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EMPLOYMENT ACROSS GENERATIONS: ITALIAN MEN IN TORONTO

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ABSTRACT

This research examines the labour force characteristics of several generations of Italian men working in Toronto. Utilizing a mixed-methods approach, the analysis focuses on differences in participation and occupational status characteristics between generations of Italian workers. This study also investigates the social and geographic factors that may underpin observed labour market outcomes for men. In particular, the study focuses on social processes mediated by interpersonal relations constituted in and across particular locales (such as the home and schools). Some possible explanations for differences in the labour market status of generations of Italian men are presented, including a discussion of the messages transmitted within families about education, the influence of residential locale on labour market opportunities, and an exploration of the ways that gender roles influence the strategies and expectations for men with regard to work.

RÉSUMÉ

Cette recherche contribue à l'étude de l'intégration des immigrants et de leurs enfants en examinant les caractéristiques d'emploi de la communauté italienne de Toronto. Cet examen est surtout descriptif et a pour but de révéler les différences significatives entre les générations, ainsi que d'établir la magnitude de ces différences dans les résultats observés. Le deuxième objectif de l'étude est de considérer les facteurs sociaux et géographiques qui peuvent soutenir les résultats obtenus en ce qui a trait aux caractéristiques d'emploi observées chez les hommes. Plus particulièrement, l'étude focalise sur les processus sociaux influencés par les relations personnelles constituées dans les différentes sphères de la vie (par exemple l'école ou le travail). Quelques explications possibles concernant le statut d'emploi de générations d'hommes italiens sont présentées: une discussion sur le message transmis au sein des familles concernant l'éducation, l'influence de la sphère résidentielle sur les expériences et les opportunités de travail, ainsi qu'une exploration des influences masculines sur les stratégies et les attentes des hommes dans les familles.

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Chapter 1: Introduction and Objectives

Canada is truly an ‘immigrant nation’ (Li, 2003: 8). The country’s aboriginal groups represent only about 3.5 percent of the total population (Statistics Canada, 2007a), and the remainder is either foreign born or descendants of immigrants. Due to the overwhelming importance of both historical and contemporary immigration to Canada, much attention has been devoted to understanding the complex effects of immigration on Canadian society. A great deal of the research about immigrants has focused on the ways in which immigrants integrate into the Canadian labour market, with economic integration defined as “the path by which immigrant economic performance converges toward that of their native-born counterparts”¹ (Hum and Simpson, 2004: 47). Often immigrants face significant labour market barriers due to cultural, language and accreditation issues (Chiswick and Miller, 1992; Frenette and Morissette, 2005), and research attention has focused on such barriers and their impact on immigrant communities. It has been argued that examining the economic integration of the immigrant generation is somewhat shortsighted, as “the time span of immigrant integration and/or assimilation extends beyond that of the first generation of migrants” (Boyd, 2002: 1038). Some have even gone as far as to argue that:

The issue of immigrant incorporation may be beside the point as it hinges on the foreign-born, who are a transitional generation caught between their countries of origin and their new host society... [A] more fruitful barometer of immigrant mobility is to study the mobility patterns among later generations. (Zhou, 2008: 14)

Studies conducted in other major immigrant receiving countries (mostly the United States and Europe) have recognized that understanding the economic integration of today’s

¹ The definition of *integration* has been conceived in different ways (for example, social integration, cultural integration, etc.) but the proposed research will focus on economic integration as defined here.

immigrant groups requires a long lens and that the integration of children of immigrants – the second generation² - into the labour market is by no means straightforward or seamless.

Social scientists who study immigrant communities in Canada have only begun to expand the scope of research beyond the foreign-born generation (Rajiva, 2005). Relatively little research has been conducted on the labour market outcomes of the Canadian second generation (see Boyd, 2008), and even less is known about the processes that underlie these outcomes. This study will contribute to Canadian research about the integration of immigrants and their descendents in two ways. First, a comparison is made of the labour market status of the Italian second and third generations with those of the immigrant generation. To place this research about Italians in context, several other immigrant and second-generation ethnocultural groups are also examined, although in less detail. This examination of employment characteristics is primarily descriptive in nature with the intent of uncovering significant differences between generations and ethnocultural groups, as well as establishing the magnitude of the differences in outcomes. The second objective of the study is to examine social and geographic factors that may underpin observed labour market outcomes. In particular, the study focuses on social processes mediated by interpersonal relations constituted in and across particular locales (such as the home, school, neighbourhood, etc.).

Italians may seem like an unusual group to study given that the vast majority of the immigrant generation is well established in Canada, and their descendents have been in Canada for at least a generation. This is, in fact, a tremendous advantage for studying changes in labour market status between generations, as Italians have been present long

² “Persons born in Canada with at least one parent born outside Canada” (Statistics Canada, 2007b)

enough that an investigation of second-generation labour market outcomes is meaningful. While large-scale Italian migration to Canada ended long ago, Italians remain one of the most spatially concentrated ethnocultural groups (Balakrishnan and Hou, 1999), and the long-standing presence of the Italian community in Canada has allowed structurally-complete ethnic institutions to develop in place (Zucchi, 1988; N. Harney, 1998). In the Canadian labour market, Italians have come to occupy distinct occupational niches, and develop employment practices that to a considerable degree reflect gender roles (Iacovetta, 1992). This study seeks to examine how such community and household factors are involved in determining labour market outcomes.

The study begins by briefly outlining the history of Italian communities in Toronto and the demographic characteristics of the population. The analysis then moves on to examine several indicators of labour market performance: labour force participation rates, unemployment rates, occupational and industrial distribution patterns, and average employment income. Special attention is paid to the effects of gender and age on labour market performance among different generations of Italians in Toronto, as studies show that age and gender are two highly important variables that influence interpretations of labour market outcomes (Preston and Cox, 1999; Mandarino and Ray, 2007; Jantzen, 2008). In particular, gender plays a prominent role in studying occupational status and representation in industries and economic sectors among Italians (Iacovetta, 1992). Upon careful consideration of these labour market patterns, this descriptive analysis is extended by a qualitative investigation of processes that may give rise to the distinct labour market experiences of several generations of Italian men, recognizing the important ways that male gender roles shape employment experiences.

This research contributes to an international academic debate about the status of the second generation in countries that receive large numbers of migrants. The literature review (Chapter 2) outlines the contours of this debate, describing the theories that have been developed to explain the status and labour market trajectories of the second generation. Upon reviewing relevant literature, a description of the methodology follows (Chapter 3). This study employs both quantitative and qualitative research strategies, and the strengths and weaknesses of employing a ‘mixed-methods’ approach are discussed. This is followed by an explanation of the strategies used for data collection and respondent recruitment. As a precursor to the analysis of labour market outcomes and experiences, Chapter 4 reviews the particular qualities of immigration in the metropolitan Toronto area, describing the changing demographics of immigration, as well as the changing geographies of residence and work in the city. Special focus is given to research about Italian immigrants: their geography of residence, the cultural institutions that have developed over time, the construction of Italian ethnicity, and the experiences of Italians in Toronto’s labour market. In addition, Chapter 4 will outline important demographic characteristics of the Italian sample. This chapter about the Toronto context (and more specifically, about Italians) begins to situate the social and cultural processes that influence labour market outcomes amongst the second generation.

Chapter 5 presents a descriptive analysis of the labour market status of Italian generations. The analysis suggests that Italian immigrant men have been able to achieve significant success in Toronto’s labour market, despite relatively low education levels. The children of these immigrants are doing even better than their parents, with a large proportion of men achieving significant economic success and showing strong movement

out of ethnic niche industries like construction and manufacturing. Chapter 6 draws on semi-structured interviews conducted with fifteen Italian men from seven different families. These interviews begin to identify how social processes (mediated by interpersonal relations) are implicated in the upward intergenerational mobility experienced by Italian men. Special focus is placed on the influence of locale on the social networks and employment trajectories of respondents. The conclusion (Chapter 7) summarizes the analyses and discusses the contributions of this research to broader theoretical debates about the status of immigrant children in migrant-receiving countries.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Approaches to Examining Intergenerational Mobility

In recent decades, a lively academic debate has developed regarding the status of immigrants and their children in a variety of settings. The beginnings of this debate can be traced back to the Chicago School of Sociology of the 1920's and 1930's, in which several theories of 'assimilation' were developed to explain the ways in which foreign-born groups became part of U.S. society and achieved social mobility and an associated better standard of living (Park and Burgess, 1921; Park, 1930; Warner and Strole, 1945; Gordon, 1964). 'Assimilation theory' was influential in framing the understandings of the ways that immigrants join their host societies. This body of work for the most part proposed that immigrants in the workforce were initially at a disadvantage because of cultural differences relative to the 'mainstream' (such as language, accent, customs, etc.), but over time these differences diminished and it became increasingly difficult to distinguish immigrants from native-born Americans. According to the Chicago School, while many immigrant groups might never overcome language problems or lose touch with their culture of birth, most would eventually achieve employment parity as their 'inferior ethnic traits' diminished. Importantly, proponents of traditional assimilation theory believed that all immigrant children would be free of the economic 'disadvantage' of their parents' culture, and therefore have similar employment opportunities and outcomes as the 'mainstream' population.

Over the years, critiques of assimilation theory mounted, especially with regard to the existence of a unified, homogenous 'mainstream' in U.S. society. Critics pointed out that contrary to the 'two group' (immigrants and the 'mainstream') framework proposed by assimilation theorists, Black Americans had been living in the United States for 300

years but had yet to achieve economic integration or socio-cultural equality (Alba and Nee, 1997; Suárez-Orozco, 2002). Assimilation theory was also strongly criticized for its underlying ethnocentric positions that labeled immigrant culture as ‘inferior’ to a supposedly homogenous and superior ‘American culture’ (Gozdziak, 2005: 8). Because of these criticisms, the traditional theory of ‘straight line assimilation’ fell into disrepute by the middle of the twentieth century (see Glazer, 1993), although some theorists claim that a modified version of it remains useful in conceptualizing the ways that immigrants achieve mobility (Alba and Nee, 1997; 2003).

Traditional assimilation theory is rooted in a particular historic, social and academic context that is today largely outdated, but it did encourage some researchers, notably Gans (1973) and Sandberg (1973), to develop important reformulations. In his ‘straight-line assimilation’ theory, Gans (1973) argues that assimilation is a process that stretches past the immigrant generation. Immigrants and their children still move towards ‘Americanization’ over time in a linear manner, but assimilation is intergenerational. Thus, Gans’ (1973) theory of ‘straight line assimilation’ adds an important dimension to the debate about immigrant integration by insisting on analysis of the status of children of immigrants.

As ‘straight line assimilation’ theory gained prominence, critics began to point to the theory’s weaknesses. Gans’ (1973) and Sandberg’s (1973) versions of ‘assimilation theory’ assume that all qualities of ethnicity were ‘imported’ from the immigrant generation, and that children of immigrants simply ‘picked up’ some of these traits from their parents. This assertion has been strongly critiqued. For example, research by Yancey, Ericksen and Juliani (1976) contends that ethnicity is not a ‘fixed’ category, but

is constantly ‘emerging’ over time and is highly influenced by structural conditions of everyday life. In a similar manner, Sollors (1989) argues that ‘ethnicity’ is a social construction: it is not a natural category of differentiation, but a result of processes by which ethnicity is ‘invented’ through the interplay between meanings of ethnicity to both members the ethnic group and the societal ‘mainstream’. Ethnicity as such is “both asserted and assigned” (Croucher, 2004: 118).

In response, Gans (1992) reformulated his conceptualization and suggested that the processes of ‘straight line assimilation’ should really be called ‘bumpy line assimilation’ (Gans, 1992: 175). This reformulation recognizes that ethnic attachment may fluctuate between generations in relation to particular structural and inter-group conditions. Gans (1992) argues that after several generations of immigration, ethnicity had become largely ‘symbolic’ among descendants of European waves of immigrants who arrived between 1880 and 1925 (see Gans, 1979), but he suggests that this may not occur among the children of post-1965-immigrants from predominantly non-European sources (Gans, 1992). In initiating discussion about the possible ‘second-generation decline’ of children of more recent foreign-born cohorts, Gans (1992) is once again at the forefront of debate about the upward, stalled, or downward social mobility of the children of immigrants.

Children of post-1965 immigrants in the United States have been labeled the ‘new second generation’ (Portes, 1996) because their parents arrived after major American immigration policy reforms, and they are from Latin America, the Caribbean, and Asia (and therefore predominantly ‘non-white’). The experiences of this ‘new second generation’ have convinced some researchers that theories based on earlier European

migrations are inadequate given immigration flow changes and the profound impact that economic restructuring has had on the labour market and employment opportunities for women and men (Sassen, 1991; 1994; 1995). For example, Portes and Zhou (1993) suggest that 'segmented assimilation' may more accurately explain the experiences of this 'new second generation', an argument further elaborated by Portes and Rumbaut (2001). The theory of 'segmented assimilation' contends that the diverse 'new second generation' will experience highly divergent social mobility outcomes in the United States:

There are groups among today's second generation that are slated for a smooth transition into the mainstream ... There are others for whom their ethnicity will be a source of strength and who will muscle their way up, socially and economically, on the basis of their community's networks and resources. There are still others whose ethnicity will be neither a matter of choice nor a source of progress but a mark of subordination. These children are at risk of joining the masses of dispossessed... a new rainbow underclass (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001: 45)

The 'segmented assimilation' hypothesis put forth by Portes and others describes how 'non-white' children of immigrants encounter a society that is highly segregated and segmented along racial lines (see Omi and Winant, 1986), and that such divisions and associated experiences of discrimination inhibit upward economic and social mobility for racially subordinated groups.

Debates About 'Segmented Assimilation'

The 'segmented assimilation' hypothesis is premised on the existence of a Black 'underclass' (see Wilson, 1987; 1997) that is spatially segregated in urban 'ghettoes' (see Massey and Denton, 1993), and suggests that immigrant children who live in close proximity to this 'urban underclass' may 'assimilate' into this segment of the American

population. 'Segmented assimilation' arguments have been developed in a distinctly American context, and many researchers working in other national contexts have questioned its broad applicability. Most of the researchers involved in this debate are sociologists, but the 'segmented assimilation' arguments that are so fundamentally rooted in the geographic concentration of poverty and the underclass in US cities have inspired many of them to consider the qualities and characteristics of place. For example, Boyd and Grieco (1998) and Boyd (2002) examine educational attainments of the adult second generation in Canada, and they argue that the 'segmented assimilation' hypothesis is not applicable to the Canadian second generation, mainly due to a lack of a historically marginalized Black 'underclass' in Canadian cities and significant differences in immigrant source countries. Furthermore, Boyd and Grieco (1998) and Boyd (2002) argue that children of immigrants often 'over-achieve' in education and labour force outcomes relative to the third-plus generation, although they emphasize considerable variation based on parents' place of origin. Boyd and Grieco (1998) refer to their findings as the 'success orientation model', and while their work is important because it suggests that the 'segmented assimilation' hypothesis does not apply in a Canadian setting, but the sample used is small and they are limited in their ability to identify individual ethnocultural or ethnoracial groups. Furthermore, the Boyd and Grieco (1998) and Boyd (2002) studies are national in scale and do not focus on particular cities, even though overwhelming evidence indicates that labour markets are highly localized and employment experiences strongly contingent (Sassen, 1995; Preston and Cox, 1999).

Some research has also stressed that the 'segmented assimilation' hypothesis is not directly transferable to the European experience. For example, Crul and Vermeulen

(2003) and Crul (2007) have stressed that interactions with institutions like the school system, not interactions with the ‘underclass’, have the most profound influence on the economic outcomes of the second generation in a variety of European national contexts (see also Timmerman, Vandenvaeren, and Crul, 2003). Conversely, other research shows highly variable outcomes based on parents’ place of birth, but with an emphasis on the children of Turkish immigrants forming a new ‘underclass’ (in France: Simon, 2003; in Austria: Herzog-Punzenberger, 2003; in Germany: Worbs, 2003). All European studies underline the vastly different national contexts in which immigrants are received, as well as the very different sources of immigration to Europe relative to the United States.

Social scientists conducting research in an American setting have also begun to debate the broad applicability of the ‘segmented assimilation’ theory. Significant academic attention has focused on the factors that cause divergent outcomes among children from particular ethnocultural and ethnoracial backgrounds. For example, Zhou and Bankston (1998) have shown that strong ethnic community structures can ‘insulate’ children from descent into the ‘underclass’ and promote upward economic mobility. They describe how strong cultural institutions like the family and church provide opportunities for ‘selective acculturation’ into American ‘mainstream’ society while still maintaining connections to ethnic culture, even for groups that experience racial discrimination in a city with high levels of racial and economic segregation. Zhou and Bankston (1998) use a case study of the Vietnamese community in New Orleans to show how strong ethnic community institutions play a prominent role in shaping the labour market outcomes for the children of immigrants.

Some researchers have refuted the assumption that the ‘new second generation’ will descend into the ‘underclass’ as being far too simplistic, and instead suggest other facets of differentiation should be considered. For example, Waldinger and Feliciano (2004) refute the ‘segmented assimilation’ hypothesis by examining the labour market experiences of Mexican immigrants and their children in the United States, important because Mexicans are thought to have the highest risk of descending into the ‘underclass’. Their results suggest that children of Mexican immigrants move into distinctly ‘working class’ positions, and do not descend into the ‘urban underclass’. Most importantly, Waldinger and Feliciano (2004) emphasize that the role of gender has not been sufficiently considered, and they contend that men and women have very different labour market outcomes.

Other research has begun to show that there are other more inconspicuous variables to consider when examining divergent labour market outcomes of the second generation. For example, Waters (1990; 1994) has explored how the adoption of particular forms of ethnic and racial identity has an influence on the experiences and socioeconomic trajectories of the second generation in New York, especially among those who are racialized by ‘mainstream’ society. Pyke (2005) has also added an additional layer of complexity to the debate by arguing that divergent outcomes often exist *within* particular families, and ‘first-born’ children often have different educational and occupational trajectories than their younger siblings. Rumbaut (2004) also challenges the way that individuals are grouped into heterogeneous categories like the ‘first generation’ and ‘second generation’ and argues that several distinct groups exist in these categories based on age at migration and life-cycle stage. These dimensions of social

status and identity need to be considered when accounting for different labour market experiences among groups. At the very least, Rumbaut's (2004) research emphasizes the need to control for age effects when comparing and contrasting labour market experiences between groups.

Ramakrishnan (2004) follows a similar line of argument by examining the role that mixed-parentage plays in structuring the educational and labour market experiences of the second generation. She argues that the experiences of second-generation individuals with one foreign-born parent and those with two foreign-born parents are significantly different, and underlines a need to investigate the reasons for these different education and employment experiences.

Alternative Explanations: 'The Second Generation Advantage'

The theory of 'segmented assimilation' was conceptualized at a time when most of the children of post-1965 immigrants were only beginning to enter their adult years, and in many cases researchers had only enough data to speculate on the possible mobility trajectories available to members of the 'new' second generation. Recently, researchers have been able to undertake more comprehensive studies to examine the applicability of the 'segmented assimilation' hypothesis to members of the 'new' second generation in the United States. The research of Kasinitz et al. (2008) makes a significant contribution to debates regarding 'segmented assimilation' by examining the children of post-1965 immigrants in New York, America's most storied 'immigrant city' (see Foner, 2000)³.

³ The study examined U.S.-born adults with Chinese, Dominican, Russian Jewish, West Indian, and South American origins, and compared them to native-born Blacks, Whites, and Puerto Ricans.

Kasinitz et al. (2008) research was undertaken amid fears that many of the children of post-1965 immigrants would experience ‘second-generation decline’ as a result of racial discrimination, the adoption of ‘oppositional subcultures’, and the development of an ‘hourglass economy’ that provides little opportunity for advancement. However, contrary to explanations of ‘segmented assimilation’, Kasinitz et al. report that in New York City, the children of immigrants are overwhelmingly able to ‘join the mainstream’ (2008: 16). Despite reporting experiences of racial discrimination, members of the second generation have stronger educational and employment profiles than either their foreign-born parents or native-born individuals with similar racial backgrounds⁴. The authors find little evidence of ‘second generation decline’, and report that their respondents are “not affluent professionals, but neither are they perennially unemployed nor part of a ‘permanently impoverished’ underclass” (Kasinitz et al., 2008: 348). The proponents of ‘segmented assimilation’ warned that children of immigrants may be ‘torn between two worlds’ (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001), but Kasinitz et al. (2008: 20) suggest that “social scientists have not sufficiently appreciated how ‘in-between-ness’ can provide the second generation with real advantages”. They argue that it is precisely this ‘in-between-ness’ that explains the success of the second generation:

Members of the second generation can sometimes negotiate among the different combinations of immigrant and native advantage and disadvantage to choose the best combination for themselves. In other words, we believe that the ability to select the best traits from their immigrant parents and their native-born peers yields a distinct *second generation advantage*. Members of the second generation neither simply

⁴ Kasinitz et al (2008: 16) justify this method of comparison by stating that “the clearest reference groups for the 2nd generation are other young people who share their ‘racial background’. Thus we compare 2nd and 1.5 generation Dominicans and South Americans with mainland Puerto-Ricans, West Indians with the children of native-born African Americans, and Russians with the children of native-born whites. There is, of course, no obvious large racial comparison group for the second generation Chinese. Here, comparison with native whites gives the clearest benchmark”.

continue their parents' way of doing things nor simply adopt native ways.
(Kasinitz et al., 2008: 20-21)

The research of Kasinitz et al. (2008) implies that the members of the second generation actively negotiate their own path to success by adopting the best traits from both their immigrant parents and their American-born peers. The reported ease with which children of immigrants are able to negotiate between these 'two worlds' is a tremendous departure from previous research that emphasized the conflicts that often arose for individuals with a 'dual frame of reference' (Child, 1943).

To explain why their findings diverge from those proponents of 'segmented assimilation', Kasinitz et al. (2008) discuss a variety of contextually-specific factors that enabled such strong intergenerational mobility patterns among their respondents. In particular, they note a burgeoning U.S. economy of the late 1990's, the relatively low proportion of illegal or undocumented migrants in New York City, and the ability for the 'new' second generation to take advantage of employment equity programs. However, the most interesting factor that the authors discussed was the particular qualities of New York City itself that allowed the second generation to thrive. They refer to New York as a 'cosmopolitan canopy' that "has historically honored hybridity and rewarded innovation" (Kasinitz et al., 2008: 355) and describe its status as a 'majority-minority' city:

That the city has no clear ethnic majority means that it was 'no big deal' for our second generation respondents to have immigrant parents. They rarely felt like outsiders or exotics. Most of their friends were in a similar situation... They live multicultural lives in the streets, workplaces, and nightclubs (Kasinitz et al., 2008: 22)

New York City has always been an 'immigrant city', and a long history of immigration has produced a place that features immense ethnocultural diversity (Foner, 2000).

Kasinitz et al. (2008) argue that this diversity allows children of immigrants to exploit their 'dual frame of reference' without feeling like stigmatized 'outsiders', and their research makes an extremely important contribution to debates about 'segmented assimilation' because it emphasizes how important the qualities of particular places are in structuring the entry of the second generation into a strongly segmented labour market.

