy			
Hong Kong	0.1981 (0.0311)	6.36	
- Employed worker in enclave sector			
Mainland China	-0.4322 (0.0390)	-11.09	

Hong Kong	-0.2179 (0.0604)	-3.61	
- Full/part-time weeks worked in 2005			
Part-time	-0.6612 (0.0355)	-18.63	
- Number of weeks worked in 2005	0.0321 (0.0010)	30.87	
R ²			0.4428
Sample Size	3058		

The figures in parentheses are the standard deviation.

Table 4-3 Net Differences in Log Earnings, Between the Employed and Self-Employed Workers in the Enclave Economy and in the Mainstream Economy, for Chinese Female Immigrants by Place of Birth, Aged 25-64, Based on **Model III** (Reference group: employed workers in mainstream economy from Mainland China).

Independent variables	Model III	t-value	F-test
			239.1
- Self-employed in mainstream economy			
Mainland China	-0.6412 (0.0847)	-7.57	
Hong Kong	-0.5212 (0.1088)	-4.79	
- Self-employed in enclave sector			
Mainland China	-0.562 (0.1061)	-5.30	
Hong Kong	-0.742 (0.1509)	-4.92	
- Employed worker in mainstream economy			
Hong Kong	0.1506 (0.0307)	4.90	
- Employed worker in enclave sector			
Mainland China	-0.1681 (0.0415)	-4.05	
Hong Kong	-0.081 (0.0592)	-1.37	
- Full/part-time weeks worked in 2005			
Part-time	-0.6724 (0.0343)	-19.6	
- Number of weeks worked in 2005	0.031 (0.0010)	30.61	
- Years of schooling	0.0678 (0.0054)	12.48	
- Years of Canadian work experience	0.015 (0.0017)	8.72	

- Years of foreign work experience	-0.0027 (0.0017)	-1.54	
R ²			0.4851
Sample Size	3058		

The figures in parentheses are the standard deviation.

Table 5 Percentage Distribution of Chinese Immigrants in the Enclave Economy and Mainstream Economy, by Industry

Industry	Percentage Distribution of Chinese Immigrants			
	Male		Female	
	Mainstream Economy	Enclave Economy	Mainstream Economy	Enclave Economy
Agriculture, forestry, fishing and hunt	0.25	1.41	0.22	1.36
Mining and oil and gas extraction	0.17	0	0.26	0
Utilities	1.01	0.14	0.34	0
Construction	2.65	9.86	1.38	0.54
Manufacturing	17.65	17.18	13.12	31.20
Wholesale trade	8.93	7.75	7.57	7.63
Retail trade	8.38	12.11	10.07	10.63
Transportation and warehousing	4.84	1.27	2.19	0.95
Information and cultural industries	4.30	2.25	2.28	2.18
Finance and insurance	6.99	1.83	12.56	2.45
Real estate and rental and leasing	3.24	1.27	3.61	1.23
Professional, scientific and technical services	15.96	6.06	11.06	4.50
Management of companies and enterprises	0.21	0.42	0.26	0
Administrative and support, waste management and remediation	3.54	3.38	3.57	3.54
Educational services	3.45	1.41	5.81	3.27
Health care and social assistance	4.00	2.54	10.80	7.49
Arts, entertainment and recreation	1.10	0.42	1.46	0.27
Accommodation and food services	6.87	24.93	6.97	14.99
Other services (except public administration)	3.66	5.77	3.61	7.08
Public administration	2.78	0	2.84	0.68
Total	100	100	100	100

Table 6 Percentage Distribution of Chinese Immigrants in the Enclave Economy and Mainstream Economy, by Location of Study

Location of Study	Percentage Distribution of Chinese Immigrants			
	Male		Female	
	Mainstream Economy	Enclave Economy	Mainstream Economy	Enclave Economy
Canada	48.60	24.66	48.92	32.24
United States of America	4.40	2.43	2.30	2.30
Europe	3.16	1.74	2.75	0.99
Eastern Asia	42.91	70.83	45.42	63.16
Rest of the world	0.93	0.35	0.62	1.32
Total	100	100	100	100

VI. Conclusion

The literature shows that the immigrant enclave economy has an interrelated economic structure. It is comprised of businesses owned by immigrants in a relatively large urban area, and it is dependent on an immigrant labor pool. The workers are typically immigrants with similar ethnic and linguistic backgrounds as the target consumer group. Some believers of the immigrant enclave economic theory argue that it offers an alternative path to mobility; they say that the returns in the enclave economy and the mainstream economy are comparable, and thus that the enclave economy does not limit the economic opportunities of the immigrants. Researchers have used different methods to measure whether or not immigrants participate in the enclave economy, and this has produced different empirical results about the relative advantages of the enclave economy compared to the mainstream economy. However, the findings show that economic benefits exist only among the self-employed rather than among the employed workers in the enclave economy.