Some of these qualities present in New York City are also observable in Toronto, and while the similarities of New York City and Toronto should not be overdrawn, these cities do share a great deal in common. For example, each has along history of immigration, but the sources of contemporary immigrant flows are increasingly 'non-European' and ethnoculturally diverse. Furthermore, the settlement patterns of immigrants are increasingly suburban in both cities, and each has also experienced deindustrialization, especially in the urban core, and a broad transformation toward a service-based economy. These similarities make the arguments of 'second generation advantage' proposed by Kasinitz et al. (2008) especially salient to this study of the employment trajectories of Italians in Toronto.

This chapter has chronicled the evolution of the theoretical approaches that have been used to explain how foreign-born populations (and their native-born offspring) become members of the 'host societies' that receive them. The assimilation theories proposed by members of the Chicago School of Sociology, while inherently ethnocentric, were extremely influential in shaping the debates about what happens to immigrants upon arrival for many decades. As time passed and critiques of these theories mounted, important reformulations were made that recognized the socially constructed qualities of ethnicity, as well as the need to extend the debate to include the children of immigrants.

More recently, some researchers have argued that the linear upward intergenerational mobility suggested by assimilation theories does not apply to the children of non-European immigrants, who face divergent mobility trajectories that will lead some to membership ‘mainstream’, while others become perpetually-poor members of the ‘rainbow underclass’. This theory of ‘segmented assimilation’ has faced critiques by researchers who argue that the position is too simplistic, and that it ignores how complex interactions between factors like gender, class, race, social capital, and geography influence intergenerational mobility.

Some of the most recent literature has argued that the predictions of second-generation decline are far too pessimistic, and have even suggested that children of immigrants actually possess an *advantage* over members of the third-plus generation, especially in places that feature high levels of ethnocultural diversity. This marks an important theoretical development. The ‘segmented assimilation’ hypothesis always involved exploring the ways that the places that the children of immigrants live and work influence their labour market trajectories, but more recent research (for example, Kasinitz et al., 2008) has put forth strong arguments that the qualities of particular places have a tremendous influence on local labour market experiences and the interactions that occur within families. Most of the contributions to debates about the status of children of immigrants have been made by sociologists (albeit sociologists imbued with a strong sense of ‘geographic imagination’), but these recent conceptual developments have provided a loud ‘rally call’ for geographers to contribute to debates about ‘segmented assimilation’ by exploring how particular kinds of places and specific periods in time can influence the experiences and outcomes of different immigrant-origin groups.

Chapter 3: Research Methodology

This study employs quantitative and qualitative research methods to examine social and economic mobility among immigrants and subsequent generations in Toronto. To create a detailed profile of the labour market status of generations of Italians in Toronto, a quantitative analysis of census social and economic data was undertaken. In turn, the factors that potentially create different outcomes between generations of Italians are examined through interviews with Italian men. This qualitative investigation of social and cultural processes relies on semi-structured interviews with different generations of men in several Italian families.

Quantitative Methods

This analysis uses data from the full 2001 census microdata file⁵. This confidential data file contains the necessary number of responses to evaluate the labour market status of both foreign- and Canadian-born Italians, and the data are robust enough in terms of sample size to allow an examination of several other birthplace and generation groups. Selecting working-age respondents (aged 25-64)⁶ who live in the Toronto CMA

⁵ This confidential data source was made available through Statistics Canada and Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada's Research Data Centre (RDC) initiative, and it contains the responses of 20 percent of the national population. Publicly-available census microdata offers researchers an opportunity to examine the characteristics of many ethnocultural groups, but the 3 percent sample of the complete census means that the size of individual groups, especially when socio-economic controls are used, is too small for meaningful analysis. This study recognizes the importance of age, gender, place of birth, parentage, and geography on the labour market status of respondents, and after controlling for these factors, the size of the Italian sample is simply too small for meaningful analysis of labour market status using the publically available sample. This is especially problematic for Canadian-born Italians, in that controlling for age and gender reduces the number of respondents in some categories to fewer than fifty individuals

⁶ Individuals aged 15-24 are legally eligible to work, but they have been excluded from this analysis because evidence indicates that these individuals have weaker labour market outcomes and should be studied separately (Mandarino and Ray, 2007). Since 65 is the official age of retirement in Canada, all individuals aged 65 or older have been excluded from the analysis.

yields a sample frame of nearly 500,000 individuals after individual weights and rounding rules⁷ are applied. The large sample frame allows all levels of the analysis to control for the effects of sex and age⁸, two variables that are highly significant in shaping labour market outcomes (Preston and Cox, 1999; Mandarino and Ray, 2007).

Furthermore, the confidential data allow this study to examine the influence of parental birthplace on labour market outcomes, which is important given that some research has indicated that the labour market experiences of individuals with either one or two foreign-born parents are different (Rumbaut, 2004; Ramakrishnan, 2004). The large sample size also greatly reduces the possibility that the responses of a few individuals might artificially inflate or deflate the labour market status of a particular age or gender grouping. Census microdata from 2001 are slightly dated, but since microdata from the most recent (2006) census are not yet available, the 2001 data remains the most robust and reliable data source available to profile the labour market status of Italians by generation status. Unfortunately, census microdata do not allow for an examination of geographies below the CMA level, thus it is impossible to examine particular neighbourhoods within the city. This limitation means that the data are not capable of distinguishing differences in labour market status between Italians living in predominantly 'Italian' neighbourhoods and those living in more ethnically heterogeneous locales.

⁷ To protect the privacy of respondents, all cell counts have been rounded to base-five, and subgroups with less than five respondents have been suppressed. Furthermore, random rounding rules have been applied to all levels of the analysis: approximately 15 percent of all counts have been rounded in the opposite direction (i.e. if a cell with a value of 1642 was selected for random rounding, it would be rounded to 1645 instead of 1640). The large number of responses available in this data means that the rounding rules applied should not have any significant impact on the analysis.

⁸ All respondents have been separated into two age cohorts: 'younger' adults aged 25-44 and 'older' adults aged 45-64.

In order to evaluate the labour market status of Italians across generations, their economic position is compared to several of Toronto's largest ethnocultural groups⁹. Each of these ethnocultural groups have been selected for different reasons. The British/French group consists of individuals who belong to Canada's two charter groups, and are the social (if not statistical) 'majority' population. The Jewish group was included in the analysis as it is the only ethnocultural group in Toronto that has higher levels of spatial concentration than Italians (Balakrishnan and Hou, 1999), while Poles were selected because of the presence of large numbers of both foreign- and Canadian-born individuals. Poles also share a European origin with Italians, and face similar linguistic challenges. In multi-racial Toronto, Italian and Polish immigrants may not be 'visible' minorities, but they are 'audible minorities'. Comparisons between Italians and the British/French population will be featured most prominently in the analysis, as the economic status of Canada's (third-plus generation) charter groups represents the 'measuring stick' by which the economic integration of Italians (and all other ethnocultural groups) is evaluated. The Chinese, South Asian¹⁰ and Jamaican groups have been included for comparison because significant debate exists regarding whether or not the children of these 'new' immigrant groups will experience 'downward assimilation' (Zhou and Portes, 1993; Portes and Rumbaut, 2001; Kasinitz et al, 2008). Furthermore, immigrants from China and South Asia represent Toronto's two largest contemporary

⁹ Ethnocultural groups include: British/French, Jewish, Polish, Jamaican, Chinese, South Asian, 'Canadian', and 'All Other'.

¹⁰ This analysis aggregates the responses of a variety of birthplace and ethnic origin groups into a single pan-ethnic 'South Asian' group because the total number of Canadian-born respondents in each individual birthplace/origin group is too small for meaningful analysis. Combining the responses into one category allows for some (albeit limited) comparisons to be drawn to Italians. This research recognizes the tremendous heterogeneity within the birthplace/origin groups subsumed under this 'South Asian' label, and more research must be conducted to understand how differences within and between these groups affect the labour market outcomes of its members.

immigrant groups: immigrants from China and India alone accounted for nearly one-third of all newcomers to the Toronto CMA in 2006 (Statistics Canada, 2007c). All ‘visible minority’ groups in Toronto report some form of discrimination (Preston and Ray, 2008), and the Jamaican population has been included in this analysis because recent research has identified that Afro-Caribbean youth (in particular) experience significant racial discrimination that may influence their performance in Toronto’s labour market (Shields, Rahi and Scholtz, 2006; Jansen, Plaza and James, 2002). While the problems associated with evaluating the economic performances of Canadian-born members of these groups is detailed in Chapter 4, their inclusion in the study is appropriate considering the overwhelming focus of contemporary academic debates on the social mobility of the children of ‘non-white’ immigrants.

The process of sorting respondents into ethnocultural groups was slightly different depending on where each individual was born. For respondents born outside of Canada, each individual’s country of birth determined their placement in one of the ethnocultural groups (see Appendix 1). The foreign-born Jewish population was organized differently: all foreign-born respondents who selected ‘Jewish’ as their first response to the ethnic ancestry question were considered part of the Jewish ethnocultural group used in this analysis, regardless of the country in which they were born. All respondents who were born in Canada were also categorized by their first response to the ethnic ancestry question (see Appendix 2), and were further divided into three groups depending on whether one, two, or neither of their parents were born outside of Canada. This variable determined the ‘generation status’ of respondents (groups include the second generation

with one foreign-born parent, the second generation with two foreign-born parents, and the third-plus generation).

Significant debate exists regarding the usefulness of the ethnic ancestry variable in research, considering the question is frequently misinterpreted and highly subjective. It is possible to sort Canadian-born respondents by the birthplace of their parents (an objective method of classification), but this strategy creates categorization problems for individuals whose parents are born in different countries, and forces distinctions to be made between maternal and paternal ancestry. Categorizing Canadian-born individuals based on their first response to the ethnic ancestry question is employed because it allows individuals with heterogeneous ethnic roots to self-identify the ethnic ancestry that they feel best describes them. The analysis does not make any distinctions between respondents who reported single or mixed ethnic ancestry, but examining the influence of single or multiple ethnic ancestries (or maternal and paternal parentage, for that matter) on labour market trajectories is an interesting avenue for future research.

Given the propensity of many respondents to report a 'Canadian' ethnic ancestry, using the ancestry question is not without complications. The meaningfulness of analyzing the individuals who reported this 'indigenous' ethnic ancestry is questionable, as there is significant debate about exactly 'who are the Canadians?' (Boyd and Norris, 2001). In the past, media has strongly influenced the responses to this question, for example, the 'count-me Canadian' campaign created by the Toronto Sun in 1991 encouraged its readers to 'drop the hyphen' and report only 'Canadian' ethnic ancestry (Boyd, 1996). The tendency for respondents to conflate ethnic ancestry with ethnic identity has also made these responses even more difficult to interpret (Kalbach and

Kalbach, 1999). Furthermore, the term ‘Canadien’ has also been a label used by the Quebec population for over 200 years, although it has generally been replaced in popular use with ‘Quebecois’¹¹ (Boyd and Norris, 2001). This research recognizes the debate surrounding the characteristics of respondents who report a ‘Canadian’ ethnic ancestry, and consequently Canadian-born respondents who have selected ‘Canadian’ as their first ethnic origin response have been grouped separately. This group is included in the analysis, but the tremendous ambiguity and likely heterogeneity of its members undermines simple comparisons with the Italian population. Finally, respondents from birthplaces or ethnicities that do not situate them into any of the specified ethnocultural groups are allocated to a residual category (labeled ‘All Other’). The enormous heterogeneity of this residual group precludes any meaningful comparisons.

In order to couch the descriptive analysis of the employment status of Italians in a proper context, several key demographic characteristics of the Italian sample are examined and compared to other ethnocultural groups. Period of arrival¹² data among foreign-born ethnocultural groups are compared because most Italians arrived in Toronto much earlier than several other groups, and this is reflected in analyses of labour market outcomes. Levels of education¹³ across generations are also examined because “formal education is still a good predictor of occupational success” despite the “weakened link between educational credentials and good jobs” (Ornstein, 2000: vii). The discussion of

¹¹ It should be noted that the number of people who report a Quebecois ancestry are still relatively small

¹² The ‘period of arrival’ variable has been coded into ten-year arrival cohorts (Before 1961, 1961-1971, 1971-1981, 1981-1991, 1991-2001, etc.).

¹³ The ‘highest level of schooling’ variable was recoded into the following categories: ‘Less than high-school’ (no education to grade 13), ‘high-school diploma’ (graduated from high-school), ‘Post-secondary non-university’ (attended a non-university post-secondary school, with or without certificate), ‘University without bachelor’ (attended university but did not receive a bachelor degree), and ‘University with bachelor or higher’ (received a bachelor degree, a masters degree, or a doctorate).

demographic characteristics continues with marital status¹⁴, an important characteristic considering the impact that marital status has on the composition of families, the networks of support available to children who grow up in these families, and the socioeconomic status of immigrant families more generally (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001; Kasinitz et al, 2008). Lastly, a discussion of the relative language ability of successive generations of Italians is examined. To evaluate the ability of successive generations to communicate with each other in the same language, two different measures are employed using two different language variables ('official language ability' and 'non-official language ability'). First, the ability of the Italian foreign-born generation to communicate in English is evaluated in relation to other foreign-born groups. Second, the ability of Canadian-born Italians to communicate in a non-official language (likely Italian) is evaluated and contrasted against the ability of other second and third-plus generation ethnocultural groups to speak a non-official language. This analysis of language ability is important because some evidence indicates that the ability for foreign- and native-born individuals in immigrant families to communicate with each other may influence social mobility (Zhou and Bankston, 1999; Portes and Rumbaut, 2001).

The examination of demographic and labour market characteristics of Italians is based entirely on the cross-tabulation of demographic and employment variables. The analysis of labour market outcomes first examines labour force participation rate¹⁵. Low labour force participation rates may be related to persistent unemployment, and some

¹⁴ The 'marital status' variable was recoded and three categories were created: 'Never married', 'Married/Common-law', and 'Divorced/Separated/Widowed'.

¹⁵ Labour force participation rate is calculated by dividing the number of respondents active in the labour force by the total number of respondents in each group.

‘discouraged workers’ may simply ‘drop out’ of the labour market after being unemployed for a long period of time (Ornstein, 2000: 53). Unemployment rates¹⁶ are also examined across generations of Italians, as unemployment rates are a very important indicator of economic status. High unemployment rates within a group may indicate underlying problems in labour market attachment.

The occupations and industries that employ each successive generation of Italians are discussed. Broad occupational categories were created using Statistics Canada’s 2001 NOC-S (National Occupational Classification – Statistics) classification scheme,¹⁷ while industrial categories were created based on NAICS (North American Industrial Classification System) industry sectors, as defined by Statistics Canada.¹⁸ Using these standard classification schemes to examine occupational and industrial distribution enables comparisons with other research about the economic status of immigrant/generation groups. The final measure used to examine the labour market status of Italians – average employment income¹⁹ – is perhaps the most relevant. An examination of average employment income completes the labour market profile of Italians by revealing the actual economic outcomes of their employment. The average

¹⁶ Unemployment rate is calculated by dividing the number of unemployed individuals by the number of individuals who are active members of the labour force in each group.

¹⁷ For more detailed information about NOC-S classification, see:
<http://www.statcan.ca/english/Subjects/Standard/soc/2001/nocs01-index.htm>

¹⁸ All Industries related to Agriculture, Forestry, Fishing, Hunting, Mining and Oil and Gas extraction, and Utilities have been combined into one category, labeled ‘Primary Industry and Utilities’. All other industrial categories are retained in their original form. For more information about NAICS classification, see:
<http://www.statcan.ca/english/Subjects/Standard/naics/2002/naics02-intro.htm#1>

¹⁹ The average employment income of a group is calculated by combining the annual employment incomes of all employed individuals in a group, and dividing this total by the number of employed individuals in the group.

employment incomes of Italians are profiled in comparison to other ethnocultural groups in order to gauge the relative economic success of each Italian generation.

Qualitative Methods

The quantitative analysis of census data provides a detailed ‘snapshot’ of labour market status and hints at the influence of factors such as age, gender, and language on labour force outcomes. Unfortunately, such analyses provide relatively little insight about the social and cultural processes constituted in the spaces of everyday life that influence education and employment trajectories. To examine these processes, semi-structured interviews were conducted in October 2007 with fifteen male members of seven different Italian families who live in the Toronto area. Within each family, at least one member of the foreign-born generation and one Canadian-born²⁰ man were interviewed in order to investigate how social and cultural processes associated with family, neighbourhood and identity might influence educational and employment trajectories. In total, four first generation men, five 1.5 generation men, and six second generation men were interviewed (see Appendix 3). The decision to interview members of the same family was strategic: it allowed members of different generations to discuss the ways in which they understand employment (and ‘success’) in Toronto’s labour market, as well as the ways that their Italian families (nuclear and extended) and the Italian community have shaped ideas of education, employment, and male gender roles in families. Interviews were conducted individually, in a one-on-one setting. All of the relationships between family

²⁰ In one family, both father and son were born in Italy, but the son (Claudio) and his mother migrated to Canada and joined his father when he was only six months old, making him a *de facto* second generation respondent.

members were ‘father-son’ relationships, allowing children to reflect on the occupations of their fathers and the influence of these jobs on their lives and decisions.

The selection of the families was not random, as each has a fairly close connection to the researcher (for example, extended family, friends, school-mates, etc.). Interviews were tape-recorded, and were conducted in either the home of the researcher or respondent (often over espresso) in order to make the respondent as comfortable as possible. The ‘conversational style’ of each interview meant that the researcher was actively involved in the process of constructing, interpreting, and representing the thoughts of each respondent.

To recruit respondents, a ‘snowball sample’ was employed. After a potential respondent was contacted about the research, he was asked about whether the interviewer could talk to his father (or son) about also participating. He was also provided with a letter that explained the objectives of the research and was asked to give it to his father or son (see Appendix 7 for a sample of the recruitment text).

Given the small size and relatively close personal connections between the researcher and most of the respondents, the findings are not generalizable. However, the objective is not generalizability but rather to gain some tentative insight into processes that may account for variations in status between generations revealed in the quantitative analysis. Moreover, the close connections between interviewer and some interviewees is precisely the reason why this ‘snowball sampling’ method was successful. In general, each of the researcher’s personal contacts was very enthusiastic about recruiting other family members to participate in an interview. Furthermore, the personal connections between the researcher and the research subjects may have allowed respondents to feel

more comfortable elaborating on their experiences, the meanings that they attribute to work, and men's roles within families. Among respondents who did not know the researcher personally, it is important to recognize that the researcher's own Italian heritage (and last name) may have also increased the likelihood that they would participate.

The objective of the interviews was to uncover the social processes that underlie the broader labour market trends among Italians observed in the census data, and this strategy offered several distinct advantages (see Bryman, 2004: 100). Most importantly, the small sample size allowed very detailed interviews to be conducted. Interviews were originally designed to be between thirty minutes to an hour long, but the actual length of interviews ranged between forty-five minutes to one hour and thirty-five minutes. The conversational nature of these semi-structured interviews allowed respondents to be reflexive in discussing their 'insider knowledge' and understandings of their own employment experiences. Each interview was transcribed to allow for the 'coding' of key themes that emerged from the research (see Bryman, 2004: 408), and most of these codes were developed around the key themes that structure the interview guide (see Appendix 5).

Reflecting the important differences between women and men revealed in the quantitative analysis, these interviews investigate the important role of gender. To this end, the study deliberately examined the experiences of men and how ideas of masculinity and gender roles within families influence labour market experiences. The labour market experiences specific to Italian men have been somewhat understudied, even though labour force participation for men is high (Mandarino and Ray, 2007) and

gender roles in society at large have been changing for several decades. The decision to only study the experiences of Italian men allows this research to examine how complex conceptions of masculinity are transmitted from one generation to the next, and to investigate how different generations of men in the same family envision ‘a man’s work’ and his roles and responsibilities within families. To focus on understanding masculine gender roles, the study forgoes any examination of the experiences or gendered expectations of women. Developing an understanding of the masculine gender roles learned by men in families in many way provides a compliment to existing studies by Iacovetta (1992) and Posca (2006) which examine the nature of ‘women’s work’ among Italians in Toronto.

The men interviewed allow for a preliminary investigation of the effects of residential location on labour market experiences. Most of the men have family members distributed across the Toronto census metropolitan area. Interviews were conducted with three respondents²¹ living in predominantly Italian ethnic neighbourhoods in the northwest suburbs of the GTA (Vaughan). Three other men live in older, more socially diverse northwestern inner-suburbs (North York), and the remaining nine individuals live in Mississauga, a relatively new suburb in the city’s west end that features immense ethnocultural diversity (Statistics Canada, 2007d). Importantly, all of the men interviewed were living in Toronto’s western suburbs, corresponding with the general change in the urban distribution of Italians from inner-city ‘Little Italies’ to suburbs lining the city’s ‘northwest corridor’ (Iacovetta, 1992; N. Harney, 1998). This selection strategy enabled a limited examination of the ways that residential locale and

²¹ This number does not include one respondent who planned to move from Mississauga to Vaughan in June of 2009

‘neighbourhood effects’ influence labour market outcomes (see Zhou and Bankston, 1998), and as such makes a contribution to understanding the influence of the ‘local’ on the lives people live (Sassen, 1995).

An initial intent of the study was to examine the role that Italian institutions and organizations play in shaping gender roles and experiences of ‘work’ among men. However, only a few of the individuals had ever been members of distinctly-Italian institutions. Since Italian cultural institutions are highly concentrated within Italian residential neighbourhoods (see N. Harney, 1998: 30), this may simply be the result of interviewing only three men who live in predominantly Italian neighbourhoods. Given so few respondents discussed Italian institutions with respect to their everyday lives, this theme is not examined in detail.

Considering the significant differences in the labour market characteristics of second-generation Italians with one or two foreign-born parents observed in the quantitative analysis, this research provides some insight into the influence of parentage on ideas about education, work, gender, and identity. Of the six second-generation men interviewed, two individuals with mixed-parentage were deliberately recruited to allow their experiences to be contrasted with four second-generation men from families with maternal and paternal Italian parentage. Both men with mixed-parentage live in Mississauga, while the other four men of homogeneous Italian parentage are distributed across Vaughan, North York, and Mississauga.

Consistent with the history of Italian migration to Toronto (see Chapter 4), each of the families share agrarian origins in Italy’s southern and central regions: four families are from Calabria, one family is from Lazio, one is from Molise, and another is from

Abruzzo (for a map of Italy's major post-war sending regions, see Appendix 4). Each family arrived in Canada between 1952 and 1969.

For the qualitative analysis, men were interviewed from both ends of the age spectrum (for example, second-generation young men entering the labour force, and older immigrant-generation men who have retired). First-generation men interviewed ranged in age between 54 and 79 years old, while the men who arrived in Canada as children (members of the 1.5 generation) were between 47 and 59 years old. Of the six second-generation men interviewed, one is 42 years old, while the other five are between the ages of 21 and 27. Since all of the first-generation men have retired, the interviews are retrospective with regard to their employment experiences.

Before each interview, the respondent was asked to fill out a 'fact-sheet' to collect some basic demographic information (see Appendix 5). All interviews were based on an 'interview guide' (see Appendix 6) that provided memory prompts of main themes to be covered by the interviewer while still maintaining a conversational style.

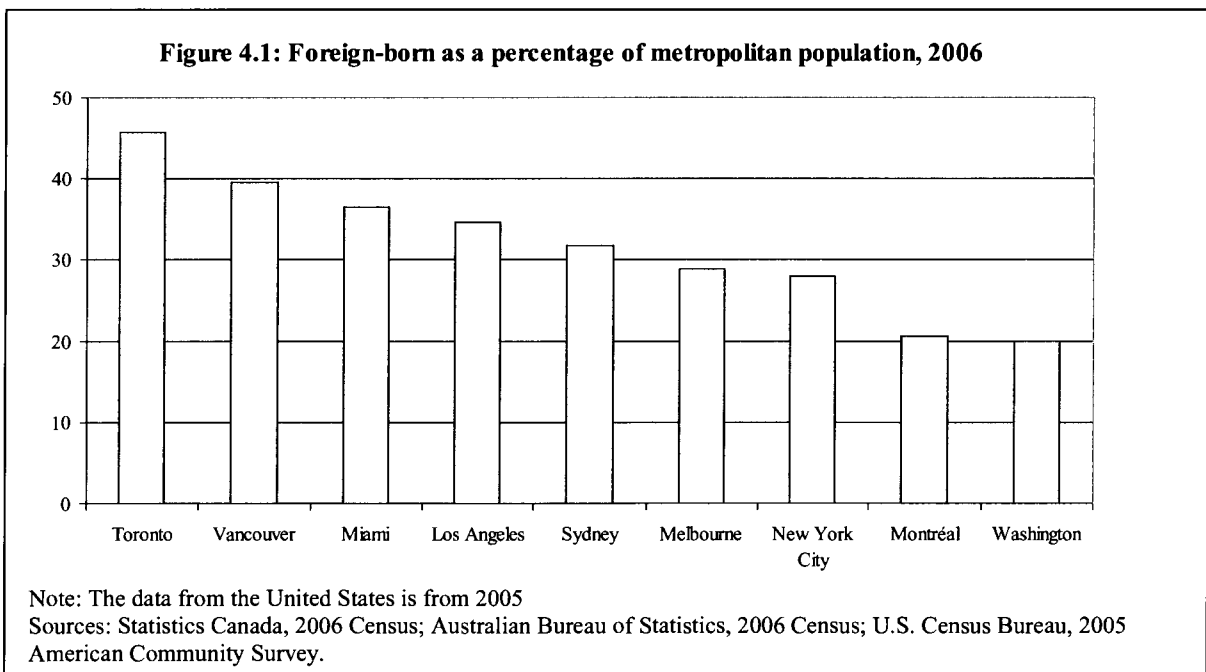
Prior to beginning, a proposal for this research was reviewed by the University of Ottawa's ethics review board, which approved that this study complies with the ethical standards associated with conducting research on human subjects (for a sample of the consent form, see Appendix 8). In order to protect the privacy of respondents, each individual is identified only by their first name, and some respondents have selected a pseudonym to further protect their identity.

This study seeks to examine the change in labour market status exhibited across generations of Italians in Toronto, and to investigate the social and cultural processes that underlie these changes. To achieve this aim, complementary quantitative and qualitative

methods are used: an analysis of 2001 census data is undertaken to profile the labour market status of individuals in each generational cohort, and semi-structured interviews with fifteen Italian men begin to provide some possible explanation of the processes that operate within families and the community that produce changes in labour market status.

Chapter 4: Immigration in Toronto and the history of the Italian community

Toronto is one of the world's best examples of an 'immigrant city', and by 2006 the metropolitan area was home to nearly 2.3 million immigrants (Statistics Canada, 2007d). Toronto features even higher proportions of foreign-born residents than any of the famed 'immigrant cities' in North America or Australia (see Figure 4.1), and it has long been Canada's predominant destination for immigrants coming to Canada (Li, 2003). Over time, Toronto has received ever greater numbers of Canada's immigrants (Li, 2003: 147), and the foreign-born population continues to grow at a much faster rate than the native-born population (Statistics Canada, 2007d). Even the characteristics of Toronto's Canadian-born population reflect a legacy of immigration: of the approximately 1.85 million Torontonians born in Canada, over 47 percent had at least one immigrant parent (Statistics Canada, 2007d).



Since World War II, immigration has been especially important in transforming Toronto (Bourne, 1993), and Italians have been enormously important in the story of this

transformation. Prior to major changes in Canadian immigration policy in the late 1960's and early 1970's (see Kelly and Trebilcock, 1998), there was more immigration from Italy than any other source country (Kalbach and Kalbach, 1999: 29). Most of the Italians arriving in Canada after World War II moved to Toronto, and these newcomers settled predominantly in a few inner-city neighbourhoods (N. Harney, 1998). These 'Little Italies' were some of the earliest 'immigrant neighbourhoods' in a city that now features a plethora of distinct ethnic neighbourhoods and higher rates of ethnic residential concentration than any other Canadian city except Montreal (Balakrishnan, 1976; Balakrishnan and Kralt, 1987; Murdie and Teixeira, 2000).

Many of Toronto's largest ethnic groups initially settled in a few areas of the city, but some have consistently shown a much higher propensity to remain spatially concentrated (Kalbach, 1981; Balakrishnan and Kralt, 1987; Balakrishnan and Hou, 1999; Murdie and Teixeira, 2000). Italians consistently stand out as having a very high degree of spatial concentration (N. Harney, 1998; Balakrishnan and Hou, 1999; Posca, 2006) due to a variety of interconnected factors. Most migration from Italy occurred after World War II, but Zucchi (1988) argues that the creation of Italian neighbourhoods (and more generally, the development of a national identity) were predicated on processes that influenced Toronto's Italian community *before* World War II (1875-1935). Most of the migrants from Italy during this period were male sojourners (Zucchi, 1988), and migration levels were low, especially in comparison to the large-scale migration from Italy to the United States between 1880 and 1920 (Perlmann, 2002). However, sojourners travelling to and from Italy developed networks that encouraged further labour migration, and some of the more well-established men used their knowledge of Toronto to become

padrones ('bosses') who provided work opportunities (and often housing) for 'newer' migrant workers (Zucchi, 1988). Some *padrones* established high-density boardinghouses in particular neighbourhoods, increasing the visibility of Italians in the city and serving as 'nodal points' for future waves of migrants (Zucchi, 1988: 48). Geopolitical changes throughout the 1920s drastically slowed migration from Italy until after World War II (Gabaccia, 2000). During the war, Italians in Toronto were labeled 'enemy aliens', but Zucchi (1988) argues that these experiences fostered tremendous solidarity among Italians. The Italian community, once immensely fractured by regionalism, came together in mutual aid societies and volunteer organizations (Zucchi, 1988). These institutions assisted many future waves of Italian newcomers, and promoted an Italian national identity and sense of immigrant collectivity (N. Harney, 1998: 19).

After World War II, Toronto entered a period of rapid industrial expansion, and the city's manual labour, construction and manufacturing industries required labourers (N. Harney, 1998: 21). Migration from Northern European countries (much preferred by the Canadian government before changes in immigration policy) was rapidly declining, and Italy had large numbers of young people who faced limited economic prospects in their homeland (Gabbacia, 2000). Migration from Italy to Canada steadily increased in the late 1940's and 1950's, and between 1951 and 1971, approximately 22,000 Italians entered Canada each year (Jansen, 1991), with Toronto receiving the largest share of migrants (N. Harney, 1998: 22). The vast majority of people came from rural Southern Italy, and most arrived in Canada primarily through processes of 'chain migration' (Sturino, 1990) in which a relatively 'established' family member or friend would 'sponsor' newcomers. Over 90 percent of Italian arrivals between 1946 and 1967 were

‘sponsored’ by a friend or a relative (N. Harney, 1998: 21), underscoring the importance of ‘chains’ of co-ethnic networks for securing employment and housing (N. Harney, 1998: 19). Many of the migrants who arrived via ‘chain migration’ temporarily lived (and worked) with the family of their sponsor, and were thereby predisposed to live in Italian neighbourhoods and work in Italian niche occupations. Additionally, many Italians considered ownership of their home to be extremely important (Ray and Moore, 1991; Iacovetta, 1992; Ray, 1994; N. Harney, 1998), and often rented out sections of their homes to new arrivals to help pay mortgages. The practice of residential cost-sharing further increased the spatial concentration of Italians in the city.

Most of the migrants who arrived in Toronto after World War II were from Italy’s poor agrarian southern regions, and had relatively limited educations. Only about 5 percent of Italians that arrived before 1971 had attended secondary school (N. Harney, 1998: 22), and nearly 80 percent intended to work in low-status manual labour occupations (N. Harney, 1998: 22). Italians were generally successful in acquiring these types of manual-labour jobs, and Italian men became strongly overrepresented in the construction and manufacturing industries, while Italian women concentrated in manufacturing and low-end sales and service jobs (R. Harney, 1993, Iacovetta, 1992). The residential and occupational concentration of Italians, coupled with very low levels of English-language proficiency, were often considered ‘threatening’ to Toronto’s English majority. The essentialist stereotypes of Italian labourers that existed during this time were not flattering:

Italians were perceived as backwards peasants who were clannish, Roman Catholic (in Protestant Ontario), superstitious people with a propensity for crime. As the stereotype went, Italians could be emotional, dangerous, and quick to pull a knife or steal your woman. (N. Harney, 1998: 16)

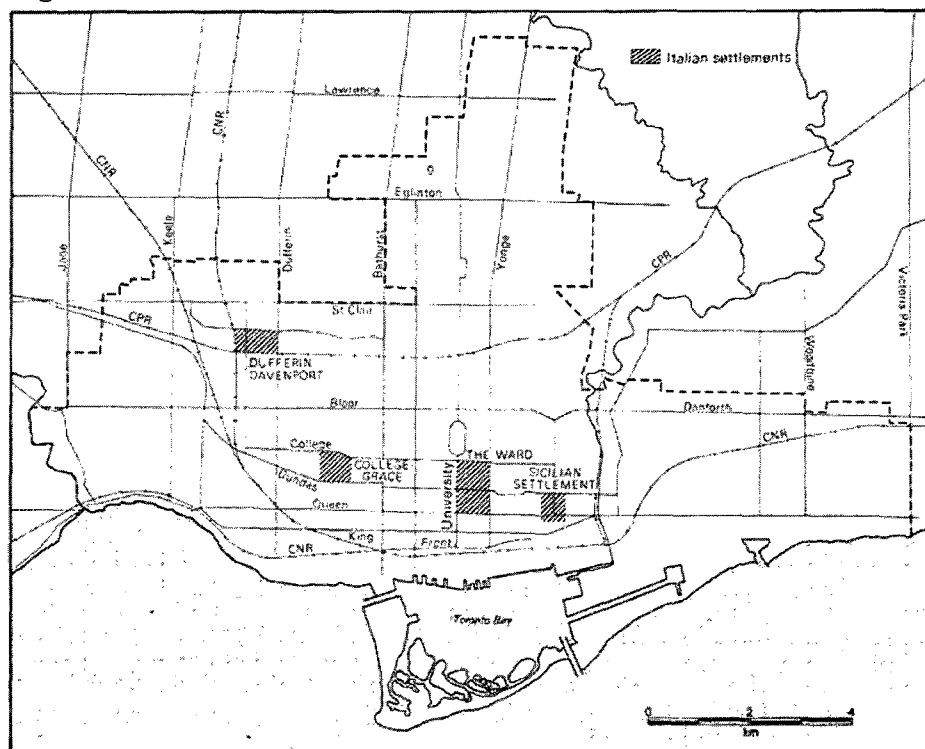
Negative stereotypes of Italians were not restricted to the residents of Toronto, and public officials often made disparaging remarks about Italians. One federal official, a commissioner for overseas immigration, wrote “The Italian South peasant...is not the type we are looking for in Canada. His standard of living, his way of life, even his civilization seems so different that I doubt he could ever become an asset to our country” (quoted in Iacovetta, 1992: 22). Negative stereotypes of Italians were also applied to their neighbourhoods. In their early years, Toronto’s ‘Little Italies’ were considered ‘dangerous’ by the English-speaking majority, and N. Harney (1998) describes how police officers would often patrol Italian neighbourhoods and harass residents, telling them to ‘break it up’ or ‘move along’ whenever they would congregate in public space (something that was quite common in the plazas of small-town Italy, see N. Harney, 1998). These shared experiences of discrimination and ‘Italophobia’ as practiced by the English-speaking majority (see Harney, R.F., 1985) helped contribute to the construction of a ‘reactive ethnicity’, which in turn helped unite Italians from different regions and hometowns, and further served to encourage residential concentration.

Faced with low-status positions and discriminatory attitudes, Italians developed particular strategies to achieve social mobility. One strategy, described as ‘amoral familism’, involved “the unrelenting drive to maximize the material, short and long-run advantage of the nuclear family” (Sturino, 1975: 40). Individuals were required to make material, personal, and financial sacrifices in the name of the family, although it should be noted that women may have been forced to make significantly more sacrifices than men (Posca, 2006: 161). Furthermore, despite very low levels of education among the immigrant generation, Canadian-raised children showed “considerable movement

towards attaining or surpassing national educational levels. This dynamic emphasizes the value that immigrant parents have placed on education for their children” (N. Harney, 1998: 22-24; also see Jansen, 1991). The emphasis on the education of younger generations suggests that foreign-born Italian parents may have encouraged their children to adopt different social mobility paths than those which they followed.

Over the last 40 years, the geographic distribution of Italians in the city has changed significantly. Most Italians who arrived in Toronto after World War II settled in ‘Italian neighbourhoods’ that were already established before 1940 (Figure 4.2), but each subsequent decade has brought gradual changes to the spatial distribution of Italians in the city as the community suburbanized.

Figure 4.2: Italian Settlements in Toronto before 1940



Source: Zucchi, 1988: 38

Harney (1998: 25) describes this changing spatial distribution in the following way:

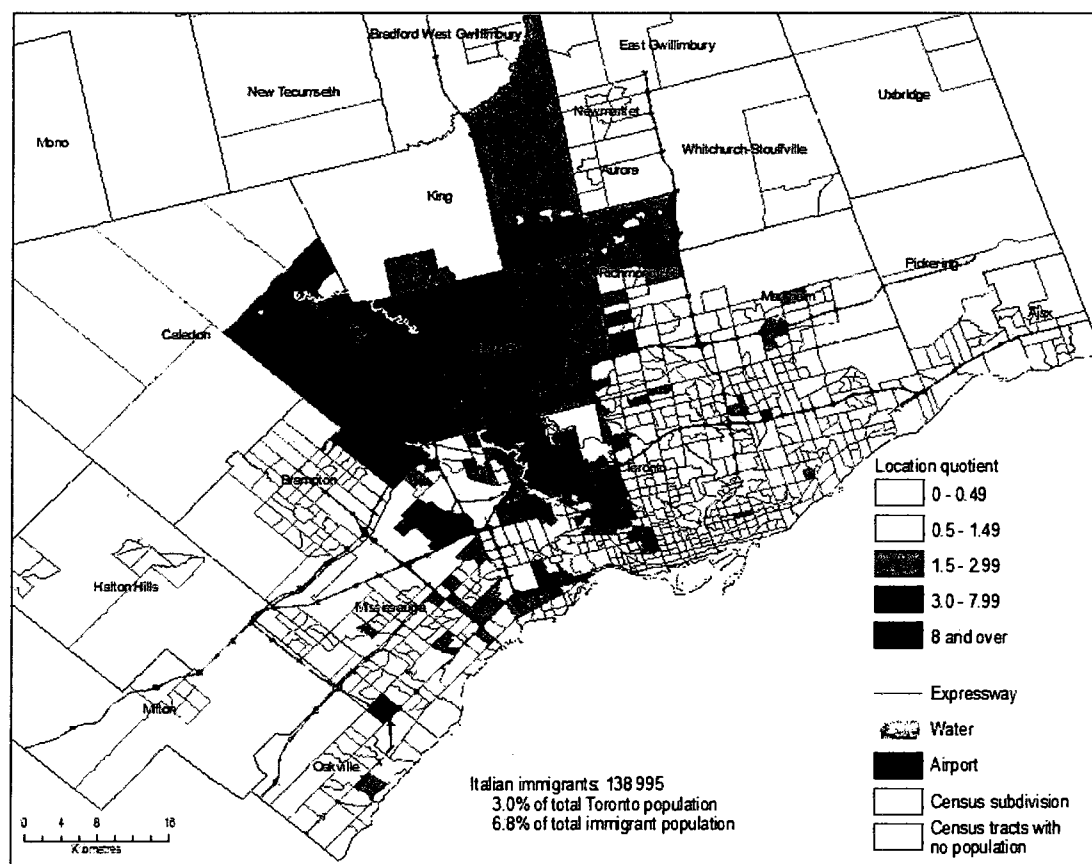
Over time Italian Canadians gradually moved North and West, changing the community's centre from College and Grace streets in the 1950s and early 1960s, to St. Clair Avenue (Corso Italia) and Dufferin Street in the late 1960s and 1970s, and Lawrence Avenue and Dufferin Street, Keele and Finch Streets, in the 1970s and 1980s. By 1991, the process of suburbanization could be observed among Italians in Toronto (N. Harney, 1998: 25).

By the 1990's, the inhabitants of Toronto's downtown 'Little Italies' were actually predominantly Portuguese and Vietnamese rather than Italian, and the distribution of the Italian community was characterized by a "sector-like movement away from the urban core" towards Toronto's northwest suburbs (Buzzelli, 2000: 300).

In the 1970s and 1980s, Italians dispersed throughout the metropolitan region, although important settlements developed in the Etobicoke and Mississauga suburbs. However, the most prominent Italian community to emerge was in the village of Woodbridge (now incorporated into the City of Vaughan). In several of the census tracts found in Woodbridge, Italian immigrants represented over 70 percent of the population in 1991 (see N. Harney, 1998: 26). By 2001, over 35 percent of Vaughan's nearly 240,000 residents were Italian immigrants (Posca, 2006: 82), and nearly 80,000 of its Canadian-born residents had Italian ethnic origins (Statistics Canada, 2001a). Italian immigrants are strongly overrepresented in most census tracts along Toronto's 'northwest corridor', and are more than eight times more likely to live in the census tracts that compose Vaughan's southern boundary than non-Italians (see Figure 4.3). Research has indicated that the Canadian-born children are somewhat more dispersed than their immigrant parents, but still retain high levels of spatial concentration because they often feel obligated to live nearby to the other members of their nuclear family (Posca, 2006). Considering the intense spatial concentration of Italians that still exists nearly 40 years after the cessation of large-scale migration (Balakrishnan and Kralt, 1987; Balakrsihnan and Hou, 1999) and

the importance that Canadian-born Italians place on living close to family (Posca, 2006), it is likely that the strong spatial concentration of Italians will not diminish significantly in the near future.

Figure 4.3: Distribution and Relative Concentration of Italian immigrants, Toronto CMA, 2001



Source: Ray, 2006

The Italian community has changed significantly in the last few decades, but the city of Toronto has also undergone important changes since migrants stopped arriving from Italy in large numbers. As a result of changes to immigration policy that eliminated discriminatory barriers (see Kelley and Trebilcock, 1998), from the early 1970s Toronto steadily received fewer and fewer migrants from Europe, and migration from Asia, Africa, Central and South America, and the Caribbean grew to be ever more important

(Li, 2003). Italians faced significant discrimination upon arrival in Canada, but were gradually 'whitened' after several decades living in Canada (Iacovetta, 1992). Migrants from non-European backgrounds (as well as their children) are much more likely to encounter racial discrimination in the education system and the local labour market than European immigrants and their descendants (Kobayashi and Olson, 1993; Brooks, 2008), and it is unlikely that they will 'become white' over time.

Contemporary immigrants also encounter a fundamentally different economy than did most Italian immigrants, who were fortunate enough to capitalize on rapidly expanding construction and manufacturing industries that required manual labourers. Like many other Canadian cities, Toronto has experienced significant deindustrialization that has transformed the economy into one that is service-based and places a premium on post-secondary education and English-language skills (Bourne, 1993). These are two characteristics that most Italian immigrants sorely lacked (N. Harney, 1998). While immigration policies since the 1970s have emphasized these skills in attracting newcomers, there is significant evidence that suggests these skills are underutilized by employers who often fail to recognize credentials earned outside of Canada (Grant and Sweetman, 2004). Contemporary immigrants face 'diminishing returns' in the labour market on qualifications and credentials earned outside of Canada, and some evidence suggests that changes in the structure of Toronto's economy have caused increased social polarization among immigrants and non-immigrants alike (Rose and Villeneuve, 1993; Bourne and Bunting, 1993; Murdie, 1994; 1996; Ley and Smith, 2000).

The geography of work in the city reflects both the economic change and the expansion of transportation infrastructure. The downtown core no longer features the

manufacturing buildings that were so prevalent in the 1950s and 1960s, and employment is now increasingly found in Toronto's suburban areas. Matching Toronto's changing geographies of work, most contemporary immigrants do not move to downtown immigrant reception areas, but instead often settle directly in the suburbs. At one end of the spectrum, some contemporary immigrants (and their Canadian-born children) live in social housing and private rental apartments built in the suburbs by the city of Toronto in the 1970s and 1980s, and these are sometimes associated with social and economic 'deprivation' (Ley and Smith, 2000). At the opposite extreme, other immigrants (like entrepreneurial Chinese migrants) arrive with the resources necessary for them to buy a home in affluent suburbs such as Markham (Preston and Lo, 2000).

The transformation of Toronto is important to consider when comparing the progress of Italians to other ethnocultural groups. It is also important to recognize that Italians are a somewhat unique group in that a sizable number of immigrant- and second-generation men and women are in the labour force, but it is likely that when the Canadian-born Italian generation entered the workforce, they encountered a fundamentally different labour market (with different requirements for its workers) than did their parents.

To situate the analysis of labour market outcomes across Italian generations, this section has broadly described the history of the Italian community in Toronto and some of the institutional and economic changes that have transformed the city since World War II. To further situate the analysis of labour market outcomes, the next section outlines the contemporary demographic characteristics of Italians using 2001 census data.

Sociodemographic Characteristics of Contemporary Italians

Italians represent one of Toronto's largest and most well-established ethnocultural groups, and this is reflected by the presence of substantial second and third-plus generation individuals. The size of the Italian population allows comparisons across generations to be made with a relatively strong degree of confidence, especially when controls for age and sex are applied (Table 4.1). Even within the smallest age and gender cohorts, sample sizes consist of several hundred individuals, thus reducing the possibility of extreme outliers having an inordinate effect on the reported outcomes.