Following Li and Dong (2007), this analysis uses the language at work as a proxy to measure participation in the enclave economy by male and female immigrants from Mainland China and Hong Kong. The findings indicate that, for both birthplaces and both genders, the self-employed and the employed immigrants tend to earn significantly less in the enclave economy than in the mainstream economy. In addition, the earnings of the immigrants who worked as employed workers are higher than or equal to those of the self-employed immigrants in both the enclave economy and the mainstream economy.

After work-related characteristics are taken into account, such as the number of weeks worked in 2005 and whether they worked part-time or full-time hours, the earning disadvantage for the immigrants who are in the enclave economy still exist, but the magnitude of the differences become smaller. When we add human capital variables, such as the years of schooling, the years of Canadian work experience and foreign work experience, the magnitude of the earnings difference further decreases. Furthermore, the employed immigrants who are in the mainstream economy still have a net earnings advantage compared to the self-employed immigrants in the same type of economy. The findings are similar for both male and female immigrants.

The results state that the earnings of both self-employed and employed immigrants who participated in the enclave economy are less than those in the mainstream economy. The Chinese immigrants who worked as employed workers have earnings

advantage compared with those self-employed ones in the mainstream economy.

In addition, different types of industrial compositions (as far as where the immigrants worked) are related to the existence of earnings difference between enclave economy and mainstream economy. Specifically, almost two thirds of the jobs held by Chinese immigrants in the enclave economy are in relatively low-wage industries. In contrast, the jobs held by Chinese immigrants in the mainstream economy are concentrated in high-wage sectors. Furthermore, the location of study (i.e. where the workers obtained their schooling) is also related to the earnings difference in both types of economy. For both male and female Chinese immigrants in the enclave economy, the majority obtained their highest degree, certificate or diploma, in Eastern Asia. On the contrary, the majority of Chinese immigrants in the mainstream economy graduated from countries where the Canadian official languages are spoken.

These findings show that the relatively low-income industrial sectors play a role in determining earnings in the enclave economy for Chinese immigrants. Moreover, the target consumer group for the goods and services that are provided by the Chinese self-employed and employed immigrants in the enclave economy is the one that speaks the same language. In addition, the enclave economy is unlikely to target the official language speaking people as their main customer group. These limitations offer the explanations for the existence of the earnings advantage in the mainstream economy over the enclave economy.

Appendix

Table A1. Definition of variable EDUC (years of education)

EDUC	The highest degree individuals have
9	-None
13	-High school graduation certificate or equivalency certificate
14	-Other trades certificate or diploma -Registered apprenticeship certificate -College, CEGEP or other non-university certificate or diploma from a program of 3 months to less than 1 year
15	-College, CEGEP or other non-university certificate or diploma from a program of 1 year to 2years -College, CEGEP or other non-university certificate or diploma from a program of more than 2 years
16	-University certificate or diploma below bachelor level
17	-Bachelor's degree
18	-University certificate or diploma above bachelor level
19	-Master's degree
23	-Degree in medicine, dentistry, veterinary medicine or optometry -Earned doctorate degree

Table A2. Definitions of the variables

EARN	Annual earnings (positive value) in 2005 composed of wages, salaries and self-employed income
lnEARN	Logarithms of EARN
AGE	Age of individual (estimated as the midpoint of each age group (from 25-65))
WKSWRK	Weeks worked in 2005
EDUC	Educational years (estimated by HDGREE: [HDGREE] Highest certificate, diploma or degree; see Table A1)
AGE_IMM	Age at immigration (estimated at midpoint of each AGEIMM group)
TOT_EXP	Total work experience is estimated by subtracting the average five preschool years and the years of schooling from the age (AGE-5-EDUC)
FOR_EXP	Foreign work experience is estimated by subtracting five and the years of schooling from the age at immigration and by recording all numbers less than zero as zero (AGE_IMM-5-EDUC)
CAN_EXP	Canadian work experience is estimated from the difference between total work experience and foreign work experience (TOT_EXP-FOR_EXP)
LWOFF	The respondent used an official language most often at work
LWNON	The respondent used a non-official language most often at work
PART_TIME	Dummy variable for respondents who worked mainly part-time in 2005
FULL_TIME	Dummy variable for respondents who worked mainly full-time in 2005 (reference group)
SELF_EMPLOYED	Self-employed with or without paid help, not incorporated
EMPLOYED	Paid worker - Working for wages, salary, tips or commission
CHINA	The respondent was born in People's Republic of China
HK	The respondent was born in Hong Kong, Special Administrative Region
CH_SEL_OFF	The interaction of CHINA, SELF_EMPLOYED and LWOFF
CH_SEL_NON	The interaction of CHINA, SELF_EMPLOYED and LWNON
CH_EM_OFF	The interaction of CHINA, EMPLOYED and LWOFF (reference group)
CH_EM_NON	The interaction of CHINA, EMPLOYED and LWNON
HK_SEL_OFF	The interaction of HK, SELF_EMPLOYED and LWOFF
HK_SEL_NON	The interaction of HK, SELF_EMPLOYED and LWNON
HK_EM_OFF	The interaction of HK, EMPLOYED and LWOFF
HK_EM_NON	The interaction of HK, EMPLOYED and LWNON

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