Table 4.1: Absolute Size of the Italian Sample by generation status, age and sex, 2001

Sex	Age	FB*	1.5	2nd - 1 FB**	2nd - 2 FB***	3rd-plus	Total
Women	25-44	345	1,265	625	8,025	870	11,130
	45-64	4,260	2,470	215	590	395	7,930
	Total	4,605	3,735	840	8,615	1,265	19,060
Men	25-44	410	1,305	645	8,080	895	11,335
	45-64	4,480	2,310	215	565	325	7,895
	Total	4,890	3,615	860	8,645	1,220	19,230

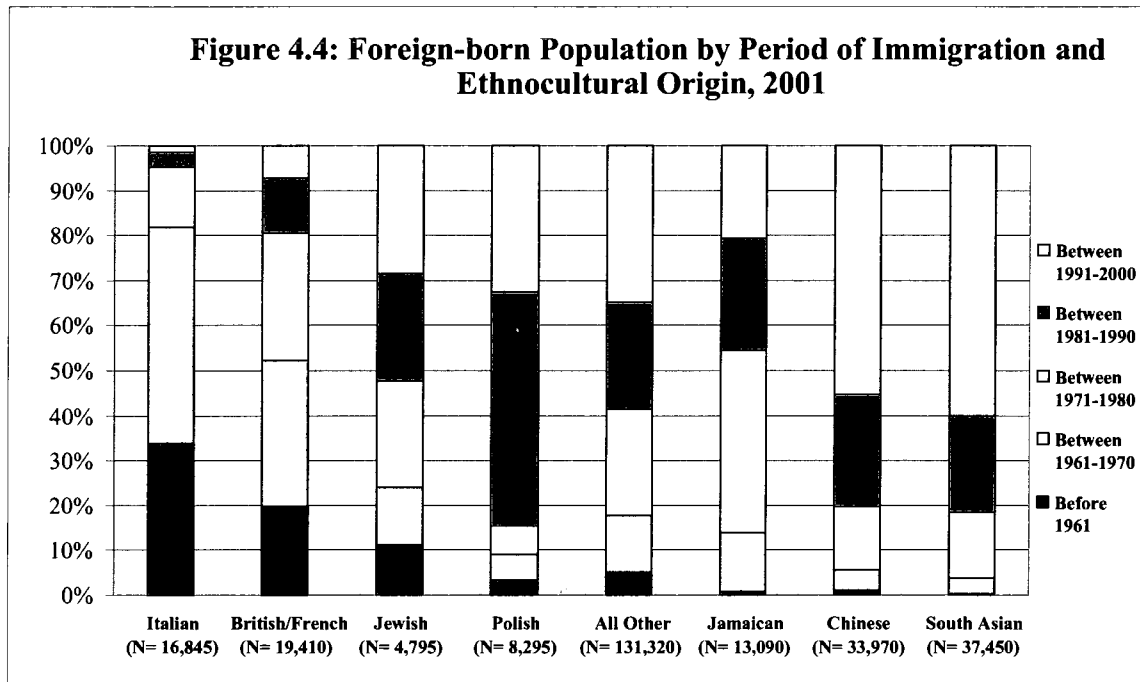
Source: Statistics Canada, 2001 Census of Canada Master File

* Henceforth refers to the foreign-born population

** Henceforth, refers to 2nd generation individuals with one foreign-born parent

*** Henceforth, refers to 2nd generation individuals with two foreign-born parents

Most of the foreign-born Italian respondents arrived in Toronto many decades ago (Figure 4.3). Over 80 percent of foreign-born Italians arrived before 1970, and nearly one third arrived before 1961. While male respondents are slightly more likely to have arrived earlier, differences in period of arrival between men and women are negligible, indicating that most of the male sojourners are over 64 years old and thus excluded from analysis. Many of the Italian immigrants who arrived before the 1970s brought relatively large families that included children born in Italy (N. Harney, 1999), which in turn explains the relatively large 1.5 generation in the Italian sample (almost 20 percent of the total population).

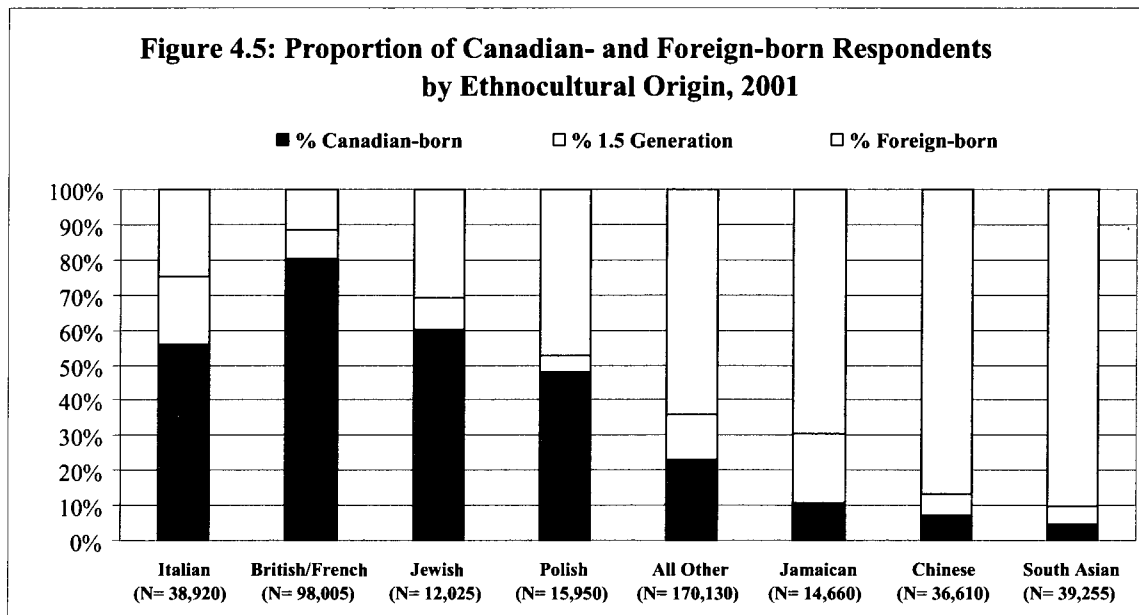


Source: Statistics Canada, 2001 Census of Canada Master file

Several other ethnocultural groups have been included in the analysis for the purpose of comparison. Both the foreign- and Canadian-born Italian populations are relatively large, but several other ethnocultural groups do not share this characteristic (Figure 4.5). While the British/French, Jewish, and Polish groups all have significant numbers of second and third-plus generation individuals in the labour force and can be compared to Canadian-born Italian population, other large ethnocultural groups like the Jamaicans, the Chinese and South Asians have relatively smaller numbers of Canadian-born respondents (Figure 4.4), especially in the third-plus generation (see Appendix 9). Approximately 80 percent of British/French individuals and 56 percent of Italian individuals are Canadian-born, but only about 10 percent of Jamaicans and less than 5 percent of South Asians were born in Canada²². Considering the tremendous size of the

²² The relative youth of the Jamaican, Chinese or South Asian populations means that comparisons between foreign-born generations are possible, but any comparisons involving the Jamaican, Chinese or South Asian Canadian-born populations is limited by small sample sizes, especially after controlling for age and sex (see Appendix 9). It is, therefore, important to interpret the findings for small cohorts with some caution.

Chinese and South Asian immigrant population, the number of Canadian-born individuals in these groups can be expected to grow substantially as time passes.



Source: Statistics Canada, 2001 Census of Canada Master file

Evaluating the labour market status of Italian respondents across generations requires some understanding of the demographic characteristics of the population. Some of the most important demographic characteristics (education, marital status, and language ability) are profiled for the Italian immigrant, second, and third-plus generations in order to begin to understand the differences between Italian generational cohorts.

Education

A broad array of research has documented the generally low levels of education among post-war Italian immigrants who arrived in Toronto (Iacovetta, 1992; N. Harney, 1998). The educational performance of subsequent generations of Italians, however, has received considerable less attention (see Jansen, 1991). Table 4.2 (below) presents the

With these controls for age and sex in place, it becomes obvious that the small size of the Canadian-born Jamaican, Chinese and South Asian populations prevents any meaningful analysis of the older second generation age cohort (45-64 years old), or among members of the third-plus generation. Furthermore, when the second generation is disaggregated by parentage, there are simply not enough individuals having only one foreign-born parent within these groups to conduct a meaningful analysis.

Italian population across generations by their highest level of educational attainment, controlling for age and sex. Across all age and gender cohorts, the educational achievements of the Canadian-born are much stronger than the Italian foreign-born cohorts. Furthermore, younger cohorts of Italians generally have stronger educational outcomes than older cohorts, regardless of sex or generation status. This may be an indication of a broader movement in Canada towards a 'knowledge-based economy' and the increased importance of post-secondary educational credentials for young people entering the workforce (see Gaudet, 2007), as well as increased accessibility of post-secondary education to opportunities over time.

Table 4.2: Highest Level of Education among Generations of Italians, 2001

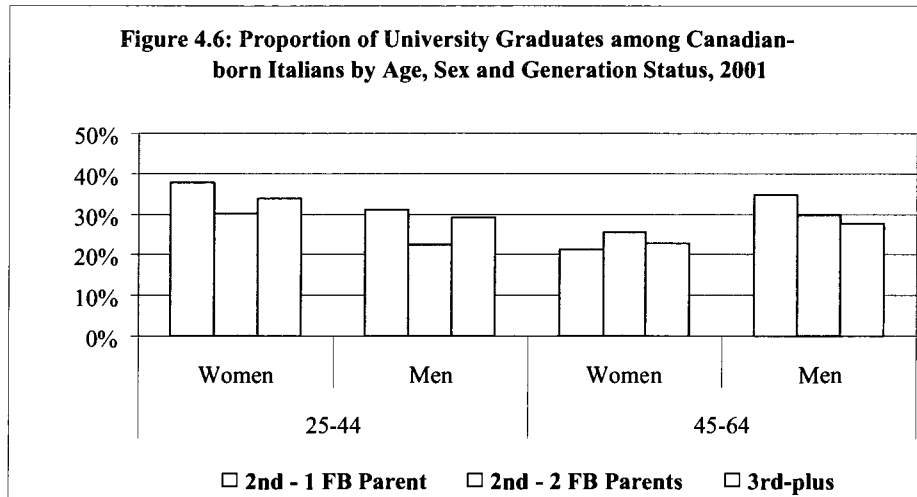
Sex	Age	Highest Level of Schooling	FB	1.5	2nd - 1 FB	2nd - 2 FB	3rd-plus
Women	25-44	Less than high-school	31.9%	17.8%	5.6%	6.5%	12.1%
		High school diploma	26.1%	27.3%	10.5%	14.7%	13.8%
		Post-secondary non-university	27.5%	34.0%	35.5%	38.9%	30.5%
		University without Bachelor	5.8%	7.5%	10.5%	9.7%	9.8%
		University with Bachelor or higher	8.7%	13.4%	37.9%	30.2%	33.9%
		Total	345	1265	620	8030	870
	45-64	Less than high-school	82.2%	41.3%	14.3%	17.1%	16.5%
		High school diploma	6.6%	26.3%	31.0%	24.8%	19.0%
		Post-secondary non-university	8.6%	20.2%	21.4%	24.8%	32.9%
		University without Bachelor	1.3%	4.3%	11.9%	7.7%	8.9%
		University with Bachelor or higher	1.4%	7.9%	21.4%	25.6%	22.8%
		Total	4265	2470	210	585	395
Men	25-44	Less than high-school	37.0%	20.3%	9.3%	11.5%	13.5%
		High school diploma	18.5%	18.4%	12.4%	13.2%	13.5%
		Post-secondary non-university	30.9%	41.0%	33.3%	43.2%	33.7%
		University without Bachelor	2.5%	8.8%	14.0%	9.6%	10.1%
		University with Bachelor or higher	11.1%	11.5%	31.0%	22.5%	29.2%
		Total	405	1305	645	8080	890
	45-64	Less than high-school	63.2%	32.7%	14.0%	17.5%	26.2%
		High school diploma	7.9%	12.1%	18.6%	12.3%	10.8%
		Post-secondary non-university	23.8%	34.0%	20.9%	31.6%	21.5%
		University without Bachelor	2.5%	7.1%	11.6%	8.8%	13.8%
		University with Bachelor or higher	2.6%	14.1%	34.9%	29.8%	27.7%
		Total	4475	2310	215	570	325

Source: Statistics Canada, 2001 Census of Canada Master File

Among foreign-born Italians aged 45-64 who arrived as adults, about 63 percent of men and over 80 percent of women have less than a high school education. About 24 percent of first generation men aged 45-64 has some type of non-university education

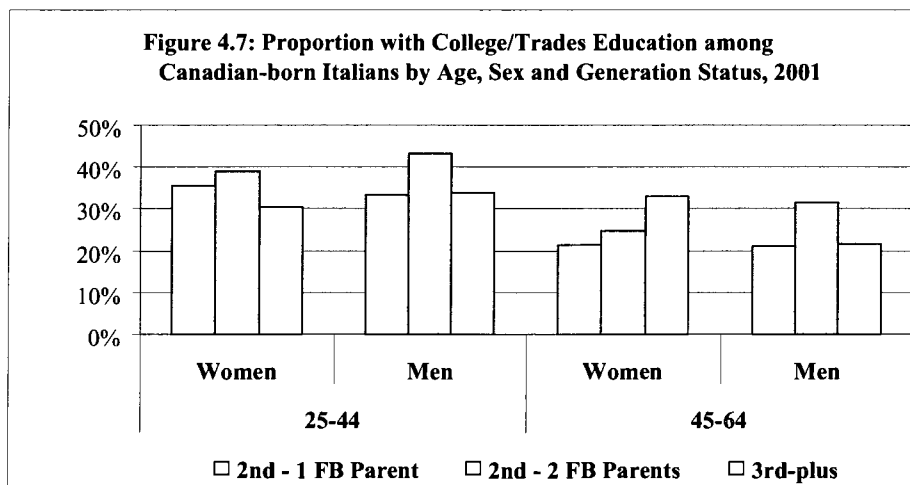
(likely related to a trade), the proportion of first generation women aged 45-64 with any post-secondary education is extremely small (only 11.3 percent). Corresponding with the research presented by Jansen (1991), Italian respondents who arrived as children have significantly higher rates of high-school completion than members of the first generation. Many more members of the Italian 1.5 generation were able to receive some form of post-secondary education when compared to their parents, although it should be noted that the levels of education among the 1.5 generation are still quite modest. Among both first and 1.5 generation Italians aged 45-64, men have higher proportions of university graduates and fewer without a high school education when compared to their female counterparts.

The improvement in educational outcomes continues among members of the second generation. The Italian second generation has stronger educational qualifications than either the first or 1.5 generation, even after controlling for the effects of age, sex, and parentage. However, some considerable differences in education levels exists between second generation individuals depending on age, parentage, and sex. Like the older foreign-born Italian cohorts where men had the highest levels of education, second generation men aged 45-64 are more likely to have obtained some form of post-secondary education when compared to women in the same cohort. However, within the younger second generation cohort of Italians the reverse is true: women were more likely to have obtained a university degree than men (Figure 4.6). In fact, the propensity for younger (aged 25-44) Canadian-born women to obtain higher levels of education than 25-44 year old Canadian-born men extends across both Italian second generation cohorts and into the third-plus generation.



Source: Statistics Canada, 2001 Census of Canada Master file

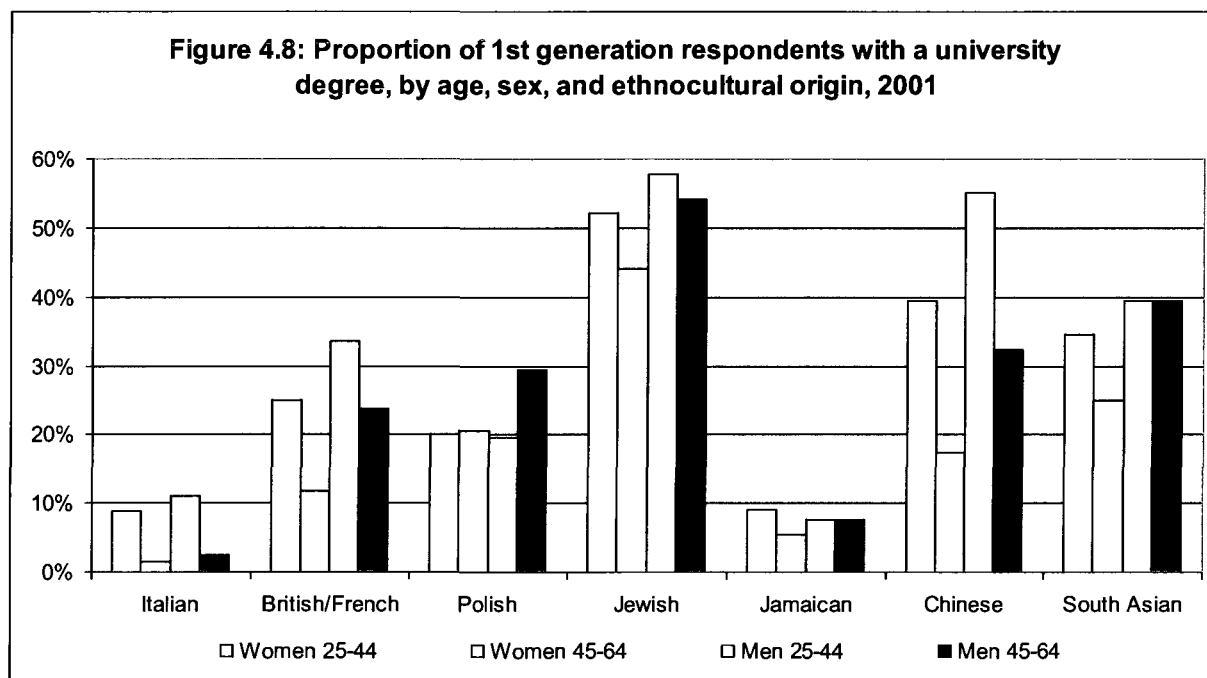
Second-generation Italian men were slightly more likely than women to continue their post-secondary education in a non-university setting, such as a trades school or a college (Figure 4.7). Comparing the second-generation Italians who have obtained college/trades education with those who have received a university degree may hint at an important distinction with regard to the importance of parentage on the educational trajectories of men. Italian men with two foreign-born parents are about 10 percent more likely to have a non-university post-secondary education, while those with one foreign-born parent are between 5 to 8.5 percent more likely to have graduated from university.



Source: Statistics Canada, 2001 Census of Canada Master file

Like second-generation Italians, those in the third-plus generation have significantly higher education levels than the first or 1.5 generation. However, the educational characteristics of the third-plus generation tend to resemble more closely the second-generation population with one foreign-born parent in terms of earning a university degree, while those with two foreign-born parents are more likely to have trades or college education than members of the third-plus generation (except among females 45-64 years old). However, one way in which the educational attainments of the third-plus generation do not match the second generation is in the relatively higher proportion of third-plus generation individuals that have not completed high-school. This trend is most pronounced among men, where approximately one-quarter of the third-plus generation aged 45-64 has not completed high-school. The differences in educational attainment between the various Canadian-born generations again point to the importance of parentage and the influence that parents have on the educational trajectories of Canadian-born Italians.

Comparing the educational attainments of Italian immigrants to other ethnocultural groups confirms several notable differences. The Italian immigrant generation has significantly less formal education than all of the other foreign-born ethnocultural cohorts, even after controlling for age and gender. Significantly higher proportions of first-generation Italians have never finished high-school when compared to other ethnocultural groups, and significantly less attended university, regardless of age or sex (Figure 4.8).



Source: Statistics Canada, 2001 Census of Canada Master file

The Jewish foreign-born population stands out as having an especially high proportion of university graduates, although the Chinese and South Asian foreign-born groups also have high proportions of university graduates. Like the Italian immigrant population, very few Jamaican immigrants have university degrees.

The limited education of Italian immigrants is apparent, but members of the second generation have been able to earn significantly higher levels of education. However, it is only in comparison to the immigrant generation that the education levels of the Italians second generation seem remarkable, as a comparison to other second-generation groups reveals that their educational achievements are quite average (Table 4.3).

Table 4.3: Highest level of education among 2nd generation ethnocultural groups by sex, age, and parentage, 2001

Sex	Age	Highest Level of Schooling	Italian		British/French		Polish		Jewish	
			2nd - 1 FB	2nd - 2 FB	2nd - 1 FB	2nd - 2 FB	2nd - 1 FB	2nd - 2 FB	2nd - 1 FB	2nd - 2 FB
Women	25-44	Less than high-school	5.6%	6.5%	8.5%	7.6%	9.5%	4.5%	2.5%	5.1%
		High school diploma	10.5%	14.7%	10.3%	11.7%	7.1%	9.1%	2.5%	3.8%
		Post-secondary non-university	35.5%	38.9%	32.8%	32.6%	28.6%	28.2%	17.3%	17.9%
		University without Bachelor	10.5%	9.7%	11.6%	11.4%	9.5%	11.8%	11.1%	11.5%
		University with Bachelor or higher	37.9%	30.2%	36.8%	36.7%	45.2%	46.4%	66.7%	61.5%
		Total	620	8030	3490	3205	210	550	405	390
	45-64	Less than high-school	14.3%	17.1%	19.4%	24.5%	10.7%	16.9%	8.2%	9.6%
		High school diploma	31.0%	24.8%	16.8%	19.7%	17.9%	18.2%	12.4%	16.3%
		Post-secondary non-university	21.4%	24.8%	28.9%	25.5%	25.0%	22.1%	20.6%	16.3%
		University without Bachelor	11.9%	7.7%	10.9%	9.0%	17.9%	11.7%	14.4%	12.5%
		University with Bachelor or higher	21.4%	25.6%	24.1%	21.4%	28.6%	31.2%	44.3%	45.2%
		Total	210	585	3305	1450	140	385	485	520
Men	25-44	Less than high-school	9.3%	11.5%	10.5%	10.7%	14.3%	8.8%	2.5%	4.1%
		High school diploma	12.4%	13.2%	10.1%	12.1%	16.7%	8.8%	3.7%	5.5%
		Post-secondary non-university	33.3%	43.2%	33.9%	31.6%	26.2%	33.3%	14.8%	13.7%
		University without Bachelor	14.0%	9.6%	12.0%	13.2%	7.1%	11.8%	12.3%	13.7%
		University with Bachelor or higher	31.0%	22.5%	33.6%	32.3%	35.7%	37.3%	66.7%	63.0%
		Total	645	8080	3380	3215	210	510	405	365
	45-64	Less than high-school	14.0%	17.5%	17.9%	21.6%	9.1%	10.3%	7.1%	10.2%
		High school diploma	18.6%	12.3%	12.0%	12.5%	9.1%	10.3%	7.1%	5.6%
		Post-secondary non-university	20.9%	31.6%	28.1%	29.5%	21.2%	20.5%	7.1%	9.3%
		University without Bachelor	11.6%	8.8%	11.7%	12.1%	12.1%	14.1%	10.7%	11.1%
		University with Bachelor or higher	34.9%	29.8%	30.3%	24.2%	48.5%	44.9%	67.9%	63.9%
		Total	215	570	2955	1320	165	390	420	540

Source: Statistics Canada, 2001 Census of Canada Master File

By comparison, the educational attainments of the Jewish second generation are particularly noteworthy, as the majority of these individuals have attended university and most have earned degrees. Table 4.4 (below) compares the levels of education present among the Italian second-generation population with the children of immigrant groups that have arrived more recently. The educational credentials of Italians seem modest in comparison to the Chinese and South Asian second generation, where the majority has graduated from university and very few have left high school before graduation. This strong trend towards obtaining a university education among the Chinese and South Asian second generations exists in stark contrast to what seems to be occurring among the Jamaican second generation. Among second generation Jamaicans, about 44 percent

of men and over 48 percent of women have chosen to attend colleges or trade schools instead of university, and the proportion that has left high school prior to completion is generally higher than any other group.

Table 4.4: Highest level of education among 2nd generation ethnocultural groups by sex, age, and parentage, 2001

Sex	Age	Highest Level of Schooling	Italian		Chinese	South Asian	Jamaican
			2nd - 1 FB	2nd - 2 FB	2nd - 2 FB	2nd - 2 FB	2nd - 2 FB
Women	25-44	Less than high-school	5.6%	6.5%	1.5%	2.9%	7.8%
		High school diploma	10.5%	14.7%	4.0%	4.3%	6.0%
		Post-secondary non-university	35.5%	38.9%	17.3%	18.6%	48.3%
		University without Bachelor	10.5%	9.7%	8.9%	12.1%	14.7%
		University with Bachelor or higher	37.9%	30.2%	68.3%	62.1%	23.3%
		Total	620	8030	1010	700	580
	45-64	Less than high-school	14.3%	17.1%			
		High school diploma	31.0%	24.8%			
		Post-secondary non-university	21.4%	24.8%			
		University without Bachelor	11.9%	7.7%			
		University with Bachelor or higher	21.4%	25.6%			
		Total	210	585			
Men	25-44	Less than high-school	9.3%	11.5%	3.1%	5.4%	11.4%
		High school diploma	12.4%	13.2%	3.1%	5.4%	13.3%
		Post-secondary non-university	33.3%	43.2%	17.5%	16.3%	43.8%
		University without Bachelor	14.0%	9.6%	16.1%	17.7%	16.2%
		University with Bachelor or higher	31.0%	22.5%	60.1%	55.1%	15.2%
		Total	645	8080	1115	735	525
	45-64	Less than high-school	14.0%	17.5%			
		High school diploma	18.6%	12.3%			
		Post-secondary non-university	20.9%	31.6%			
		University without Bachelor	11.6%	8.8%			
		University with Bachelor or higher	34.9%	29.8%			
		Total	215	570			

Source: Statistics Canada, 2001 Census of Canada Master File

The educational status of the Italian third-plus generation most resembles that of the second generation with one foreign-born parent. The Italian third-plus generation is generally well-educated, although a higher proportion of the third-plus generation has not finished high school relative to the second generation. Compared to other groups, the educational status of the Italian third-plus generation is strikingly similar to the British/French third-plus generation (Table 4.5). The Jewish third-plus generation has the

highest levels of education when compared to any other third generation group, while the Jamaican third-plus generation has low educational attainments (about 1/3 of men and women have not finished high-school).

Table 4.5: Highest level of education among 3rd-plus generation ethnocultural groups by sex and age, 2001

Sex	Age	Highest Level of Schooling	Italian	British or French	Polish	Jewish	Chinese	South Asian	Jamaican
Women	25-44	Less than high-school	12.1%	9.5%	5.2%	2.6%	14.3%	22.2%	36.4%
		High school diploma	13.8%	12.1%	6.2%	3.0%	14.3%	11.1%	13.6%
		Post-secondary non-university	30.5%	33.2%	28.9%	15.4%	21.4%	27.8%	27.3%
		University without Bachelor	9.8%	11.3%	14.4%	11.1%	XXX	11.1%	9.1%
		University with Bachelor or higher	33.9%	33.8%	45.4%	67.9%	50.0%	27.8%	13.6%
		Total	870	16985	485	1170	70	90	110
	45-64	Less than high-school	16.5%	18.7%	16.0%	7.9%			
		High school diploma	19.0%	17.2%	14.0%	11.3%			
		Post-secondary non-university	32.9%	28.7%	28.0%	17.9%			
		University without Bachelor	8.9%	11.3%	14.0%	15.2%			
		University with Bachelor or higher	22.8%	24.2%	28.0%	47.7%			
		Total	395	13535	250	755			
Men	25-44	Less than high-school	13.5%	13.0%	11.6%	3.2%	11.8%	29.4%	29.2%
		High school diploma	13.5%	12.1%	11.6%	2.7%	11.8%	17.6%	20.8%
		Post-secondary non-university	33.7%	33.0%	30.2%	13.6%	29.4%	23.5%	33.3%
		University without Bachelor	10.1%	11.7%	10.5%	12.3%	11.8%	11.8%	8.3%
		University with Bachelor or higher	29.2%	30.2%	36.0%	68.2%	35.3%	17.6%	8.3%
		Total	890	16730	430	1100	85	85	120
	45-64	Less than high-school	26.2%	19.8%	16.3%	7.1%			
		High school diploma	10.8%	11.7%	7.0%	5.7%			
		Post-secondary non-university	21.5%	27.4%	25.6%	7.1%			
		University without Bachelor	13.8%	11.2%	14.0%	12.1%			
		University with Bachelor or higher	27.7%	30.0%	37.2%	67.9%			
		Total	325	12730	215	700			

Source: Statistics Canada, 2001 Census of Canada Master File

Marital Status

The composition of families plays an important role in determining the depth of familial support networks that are available to members of the second and third-plus generations, and is an important factor in determining socioeconomic status of immigrant families more generally (Zhou and Bankston, 1999, Portes and Rumbaut, 2001, Kasinitz et al, 2008). Among all ethnocultural groups, including Italians, younger individuals are more likely to be single and less likely to be married or living in a common law

relationship²³ than older individuals. Women are also more likely to be separated, divorced or widowed than men regardless of age or ethnocultural origin, indicating that men may be more likely to re-marry or live in a common-law relationship after a previous relationship has ended.

Table 4.6: Marital status of Italians across generations by sex and age, 2001

Sex	Age	Marital Status	FB	1.5	2nd - 1 FB	2nd - 2 FB	3rd
Women	25-44	Never married	8.6%	11.9%	34.4%	26.6%	25.3%
		Married or Common-law	81.4%	79.4%	60.0%	68.0%	65.5%
		Divorced, Separated or Widowed	10.0%	8.7%	5.6%	5.4%	9.2%
		Total	350	1260	625	8020	870
	45-64	Never married	1.3%	4.9%	7.1%	9.2%	7.6%
		Married or Common-law	85.2%	82.4%	73.8%	76.5%	67.1%
		Divorced, Separated or Widowed	13.5%	12.8%	19.0%	14.3%	25.3%
		Total	4260	2470	210	595	395
Men	25-44	Never married	11.0%	21.0%	35.7%	35.6%	31.5%
		Married or Common-law	84.1%	71.8%	58.9%	60.8%	61.8%
		Divorced, Separated or Widowed	4.9%	7.3%	5.4%	3.7%	6.7%
		Total	410	1310	645	8080	890
	45-64	Never married	2.3%	6.3%	9.3%	12.4%	10.9%
		Married or Common-law	91.9%	85.5%	79.1%	76.1%	81.3%
		Divorced, Separated or Widowed	5.8%	8.2%	11.6%	11.5%	7.8%
		Total	4485	2310	215	565	320

Source: Statistics Canada, 2001 Census of Canada Master File

Among Italians, the first generation has a high proportion of married individuals and a relatively small proportion of people who are separated, divorced or have been widowed (especially among men – Table 4.6). Members of the 1.5 generation are more likely to be unmarried than their first generation counterparts, and men are more likely to be single than women. The relative youth of the second generation is reflected in the data, as members of this generation are much more likely to be unmarried. Second-generation individuals with one foreign-born parent are more likely to be separated, widowed or

²³ According to the 2001 Canadian census, 'Common-law' status refers to "two people of the opposite sex or of the same sex who live together as a couple but who are not legally married to each other". Married and common-law respondents have been grouped together, and henceforth, this group will simply be referred to as 'married'.

divorced than those with two foreign-born parents, regardless of age or sex. The marital status of the third-plus generation is more similar to the second generation than the immigrant generations. Furthermore, the proportion of third-generation individuals who are separated, divorced, or widowed is generally higher than among second-generation individuals, especially for women.

Comparing the Italian population to other ethnocultural groups shows that marital rates are relatively high, even after controlling for the effects of age (see Appendix 10). Family status is, therefore, unlikely to have much of an influence in differentiating groups included in the analysis, except when considering Jamaicans, who have very low rates of marriage, especially among women. Most members of the Italian second generation were raised by married parents, and the presence of two adults in the household may have given members of the second generation access to resources and information that assisted them in their entry into the labour market. Considering the very low rates of marriage among the Jamaican first generation, it may be possible that members of the Jamaican second generation have relatively fewer family-based resources upon which to draw. Further research is needed to understand fully the effects of single-parenthood on the employment trajectories of Jamaican children.

Second and third-plus generation Italians are less likely to be married than those born in Italy (likely due to the younger average age of the Canadian-born generations), but in comparison to other groups, the marital status of each Canadian-born ethnocultural cohort remains consistent with the patterns exhibited by the foreign-born generations. This pattern suggests that the marital status of the first generation may have an important impact on shaping the decisions that Canadian-born children make about marriage.

Language Ability

For any newcomer to Toronto, the ability to communicate in English influences a myriad of experiences including employment and housing or neighbourhood search processes (Chambon et al., 1997; George and Mwarigha, 1999). For the children of immigrants raised in Canada, English is learned very early in school, and the overwhelming majority of the second and third-plus generations are fully fluent in English. Research about the integration of the second generation has suggested that children who are fluently bilingual in English and the language spoken by their parents may have stronger educational and employment outcomes than those of their monolingual counterparts (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001). It has been suggested that the children's bilingualism allows parents to be actively involved in their children's lives, and it helps enable the members of the second generation to draw on the resources available within an ethnic community. This section examines the ability of the Italian first, second and third-plus generations to communicate with each other in the same language (either English or Italian),²⁴ placed in context by comparing Italians to other ethnocultural generation groups²⁵.

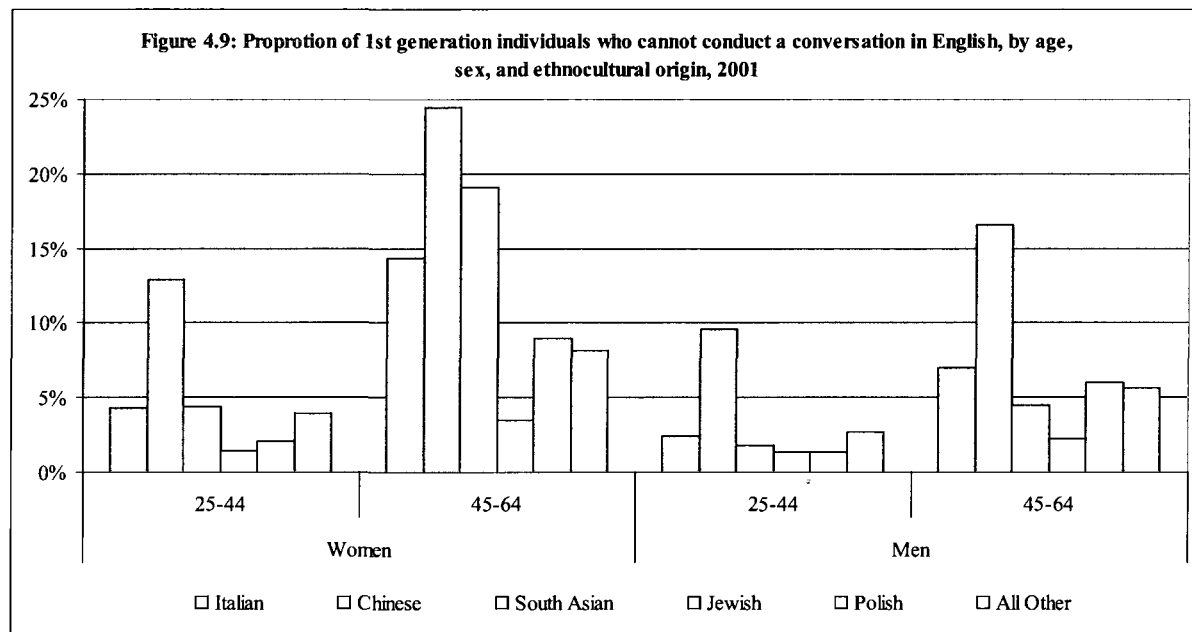
Many popular and academic writings about the Italian population have documented the generally weak English language skills among older members of the first

²⁴ To measure this communicative ability, the proportion of the Italian foreign-born population that is able to conduct a conversation in English, as well as the proportion of 2nd and 3rd-plus generation Italians who consider themselves able to communicate in a non-official language (i.e. Italian) was compared. This analysis relies on an individual's own perception of their language skills, and this is problematic because of the highly subjective nature of the question and the fact that it is not possible to gauge the extent of an individual's language ability. Despite these shortcomings, the lack of any other large-scale datasets that examine language ability across generations makes this method of analysis the most viable option for this research.

²⁵ The British/French and the Jamaican groups have been excluded because the mother tongue of the 1st generation is one of Canada's official languages, making any analysis of intergenerational language ability essentially meaningless.

generation (Iacovetta, 1992; N. Harney, 1999), a trend that is reflected in these data: among first generation Italians aged 45-64, about 7 percent of men and 14 percent of women were unable to conduct a conversation in English. The younger cohort of first generation Italians has stronger English language abilities, but in both age cohorts, men were about two times more likely to be able to converse in English than women. The stronger English language ability among men is not unique to Italians; in comparison to women, men were more likely to be able to converse in English among all ethnocultural comparison groups.

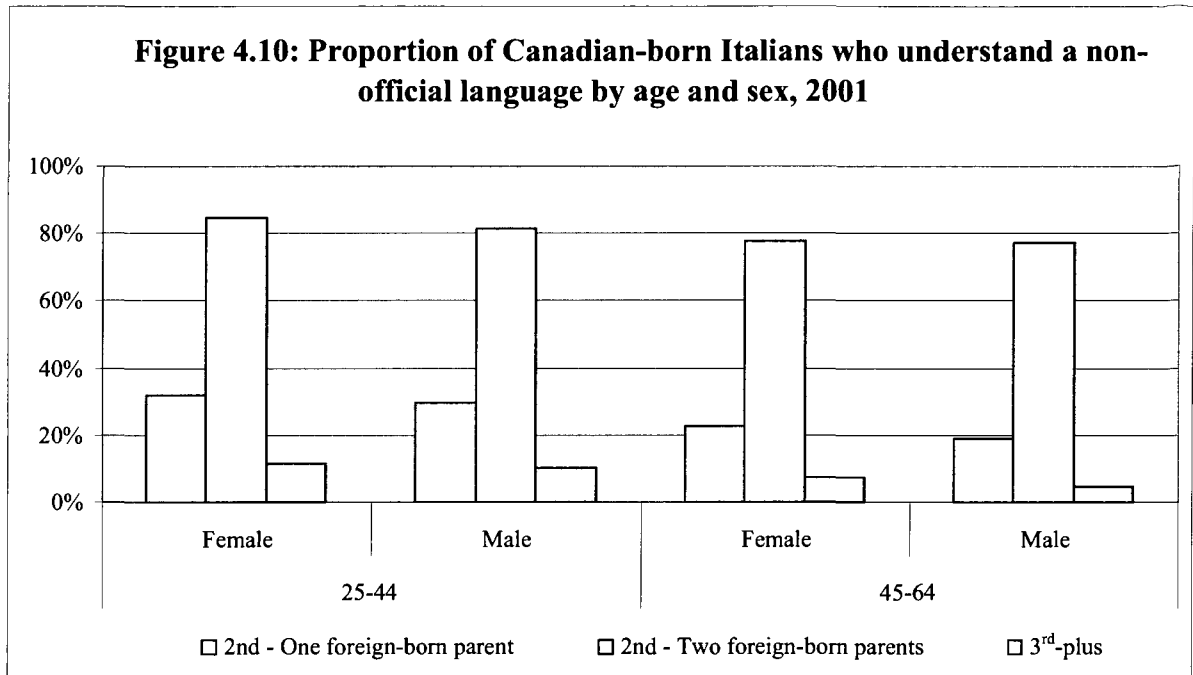
The proportion of older Italians who are unable to converse in English is relatively high, but several other groups – notably Chinese and South Asian – are characterized by rates of limited English language proficiency that are even greater than that for the Italians, especially among older women (Figure 4.9). Italians who were raised in Canada generally do not face limited English-language proficiency problems – over 99 percent of the Italian 1.5, second and third-plus generations are able to conduct a conversation in English.



Source: Statistics Canada, 2001 Census of Canada Master file

To measure the ability of Canadian-born generations to communicate with parents in a heritage language, respondents were sorted based on their response to a question that asked them if they spoke a non-official language (i.e. not English or French)²⁶. Italians with two foreign-born parents clearly lead in terms of being able to understand a non-official language (Figure 4.10). After controlling for age and sex, approximately 80 percent of second-generation Italians with two foreign-born parents can understand a non-official language, compared to less than 1/3 of second-generation Italians with one foreign-born parent. Italians in the third-plus generation were much less likely to understand a non-official language, especially among the older (45-64) cohort.

²⁶ While this question does not allow this analysis to determine which non-official language is spoken by the respondent, it can be reasonably assumed that members of the second and third-plus generations are much more likely to learn the language spoken by most of their parents as opposed to any other non-official language



Source: Statistics Canada, 2001 Census of Canada Master file

Figure 4.10 also shows that younger Italians (25-44) are more likely to be able to speak a non-official language than older (45-64) individuals. This is likely related to the establishment of the Ontario Heritage Language Program²⁷ in 1977, created at least in part due to pressure from the Italian community in Toronto²⁸ (Burnaby, James, and Regier, 2000). Most individuals aged 25-44 attended high-school between 1973 and 1992, while nearly all individuals aged 45-64 never had an opportunity to enroll in heritage language classes, as most had completed their education long before the creation of the program. The Italian third-plus generation shows that only about 1/10 is able to

²⁷ The Ontario provincial government created the Ontario Heritage Languages Program in 1977, which provided funding to allow non-official languages to be taught as subjects of instruction, either on weekends, after school hours, or integrated into the regular school day (Cummins and Danesi, 1990; Burnaby, James, and Regier, 2000). The program was renamed the 'International Languages Program' in 1994 (N. Harney, 1998), but will be simply be referred to here as the 'Ontario Heritage Languages Program'.

²⁸ In fact, the Italian government provided funding to the Metropolitan Toronto Separate School Board in the early 1970s to pay for Italian language education, "an embarrassing threat to the province of Ontario's jurisdictional integrity, clearly (influencing) the Ontario government to begin limited funding for a heritage language program" (N. Harney, 1998: 110).

speak a non-official language, a proportion that is much lower than either second generation cohort.

All of the ethnocultural groups included in this study share three characteristics with Canadian-born Italians:

1. Individuals with two foreign-born parents are much more likely to speak a non-official language;
2. second-generation women are generally more likely to speak a non-official language than men (with a few small exceptions); and
3. Members of the third-plus generation are significantly less likely to be able to speak a language other than English or French.

While these trends remain consistent across ethnocultural groups, the large proportion of second-generation Italians that are able to understand a non-official language is noteworthy. Even after controlling for the effects of age and sex, Italians have the highest proportions of individuals that speak a non-official language when compared to second-generation groups with one foreign-born parent (Table 4.7).

Table 4.7 Proportion of 2nd generation members with one foreign-born parent that can speak a non-official language, 2001

Sex	Age	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Canadian	All Other
Women	25-44	32.0%	25.3%	14.6%	6.2%	17.5%
	45-64	22.7%	11.2%	17.2%	3.1%	17.6%
Men	25-44	29.7%	25.3%	4.9%	4.6%	15.7%
	45-64	19.0%	14.3%	12.1%	2.8%	11.6%

Source: Statistics Canada, 2001 Census of Canada Master File

The relative propensity for second-generation Italians to speak a non-official language is even more profound among those who have two foreign-born parents (Table 4.8).

Table 4.8: Proportion of 2nd generation with two foreign-born parents that can speak a non-official language, 2001

Sex	Age	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Canadian	All Other	Chinese	South Asian
Women	25-44	84.7%	50.6%	61.8%	31.4%	63.9%	69.5%	54.7%
	45-64	78.0%	38.5%	55.3%	15.9%	58.6%		
Men	25-44	81.6%	37.8%	51.5%	33.6%	60.4%	59.7%	46.9%
	45-64	77.2%	33.9%	47.4%	12.1%	50.9%		

Source: Statistics Canada, 2001 Census of Canada Master File

Individuals who can speak a language other than English or French among members of the other ethnocultural groups with two foreign-born parents is not nearly as high, although the fact that nearly 70 percent of Chinese women (and about 60 percent of Chinese men) are able to speak a non-official language is noteworthy.

The fact that being Italian among members of the second generation increases the likelihood of understanding a non-official language (likely Italian) among both men and women in both age cohorts suggests that there may be distinct processes within the Italian community that encourage Canadian-born children to learn the language of their parents. One factor that likely plays a predominant role in nurturing the ethnolinguistic vitality of Canadian-born Italians is instruction in school (through the Ontario Heritage Language Program). The Italian community in particular was able to take advantage of this initiative: non-official language programs were created in schools at the request of twenty-five or more parents, and the large size and strong spatial concentration of Italians in particular neighbourhoods made it somewhat easier to gather support from parents (Cummins and Danesi, 1990). Furthermore, significant evidence suggests that many children of Italian immigrants pursued Italian language education from both church groups and non-governmental organizations – most notably the ‘Centro Canadese Scuola e Cultura Italiana’ (Canadian Centre for Italian Culture and Education) – whose

objectives were centred around teaching Italian language and culture to children of Italian immigrants (N. Harney, 1998).

Summary

This section has profiled the sociodemographic characteristics of the Italian population in 2001. The levels of education present among members of the Italian first generation are exceptionally low. While the second and third-plus Italian generations have levels of education that can be considered average in comparison to other second generation groups, their educational achievements are nothing short of spectacular when compared to their parents. This rise in educational attainment is likely to have a strong influence on the labour market experiences and outcomes present across each Italian generation. In regard to marital status, like most other ethnocultural groups, the Italian foreign-born generations have relatively high proportions of married individuals, meaning most members of the Italian second generation have been raised in households with two adults present. In regard to language ability, relatively high proportions of the Italian first generation are unable to speak English, although several other immigrant ethnocultural groups share this characteristic. On the other hand, Canadian-born Italians are fully fluent in English, and children of Italian immigrants have quite high rates of bilingualism. This may mean that messages about how to achieve ‘success’ in the labour market are transmitted across generations with relative ease in Italian families, since members of the first, 1.5, and second generations are often able to communicate in the same language.

Chapter 5: Gauging the Intergenerational Mobility of Italians in Toronto

Italians are one of the largest and most-well established immigrant groups in Toronto. Upon arrival in Canada, Italian immigrants faced significant challenges in the labour market. Most worked in manual labour occupations with little formal education and poor English-language skills. Research has shown that over time many Italian immigrants achieved a significant degree of upward social if not occupational mobility and were able to move into middle-class suburbs (Iacovetta, 1992; N. Harney, 1998). The labour market status of the Italian second generation has not received the same degree of attention, despite lively international academic debates about the status of the children of immigrants in places with high levels of immigration.

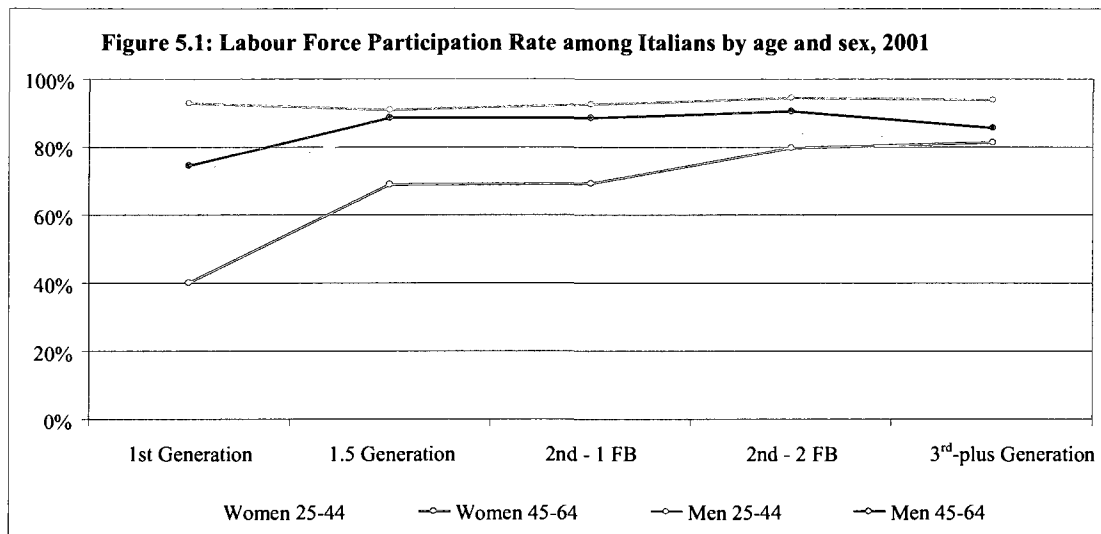
This chapter contributes to these debates by describing the labour market status of several generations of Italians in Toronto. The primary objective is to compare the status of foreign-born Italians to Canadian-born cohorts. In addition, some comparisons between Italians and other ethnocultural groups are also made to situate the discussion of intergenerational changes in labour market status of Italians in a broader context. The labour market status of Italians is evaluated based on several indicators, including labour force participation and unemployment rates. The types of industries in which Italians find employment, as well as their specific occupations are also used as indicators of labour market status. The analysis is rounded out with a comparison of average annual employment income among generations of Italians and other ethnocultural groups.

The analysis of labour market outcomes will control for the effects of age and sex, as both characteristics have a tremendous influence on labour market status. Controls for age are used because rates of labour force participation and unemployment generally

improve with age, as do employment earnings. It is not meaningful, for instance, to compare a youthful group to one in which a large proportion of individuals are older adults (Mandarino and Ray, 2007). Men and women are examined separately because women tend to hold lower status jobs, are more likely to work part-time, are more likely to leave the labour force to care for children, and have lower average employment incomes than men (Pendakur and Pendakur, 1998; Tastsoglou and Preston, 2005; Preston and Cox, 1999).

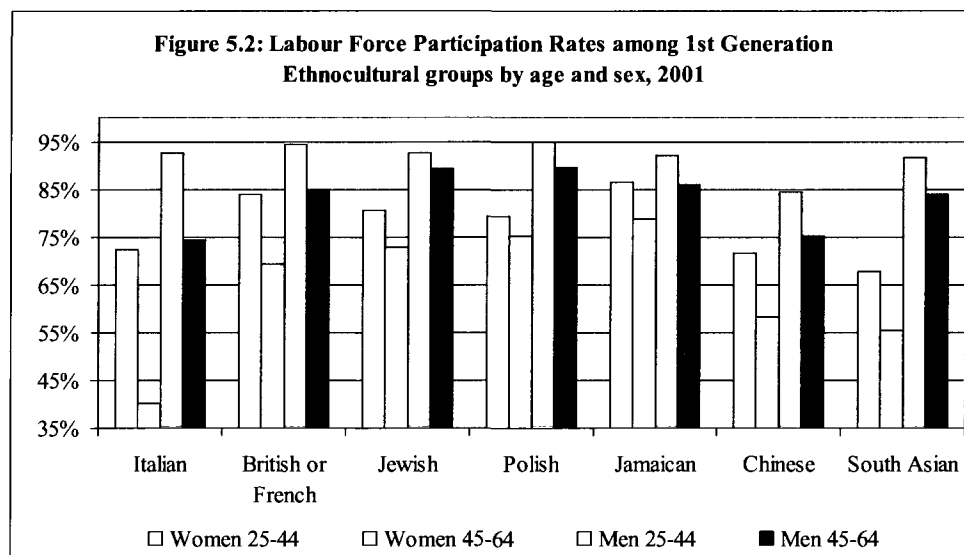
Labour Force Participation Rate

One of the most noticeable trends in labour force participation is that rates are generally higher for Canadian-born Italians relative to their foreign-born counterparts (Figure 5.1, below). The higher rates of labour force participation are most evident among women: approximately 40 percent of first-generation women aged 45-64 are active participants in the labour market, while over 80 percent of younger Canadian-born Italian women are participants in the labour force. This in part reflects aging, as well as a temporal shift in Canadian society in which young women have been entering the labour market in much higher numbers over the last few decades. Some of the older first-generation Italian women may never have been active in the paid workforce, and many may have retained 'traditional' gender roles associated with the care of other family members and the home (Iacovetta, 1992; Posca, 2006). In fact, this general pattern of young women being more likely to be participants in the labour market is reflected across each Italian generation.



Source: Statistics Canada, 2001 Census of Canada Master file

The labour force participation rates of the Italian 1.5 generation are significantly higher compared to the first generation. Among men aged 45-64, the participation rate is over 14 percent higher among members of the 1.5 generation, while 28 percent more 1.5-generation Italian women are active participants in the labour market compared to first generation women in the same age cohort. Canadian-born Italians have the highest rates of labour force participation, but the magnitude of this intergenerational increase is most significant across generations of women.



Source: Statistics Canada, 2001 Census of Canada Master file

Figure 5.2 profiles the labour force participation rates of first generation Italians in comparison to other immigrant groups. Many groups also have high labour force participation rates, and rates of participation are especially high among men, especially young men. Older first-generation Italian men have levels of labour force participation that are somewhat lower relative to other ethnocultural groups, but younger Italian men have rates of labour force participation that meet or surpass those of men in other groups. In contrast, older Italian women stand out as having very low labour force participation rates, corresponding with evidence that processes of ‘amoral familism’ in Italian immigrant families can influence women’s decision to withdraw from the labour market to care for other family members and the home (Posca, 2006). These low levels of labour force participation also suggest that many members of the Italian second generation grew up in families in which their mothers were full-time homemakers.

The labour force participation rates for each Canadian-born generation of Italians are broadly comparable to the British/French charter group.

Table 5.1: Labour Force Participation Rates among second generation groups with one foreign-born parent, 2001

		Italian	British/French	Jewish	Polish
Women	25-44	86.5%	86.6%	81.3%	82.9%
	45-64	69.0%	70.5%	81.6%	71.4%
Men	25-44	92.3%	93.9%	91.1%	90.7%
	45-64	88.4%	83.2%	94.0%	84.4%

Source: Statistics Canada, 2001 Census of Canada Master file

Among second generation Italians with one foreign-born parent, labour force participation rates of those aged 25-44 are very similar to the British/French charter population, and are somewhat higher than the Jewish and Polish groups. Older Italian women have lower participation rates than men, but these are similar to those of British/French women. The effects of parentage on the labour force participation of the

Italian second generation are small, and labour force participation rates are only slightly higher for individuals with two foreign-born parents. In comparison to other ethnocultural groups, Italians with two foreign-born parents have rates of labour force participation that are broadly comparable to the participation rates of children of British/French immigrants (Table 5.2).

Table 5.2: Labour Force Participation Rates among second generation groups with two foreign-born parents, 2001

		Italian	British or French	Jewish	Polish	Jamaican	Chinese	South Asian
Women	25-44	84.7%	86.8%	79.5%	86.4%	86.8%	89.1%	84.9%
	45-64	79.7%	69.6%	76.0%	76.0%			
Men	25-44	94.4%	93.9%	91.9%	93.0%	89.4%	90.1%	86.4%
	45-64	90.4%	78.5%	90.7%	84.6%			

Source: Statistics Canada, 2001 Census of Canada Master file

The Italian third-plus generation also has participation rates that are remarkably similar to the third-plus generation British/French charter group (Table 5.3). In fact, the differences in labour force participation between each of the third-plus generation ethnocultural groups are generally small.

Table 5.3: Labour Force Participation Rates among third generation groups, 2001

Sex	Age	Italian	British or French	Jewish	Polish
Female	25-44	82.8%	85.7%	85.5%	87.6%
	45-64	81.3%	73.7%	78.7%	76.0%
Male	25-44	93.8%	94.1%	94.5%	94.2%
	45-64	85.7%	85.6%	92.9%	86.4%

Source: Statistics Canada, 2001 Census of Canada Master file

Unemployment Rate

Another indicator of labour market status is the rate of unemployment among those who are active in the labour force, as high unemployment rates may indicate underlying problems of labour market attachment. The unemployment rates exhibited

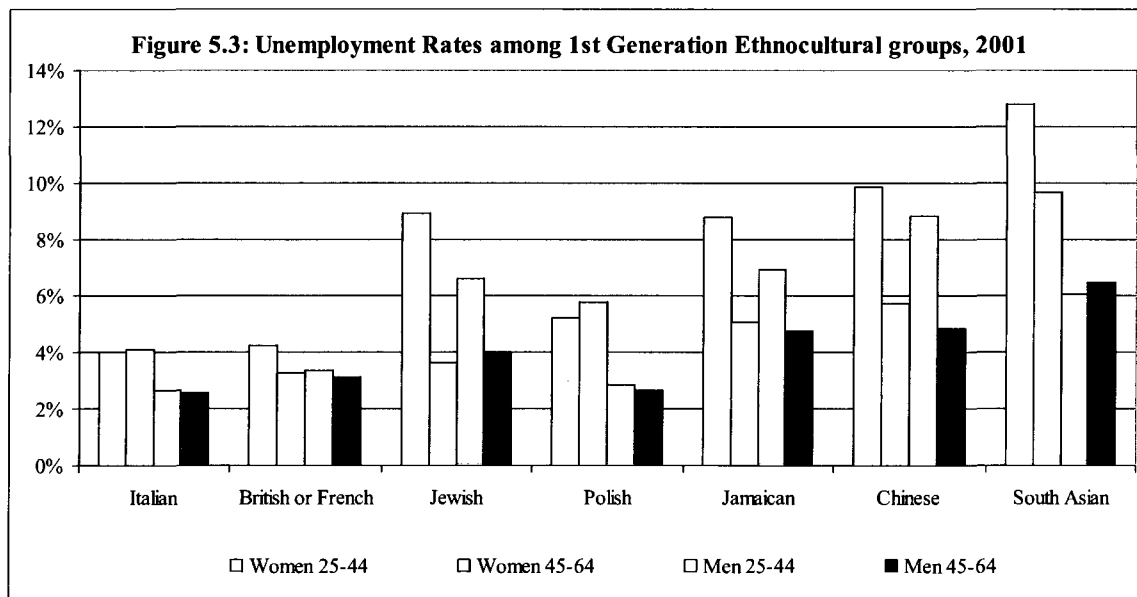
across generations of Italians are relatively low, and unemployment is not a serious problem for any Italian generational cohort. In fact, the unemployment rate of each successive Italian generation is lower than the metropolitan average for both women and men (Table 5.4). Among Italians, rates of unemployment are higher for women and younger individuals, but this broad trend is shared by all groups in the study.

Table 5.4: Unemployment Rates across Italian Generations, 2001

		1st	1.5	2nd - 1 FB	2nd - 2 FB	3rd-plus	Toronto CMA
Women	25-44	4.0%	3.3%	4.6%	3.5%	2.8%	
	45-64	4.1%	2.9%	0.0%	2.1%	3.1%	6.5%
Men	25-44	2.6%	3.8%	3.3%	2.8%	3.0%	5.4%
	45-64	2.6%	2.7%	5.3%	1.9%	0.0%	

Source: Statistics Canada, 2001 Census of Canada Master file

In comparison to other first generation groups, the Italian population has remarkably low rates of unemployment (Figure 5.3), especially considering their relatively low level of educational attainment and English-language proficiency.



Source: Statistics Canada, 2001 Census of Canada Master file

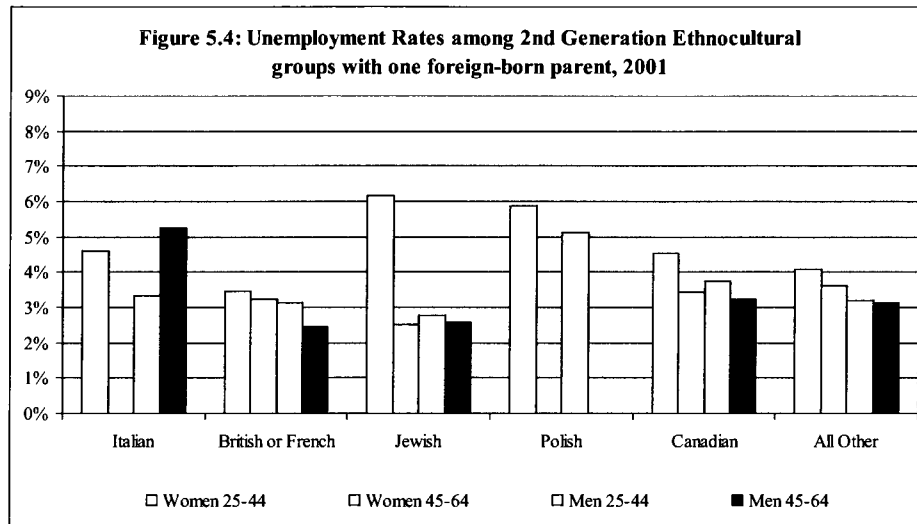
Members of the Italian first and 1.5 generations have unemployment rates that range between 2.6 and 4.1 percent, lower than any other ethnocultural group and even lower

than the British and French population.²⁹ Important variations exist within groups based on age and gender, and members of the ‘newest’ groups (Jamaicans, Chinese, and South Asians) have somewhat higher levels of unemployment than members of the more long-standing immigrant communities. Young women in every group have the highest rates of unemployment, and this is especially marked among Jamaican, Chinese and South Asian women. In comparison, unemployment is experienced by relatively few Italian immigrants, and most studies would say there is no unemployment problem (N. Harney, 1998; Iacovetta, 1992).

Like their immigrant parents, Italians born or raised in Canada do not seem to have much difficulty finding work. The highest unemployment rate among any of the Canadian-born cohorts is just over 5 percent. While rates of unemployment are uniformly low among all Canadian-born Italian cohorts, there are some differences among members of the second generation depending on the parentage of the respondent. Italians with two foreign-born parents have slightly lower unemployment rates than those with only one foreign-born parent, with the only exception occurring among women aged 45-64³⁰. In comparison to other second generation ethnocultural groups, the unemployment rate of Italians is low, regardless of parentage (Figure 5.4 and Figure 5.5).

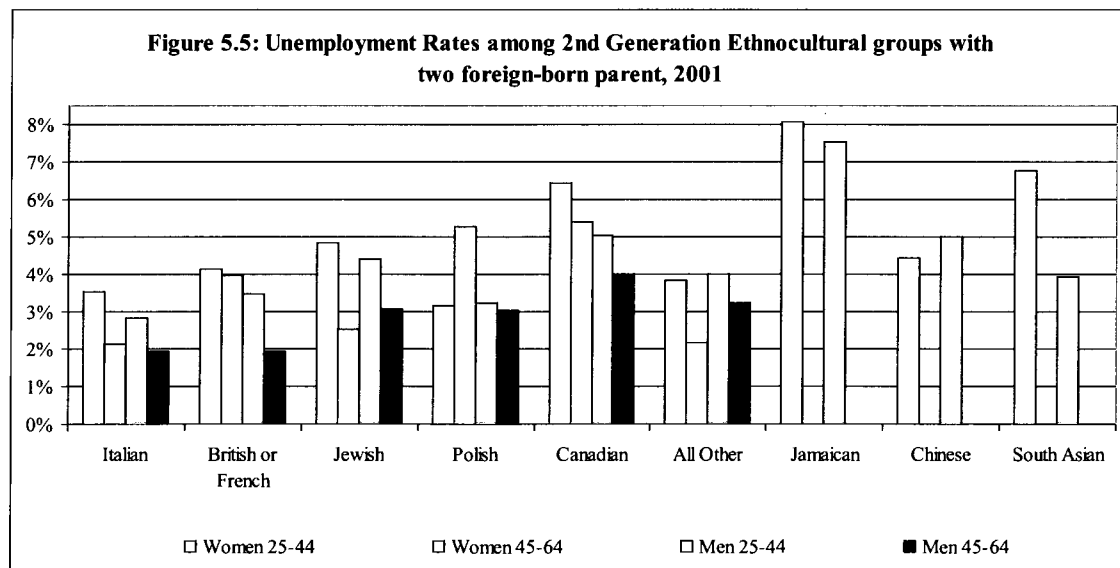
²⁹ Except among women aged 45-64, where the unemployment rate of Italians is slightly higher than the British and French group.

³⁰ Among Italian 2nd generation women with one foreign-born parent, none of the 145 respondents were unemployed, while the unemployment rate was only 2.1 percent among women with two foreign-born parents



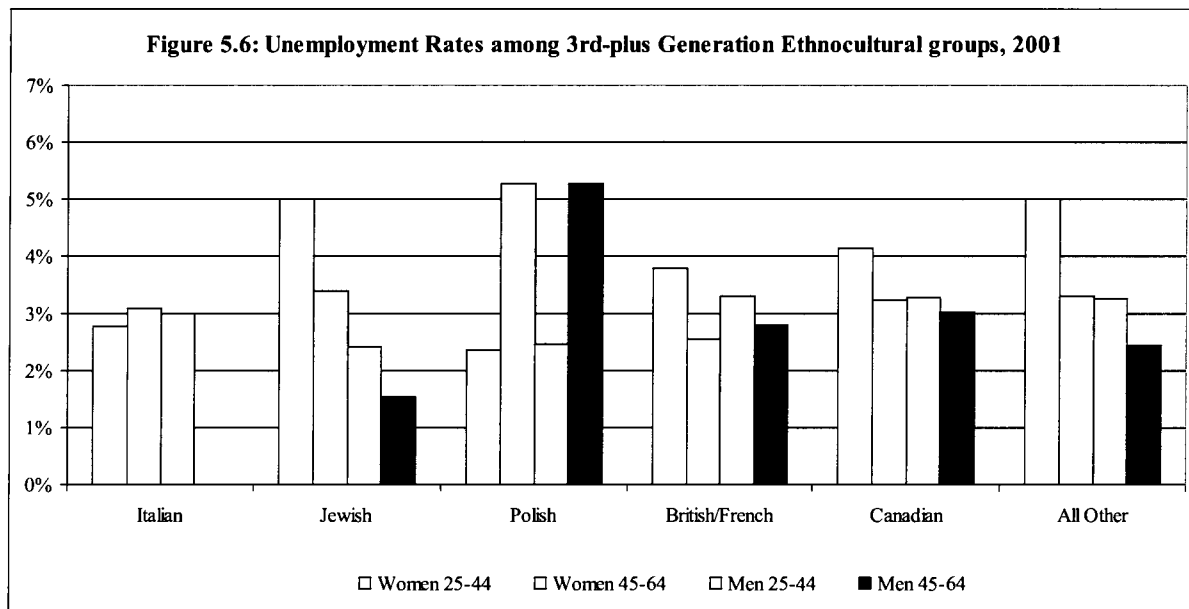
Source: Statistics Canada, 2001 Census of Canada Master file

Unemployment rates among second-generation Italians are uniformly low, but it is noteworthy that that in most second generation groups, young women have the highest rates of unemployment. Young Jamaican and South Asian second generation women stand out as the only Canadian-born cohorts with higher levels of unemployment than the metropolitan average (6.5 percent), and the high unemployment rates of these second generation women mirror the patterns present among the Jamaican and South Asian foreign-born generation.



Source: Statistics Canada, 2001 Census of Canada Master file

The Italian third-plus generation also has relatively low unemployment rates when compared to other ethnocultural groups. Among third-plus generation Italian women and men in both age cohorts, the unemployment rate is not higher than 3.1 percent, and all of the men aged 45-64 were employed at the time of the census. These unemployment rates among Italians are roughly comparable to those of each of the third-plus generation ethnocultural groups examined, and no third-plus generation group has a rate of unemployment that exceeds the metropolitan average.



Source: Statistics Canada, 2001 Census of Canada Master file

Occupational and Industrial Distributions

The preceding sections have established that Italians have a high degree of labour force participation and low rates of unemployment. This section furthers the analysis of labour market status by examining the types of industries that employ Italians, as well as the kinds of jobs that Italians perform in Toronto. Particular emphasis is placed on understanding the changing industrial and occupational distribution of each Italian

generation. In addition, other ethnocultural groups are profiled to allow comparison of the relative industrial and occupational positions of Italians.

Research on the Italian immigrant generation has documented that Italian men have been highly concentrated in construction and manufacturing industries in manual labour occupations, while Italian women have been highly concentrated in manufacturing industries and low-skill and wage service occupations (Iacovetta, 1992; Preston and Cox, 1999; Harney, 1999). The 2001 census confirms these patterns of occupational concentration among the older members of the immigrant generation. Table 5.5 shows the polarization of employment among first-generation Italians, with men highly concentrated in the construction and manufacturing industries, and women in retail trades and manufacturing industries. Nearly one-third of Italian men in either age cohort were employed in the construction industry, but even more (nearly 50 percent of all first generation men) were employed in jobs related to trades, transport, and equipment operation (Table 5.6). A large number of men (between 17.5 and 22 percent) are also employed in the manufacturing industry. This industry also employed nearly 30 percent of Italian first generation women aged 45-64, but many others worked in retail trade or the food services industry. Among the younger cohort of first-generation women, the manufacturing industry was a much less significant source of employment, and these women were more likely to work in retail trade or public administration. This shift in industrial concentrations among Italian first generation women may reflect the shrinking manufacturing sector and a broad shift towards a more service-oriented economy in Toronto.

Table 5.5: Distribution of Italians across Industrial Sectors by generation, sex, and age, 2001

	Italian 1st Generation			
	Female		Male	
	25-44	45-64	25-44	45-64
Primary Industry and Utilities	0.0%	0.5%	2.5%	0.0%
Construction	3.7%	5.6%	32.5%	31.5%
Manufacturing	13.0%	30.5%	17.5%	22.0%
Wholesale Trade	5.6%	2.7%	3.8%	4.3%
Retail Trade	20.4%	15.5%	7.5%	8.0%
Transportation and Warehousing	3.7%	1.3%	6.3%	5.6%
Information and Cultural Industries	3.7%	0.5%	2.5%	0.4%
Finance and Insurance	3.7%	3.2%	2.5%	0.7%
Real Estate and Rental and Leasing	0.0%	1.9%	0.0%	2.9%
Professional, Scientific, and Technical Services	5.6%	2.1%	6.3%	1.6%
Management of Companies	0.0%	0.5%	0.0%	0.3%
Administrative and Support, Waste management and Remediation Services	3.7%	3.7%	2.5%	3.5%
Educational Services	7.4%	6.1%	2.5%	3.9%
Health care and Social Assistance	11.1%	6.4%	0.0%	0.9%
Arts, Entertainment and Recreation	0.0%	0.5%	2.5%	0.7%
Accommodation and Food Services	9.3%	8.8%	3.8%	3.3%
Other services (except public administration)	3.7%	8.8%	5.0%	9.0%
Public Administration	5.6%	1.1%	2.5%	1.3%

	Italian 2nd Generation (1 FB Parent)			
	Female		Male	
	25-44	45-64	25-44	45-64
Primary Industry and Utilities	0.0%	0.0%	1.6%	0.0%
Construction	3.6%	6.3%	13.4%	7.9%
Manufacturing	8.9%	6.3%	15.0%	15.8%
Wholesale Trade	6.3%	6.3%	7.9%	13.2%
Retail Trade	8.0%	12.5%	7.1%	7.9%
Transportation and Warehousing	2.7%	0.0%	4.7%	5.3%
Information and Cultural Industries	5.4%	0.0%	4.7%	5.3%
Finance and Insurance	8.0%	6.3%	9.4%	7.9%
Real Estate and Rental and Leasing	2.7%	0.0%	1.6%	0.0%
Professional, Scientific, and Technical Services	11.6%	15.6%	11.0%	10.5%
Management of Companies	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Administrative and Support, Waste management and Remediation Services	4.5%	0.0%	3.9%	0.0%
Educational Services	13.4%	21.9%	3.9%	10.5%
Health care and Social Assistance	12.5%	12.5%	1.6%	5.3%
Arts, Entertainment and Recreation	1.8%	0.0%	2.4%	5.3%
Accommodation and Food Services	2.7%	0.0%	3.9%	0.0%
Other services (except public administration)	4.5%	6.3%	4.7%	0.0%
Public Administration	3.6%	6.3%	3.1%	5.3%

	Italian 1.5 Generation			
	Female		Male	
	25-44	45-64	25-44	45-64
Primary Industry and Utilities	0.9%	0.5%	1.2%	2.2%
Construction	2.3%	4.9%	18.0%	17.5%
Manufacturing	8.6%	13.7%	17.6%	16.3%
Wholesale Trade	5.0%	5.5%	6.5%	6.9%
Retail Trade	14.9%	13.1%	9.4%	10.0%
Transportation and Warehousing	4.1%	1.9%	9.4%	7.2%
Information and Cultural Industries	3.2%	1.9%	2.9%	1.9%
Finance and Insurance	14.9%	9.8%	4.5%	2.9%
Real Estate and Rental and Leasing	2.7%	2.7%	3.3%	3.3%
Professional, Scientific, and Technical Services	8.1%	3.8%	6.9%	5.7%
Management of Companies	0.0%	0.5%	0.0%	0.0%
Administrative and Support, Waste management and Remediation Services	3.6%	3.6%	3.7%	2.6%
Educational Services	9.0%	14.8%	2.9%	6.9%
Health care and Social Assistance	9.5%	9.0%	1.2%	1.4%
Arts, Entertainment and Recreation	0.9%	0.5%	0.8%	0.7%
Accommodation and Food Services	3.2%	4.1%	2.9%	2.4%
Other services (except public administration)	3.6%	5.5%	6.5%	7.2%
Public Administration	5.4%	4.1%	2.4%	4.8%

	Italian 2nd Generation (2 FB Parents)			
	Female		Male	
	25-44	45-64	25-44	45-64
Primary Industry and Utilities	0.7%	2.1%	1.0%	1.9%
Construction	3.0%	3.2%	18.0%	14.3%
Manufacturing	8.7%	8.4%	15.1%	15.2%
Wholesale Trade	5.8%	6.3%	7.5%	7.6%
Retail Trade	9.6%	9.5%	10.3%	8.6%
Transportation and Warehousing	3.2%	2.1%	6.1%	5.7%
Information and Cultural Industries	4.2%	2.1%	3.7%	3.8%
Finance and Insurance	12.7%	7.4%	6.4%	3.8%
Real Estate and Rental and Leasing	2.1%	2.1%	2.0%	2.9%
Professional, Scientific, and Technical Services	10.4%	9.5%	9.2%	11.4%
Management of Companies	0.2%	0.0%	0.2%	0.0%
Administrative and Support, Waste management and Remediation Services	3.8%	3.2%	3.5%	3.8%
Educational Services	13.1%	23.2%	3.5%	7.6%
Health care and Social Assistance	10.2%	10.5%	1.5%	2.9%
Arts, Entertainment and Recreation	1.0%	0.0%	1.3%	1.9%
Accommodation and Food Services	2.4%	2.1%	2.9%	1.9%
Other services (except public administration)	3.9%	3.2%	4.6%	1.9%
Public Administration	5.0%	5.3%	3.2%	4.8%

Source: Statistics Canada, 2001 Census of Canada Master file

Table 5.6: Distribution of Italians across Occupational Categories by generation, sex, and age, 2001

	Italian 1st Generation			
	Female		Male	
	25-44	45-64	25-44	45-64
Management	9.3%	7.3%	13.9%	12.5%
Business/Finance/Administrative	23.9%	15.9%	5.1%	4.2%
Natural and Applied Sciences	0.0%	0.5%	5.1%	2.4%
Health	3.7%	1.9%	0.0%	0.3%
Social Science, Education, Government Services and Religion	9.3%	4.0%	3.8%	1.3%
Art, Culture, Recreation and Sport	0.0%	1.1%	2.5%	0.7%
Sales and Service	40.7%	36.9%	11.4%	20.1%
Trades, Transport, and Equipment Operators	3.7%	6.2%	46.8%	47.0%
Primary Industry	0.0%	0.5%	2.5%	1.1%
Processing, Manufacturing, and Utilities	7.4%	23.6%	8.9%	10.5%

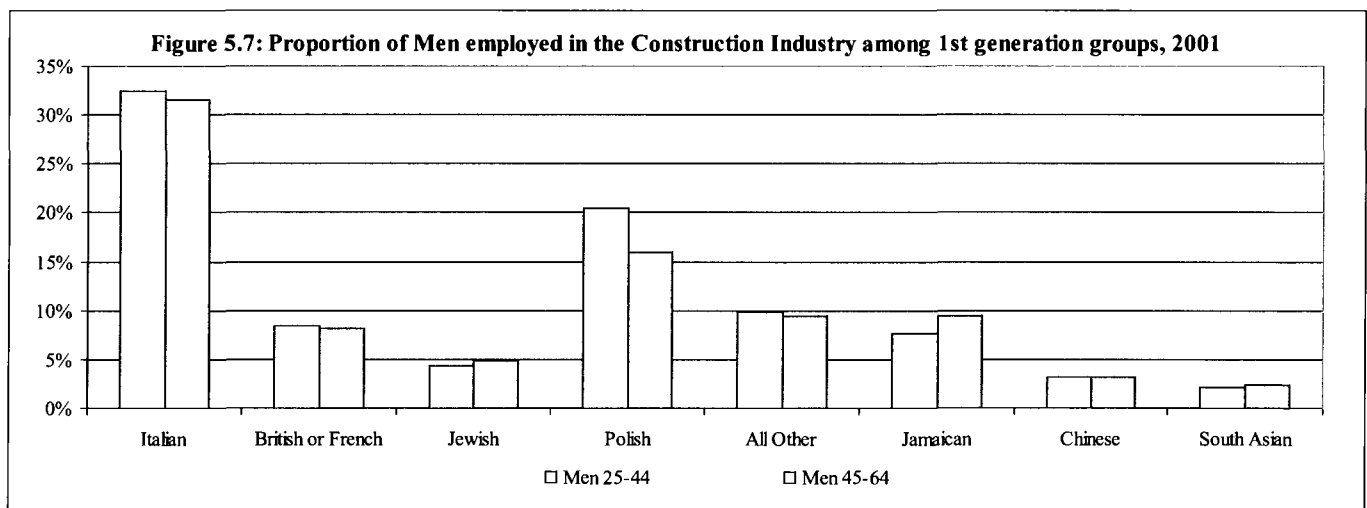
	Italian 2nd Generation (1 FB Parent)			
	Female		Male	
	25-44	45-64	25-44	45-64
Management	15.2%	9.1%	19.2%	27.5%
Business/Finance/Administrative	33.9%	42.4%	13.6%	15.0%
Natural and Applied Sciences	4.5%	0.0%	12.0%	5.0%
Health	6.3%	9.1%	1.6%	5.0%
Social Science, Education, Government Services and Religion	17.9%	15.2%	5.6%	15.0%
Art, Culture, Recreation and Sport	4.5%	6.1%	5.6%	5.0%
Sales and Service	16.1%	18.2%	16.0%	12.5%
Trades, Transport, and Equipment Operators	0.0%	0.0%	23.2%	10.0%
Primary Industry	0.0%	0.0%	1.6%	0.0%
Processing, Manufacturing, and Utilities	1.8%	0.0%	1.6%	5.0%

	Italian 1.5 Generation			
	Female		Male	
	25-44	45-64	25-44	45-64
Management	12.6%	10.2%	17.6%	25.0%
Business/Finance/Administrative	46.2%	39.9%	11.8%	7.9%
Natural and Applied Sciences	1.8%	0.8%	8.6%	5.7%
Health	2.7%	3.0%	0.8%	1.0%
Social Science, Education, Government Services and Religion	9.9%	11.1%	2.9%	5.7%
Art, Culture, Recreation and Sport	3.1%	0.6%	1.6%	1.7%
Sales and Service	18.8%	23.8%	17.1%	17.9%
Trades, Transport, and Equipment Operators	2.2%	2.2%	33.5%	28.6%
Primary Industry	0.0%	0.0%	0.8%	1.0%
Processing, Manufacturing, and Utilities	2.7%	8.3%	5.3%	5.7%

	Italian 2nd Generation (2 FB Parents)			
	Female		Male	
	25-44	45-64	25-44	45-64
Management	12.1%	13.1%	20.5%	28.0%
Business/Finance/Administrative	45.0%	42.4%	13.7%	14.0%
Natural and Applied Sciences	3.1%	2.0%	11.2%	7.5%
Health	4.0%	2.0%	1.0%	1.9%
Social Science, Education, Government Services and Religion	16.4%	21.2%	4.4%	8.4%
Art, Culture, Recreation and Sport	2.8%	2.0%	2.8%	4.7%
Sales and Service	14.4%	13.1%	15.3%	15.9%
Trades, Transport, and Equipment Operators	0.9%	2.0%	25.3%	16.8%
Primary Industry	0.1%	0.0%	1.3%	0.0%
Processing, Manufacturing, and Utilities	1.1%	2.0%	4.5%	2.8%

Source: Statistics Canada, 2001 Census of Canada Master file

Comparing the Italian first generation to other immigrant ethnocultural groups reveals the magnitude of Italians' concentration in particular industries. Figure 5.7 compares the proportion of first-generation men employed in the construction industry across ethnocultural groups, and it reveals the intensity of Italian concentration in this industry. The proportion of first generation Italian men employed in construction is nearly quadruple that of British/French men. Moreover, immigrant Italians are between 12 to 15 percent more likely to be working in construction than are Poles, the group with the second highest proportions of individuals working in construction. Similarly, immigrant Italian men are also much more likely than men in other groups to work in manual occupations related to trades, transport, or equipment operation³¹.

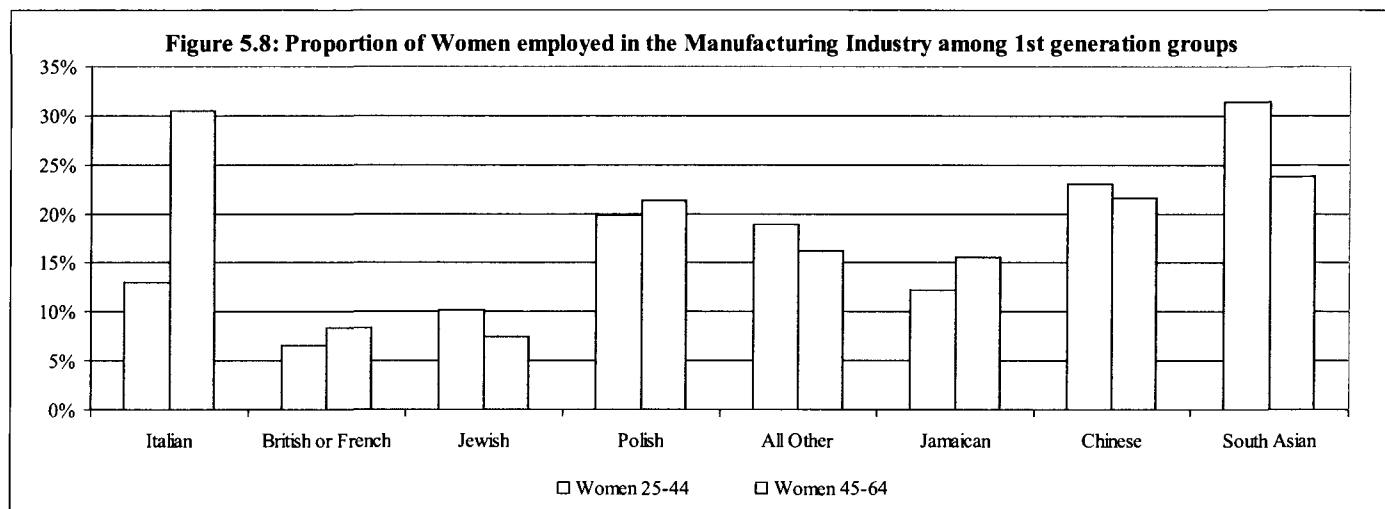


Source: Statistics Canada, 2001 Census of Canada Master file

Older Italian first generation women do not dominate particular industrial sectors to the same extent as do men, but they are strongly represented in some industries. Nearly one-third of older Italian women were employed in manufacturing (Figure 5.8). Younger Italian immigrant women hold jobs that are more evenly distributed across industrial

³¹ Although it is important to note that about one quarter to one third of 1st generation Polish and Jamaican men also work in these occupations (depending on age)

sectors, but examination of the particular occupations that employ these women reveals that approximately one-quarter work in business, finance and administration (in mostly clerical positions), and over 40 percent work in sales or service jobs (refer to Table 5.6).



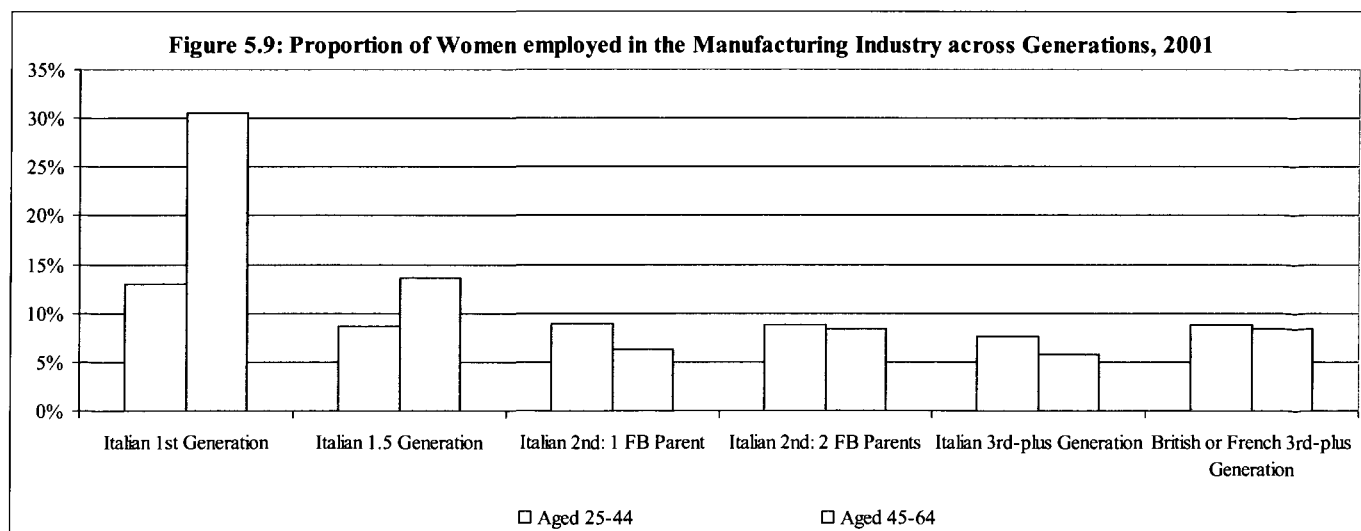
Source: Statistics Canada, 2001 Census of Canada Master file

The distribution of the Italian 1.5 generation across industrial sectors is significantly different than the first generation. Although the 1.5 generation shares some similar patterns of industrial concentration – men in construction and manufacturing, women in retail sales – these concentrations are not nearly as intense as those present among Italians who arrived in Canada as adults. In regard to the specific occupations that Italians perform (see Table 5.6), Italian 1.5 generation men are much more evenly distributed across different kinds of occupations in comparison to the first generation, and are much more likely to be employed in ‘white collar’ jobs such as manager or business administrator.

Women born in Italy but raised in Canada are also quite different in occupational structure relative to the first generation. Significantly fewer work in the manufacturing industry, and 1.5 generation women are employed in fundamentally different kinds of

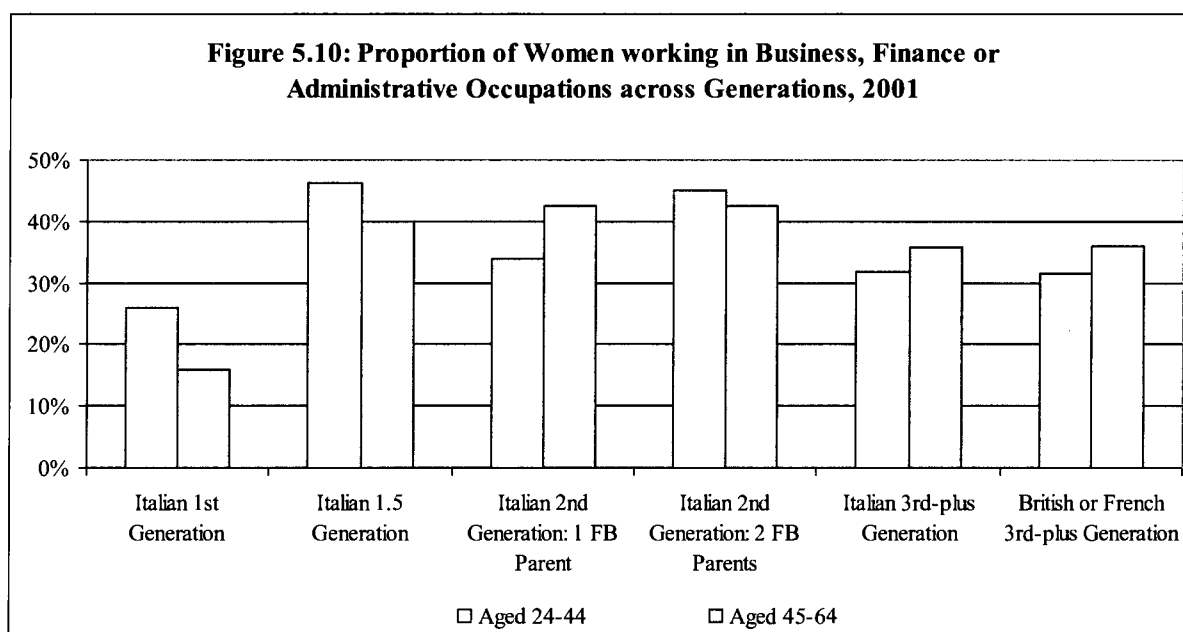
occupations than women who arrived in Canada as adults. Many of the 1.5 generation women are employed in business, finance, or administrative occupations (40 to 46 percent, see Table 5.6), although many work in administrative or clerical positions. These numbers indicate interesting patterns present across generations of Italian women: first-generation women were strongly concentrated in occupations related to manufacturing, and their Canadian-raised daughters have concentrated with equal (or greater) intensity in business, finance or administrative occupations. This intergenerational shift from manual occupations to ‘business’ jobs corresponds with previous research that has documented the change in the kinds of work that different generations of Italian women perform (Iacovetta, 1992; Posca, 2006). However, the extent to which this shift could be considered evidence of intergenerational upward mobility is debatable given that many of these ‘business’ jobs are clerical and support positions that offer relatively low salaries.

The movement out of manual occupations continues among Canadian-born Italians. Among women, the proportion working in the manufacturing industry drops to less than 10 percent, comparable to the British/French charter group (Figure 5.9).



Source: Statistics Canada, 2001 Census of Canada Master file

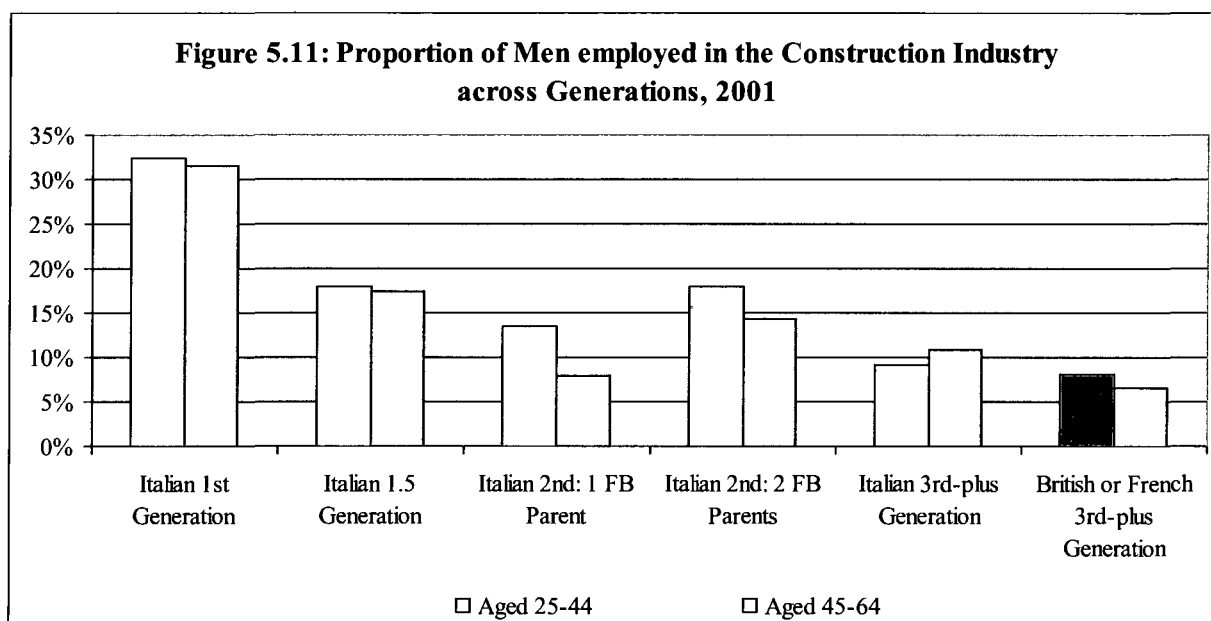
Canadian-born Italian women are much more evenly distributed across industry sectors than foreign-born women, with many more working in ‘professional’ industries like education, finance and insurance, or professional, scientific and technical services (Table 5.5). However, these Canadian-born women are remarkably concentrated in clerical positions (over 40 percent) in business, finance or administration (Figure 5.10). Furthermore, second-generation Italian women are more strongly concentrated in these business-related occupations than women in any other second generation ethnocultural group.



Source: Statistics Canada, 2001 Census of Canada Master file

Italian second and third-plus generation men have also begun to move out of the Italian male ‘niche’ industries (namely construction) and into industries and occupations that did not provide a significant source employment for foreign-born men (Figure 5.11). Canadian-born Italian men are only slightly more likely to work in the construction industry than men in the British/French charter group, although Italian men with two foreign-born parents were slightly more likely to work in this industry that employed so

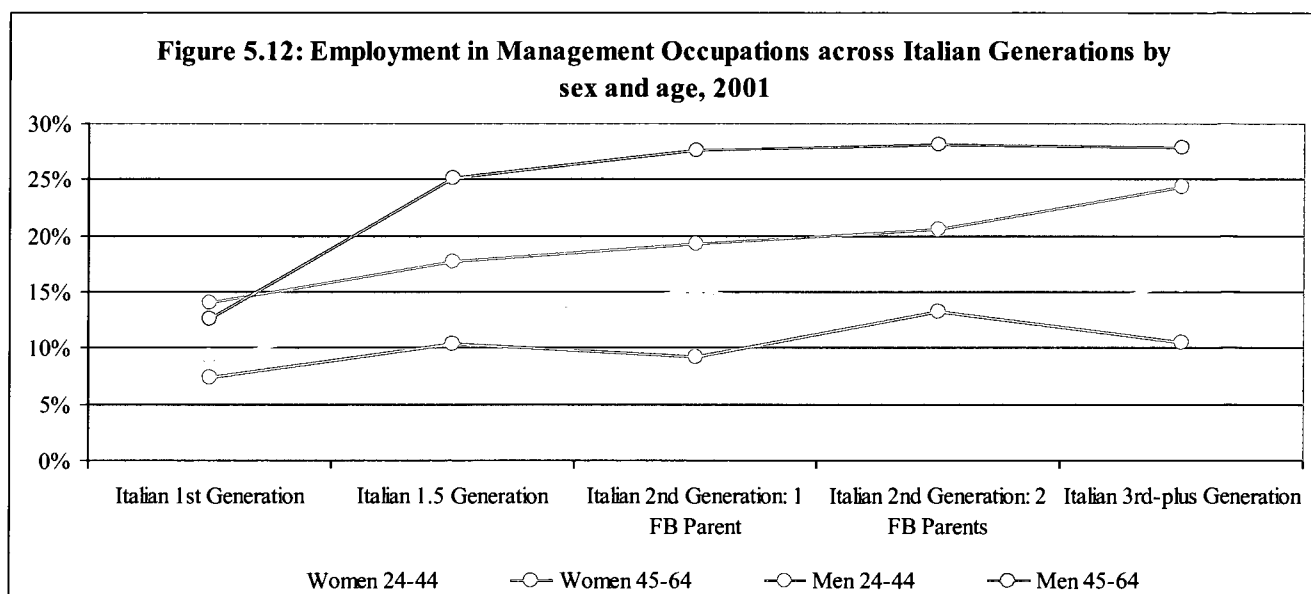
many of their fathers. Furthermore, young men are more likely to work in construction than older Italian men, indicating the possibility that many young second generation Italians may work in construction when they are young, but then move on to another career as they age. Third-plus generation men are even less likely to work in construction than second generation men, and are about as likely to work in the construction industry as the British/French charter population.



Source: Statistics Canada, 2001 Census of Canada Master file

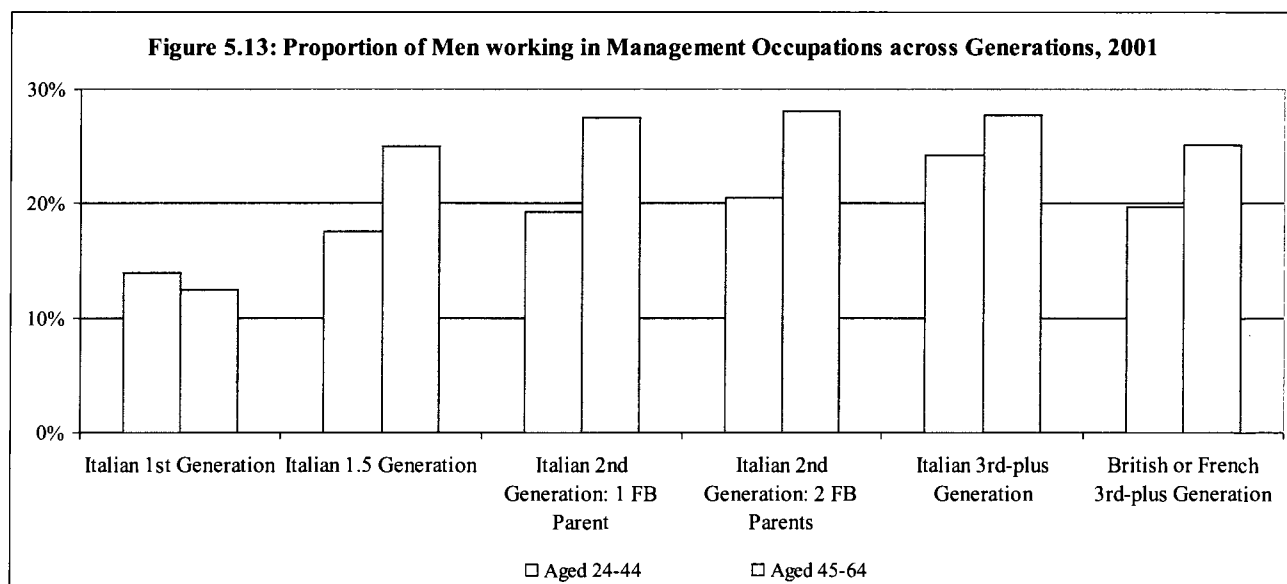
Similar to their female counterparts, Canadian-born men are much more evenly spread across industrial sectors when compared to the immigrant generation. Second and third-plus generation Italian men are much more likely to work at ‘white collar’ jobs in industries like finance and insurance, or in professional, scientific and technical services (Table 5.5). However, an examination of the specific occupations that men perform reveals that Canadian-born Italian men and women work in very different kinds of jobs.

An important number of men work in relatively high-status occupations such as management (Figure 5.12).



Source: Statistics Canada, 2001 Census of Canada Master file

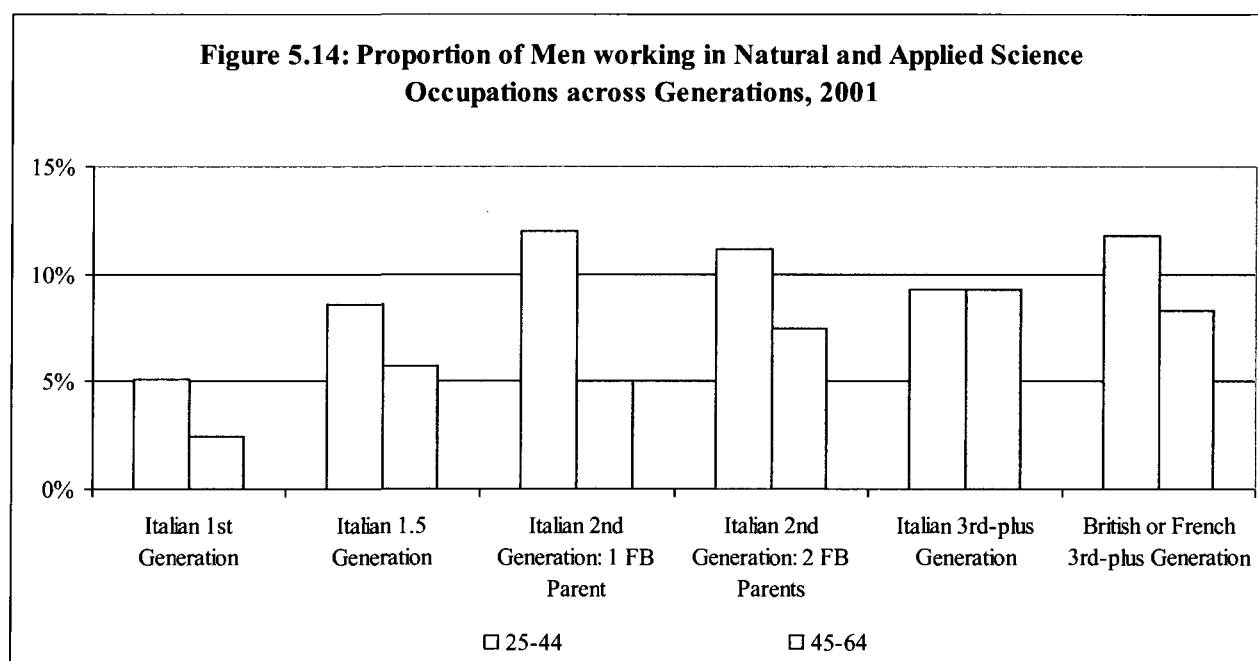
In comparison to first-generation men, Canadian-born Italian men are twice as likely to be managers, and the representation of each Canadian-born Italian generation in management either matches or surpasses that of the British/French population.



Source: Statistics Canada, 2001 Census of Canada Master file

In addition to management, which is a strong example of occupational shifts across generations, Italian men born in Canada have also been able to find employment in

several other occupations not typically enjoyed by the immigrant generation. For example, less than 2.5 percent of older immigrant Italians are employed in natural and applied science occupations, probably because these types of jobs generally require higher levels of education. In contrast, the percentage of respondents that are working in a natural or applied science occupation among younger second generation Italians is more than four times higher (Figure 5.14). To a significant degree, this trend is indicative of an enormous increase in education attainment among Canadian-born Italian men.



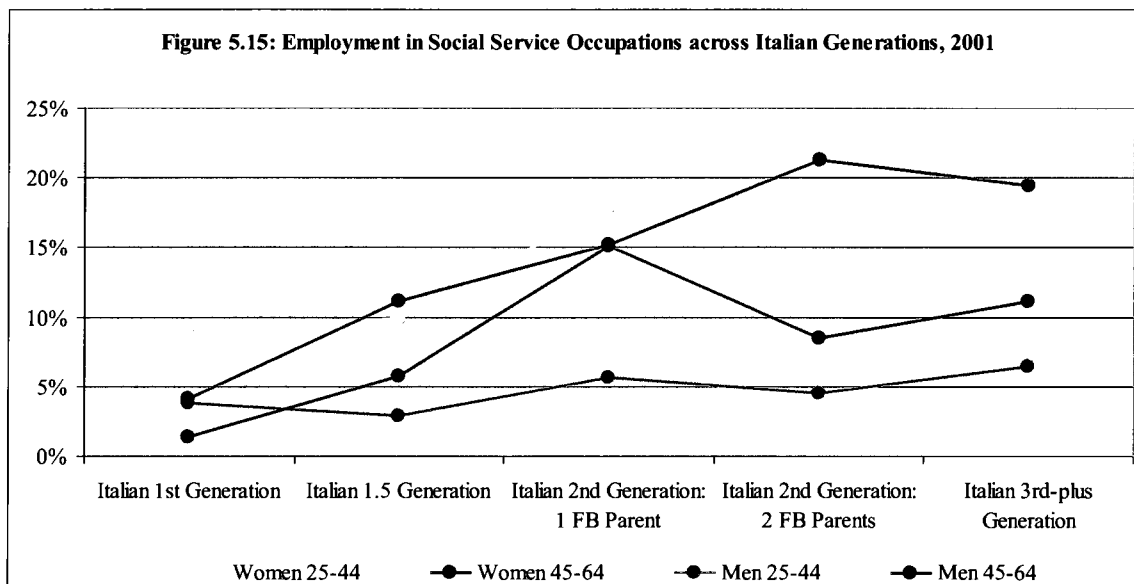
Source: Statistics Canada, 2001 Census of Canada Master file

Differences based on parentage are minimal, as the youngest cohort of second-generation Italian men procuring work in natural and applied science occupations is comparable to the British/ French third-plus generation.³²

This movement into natural and applied science occupations only occurred among second-generation men, as less than 5 percent of Canadian-born women work in these

³² Natural and applied science occupations employ significantly more young Chinese (about 30 percent) and South Asian (about 19 percent) 2nd generation men, likely the result of the large number of university graduates within these groups (55-60 percent have university degrees).

occupations. In contrast, Italian second-generation women are much more strongly concentrated in ‘social service’ occupations related to social science, education, government services, or religion (Figure 5.15).



Source: Statistics Canada, 2001 Census of Canada Master file

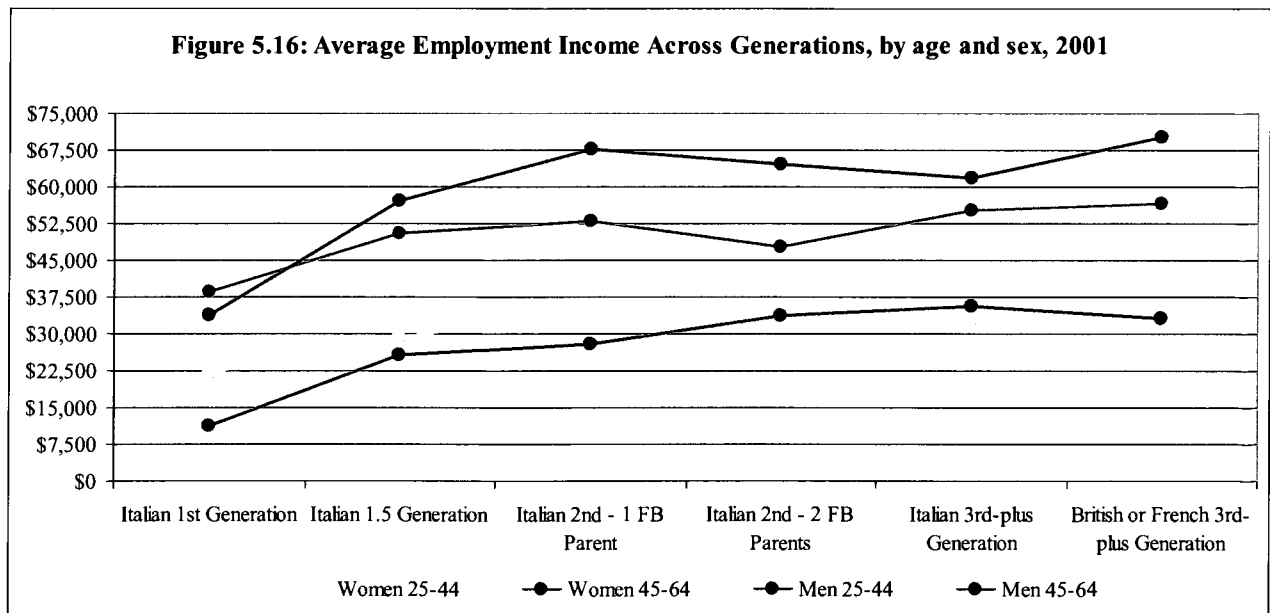
Examining the types of industries and occupations that employ each generation of Italians provides evidence of a significant transformation in occupational and industrial distributions. There has been a strong movement out of manual labour (and typically low-skill) work, corresponding with the broader shift to a post-industrial economy in Toronto. This change in the kinds of jobs that employ each generation of Italians provides some evidence of ‘upward mobility’, but this story becomes more complicated when considering women. Canadian-born Italian women are not working in the manufacturing occupations that so commonly employed their mothers, but their concentration in low-status clerical occupations is not compelling evidence of ‘upward mobility’. In contrast, there is evidence of considerable improvement in labour market status across generations of men. Most of the Canadian-born men do not work in manual labour occupations,

having instead found employment in ‘professional’ jobs like management or natural and applied sciences.

Employment Income

Annual income has a strong influence on many of the decisions that an individual makes regarding their employment, education, housing, and family. Measuring the employment income of Italians across generations is perhaps the most direct indicator of economic integration and changing status. This section analyzes the employment income of the Italian population in order to evaluate whether or not the income levels change between generations.

Canadian-born Italians overall enjoy higher average annual earnings than the foreign-born generations of Italians. Figure 5.16 (below) displays the average levels of annual employment income across Italian generations, and it shows that all Canadian-born Italian cohorts have higher earnings than first generation women and men in the two age cohorts.



Source: Statistics Canada, 2001 Census of Canada Master file

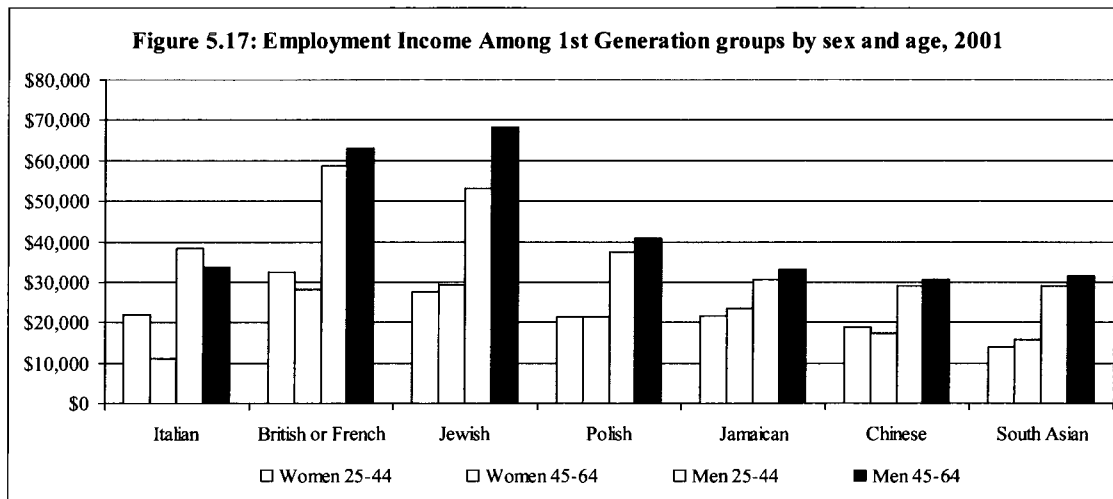
The lower employment earnings of first generation Italians is likely due to disadvantages they face in the labour market (their low levels of English-language proficiency and educational attainment), and first generation Italians have annual employment earnings that are between \$13,000 and \$36,000 less than the British/French third-plus generation population (depending on age and sex). Canadian-born Italians do not seem to face the same challenges as their parents, and the children of Italian immigrants generally have levels of employment income that closely resemble the British and French group. The second generation has earnings that are significantly higher than the first generation, but there is no significant rise in employment earnings between the second and third-plus generations.

Across each generation, Italian men consistently earn much more than Italian women. As an indicator of mobility, this evidence suggests that Canadian-born Italian men, in particular, appear to enjoy a significant rise in economic status when compared to their parents. By comparison, the rise in the economic status of Canadian-born Italian women is extremely modest. While the employment incomes of Canadian-born Italian women are higher than those of the immigrant generation, there is remarkable stability in levels of income across age cohorts. Older Italian men earn much more than younger men, but the differences between the incomes of older women and younger women are very small. In this regard, there is a lot of similarity between Italians and other ethnocultural groups. The strong improvement in the incomes of older men broadly corresponds with suggestions that Italian men benefit tremendously in the labour market by gender roles that develop within families. These roles often mean that Italian women sacrifice their professional development to care for the home and family (Iacovetta, 1992;

Posca, 2006), while men are expected to become ‘breadwinners’ and focus on improving their own incomes as a way to improve the economic status of their family.

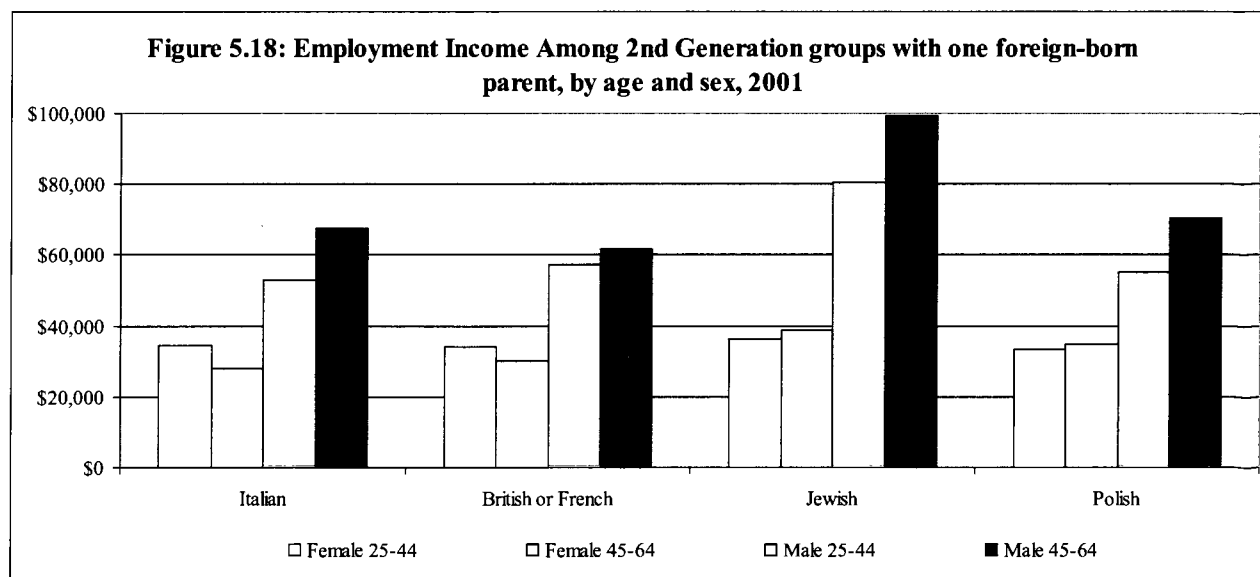
While the annual employment incomes of Canadian-born Italian cohorts have generally inched ever closer to achieving parity with the British/French third-plus generation charter group, some important distinctions should be drawn in regard to the influence of parentage on levels of employment income. Having one or two foreign-born parents appears to have an influence on employment income, especially for men. Among second-generation Italian men, those who have only one foreign-born parent have higher levels of income than those with two immigrant parents, although the effects of parentage on the employment incomes of women are less stark.

Comparing employment income among Italians to that of other groups reveals that, with some notable exceptions, there are relatively few differences between groups once age, sex, and generation status are controlled. Figure 5.17 compares the levels of employment income of the Italian first generation to some other immigrant groups. Although the income levels among older Italian women are very low, Italian immigrants generally have earnings that are comparable to most other ethnocultural groups. Men in the Jewish or the British/French groups are unique in that they earn exceptionally high levels of income in comparison to other immigrant groups.



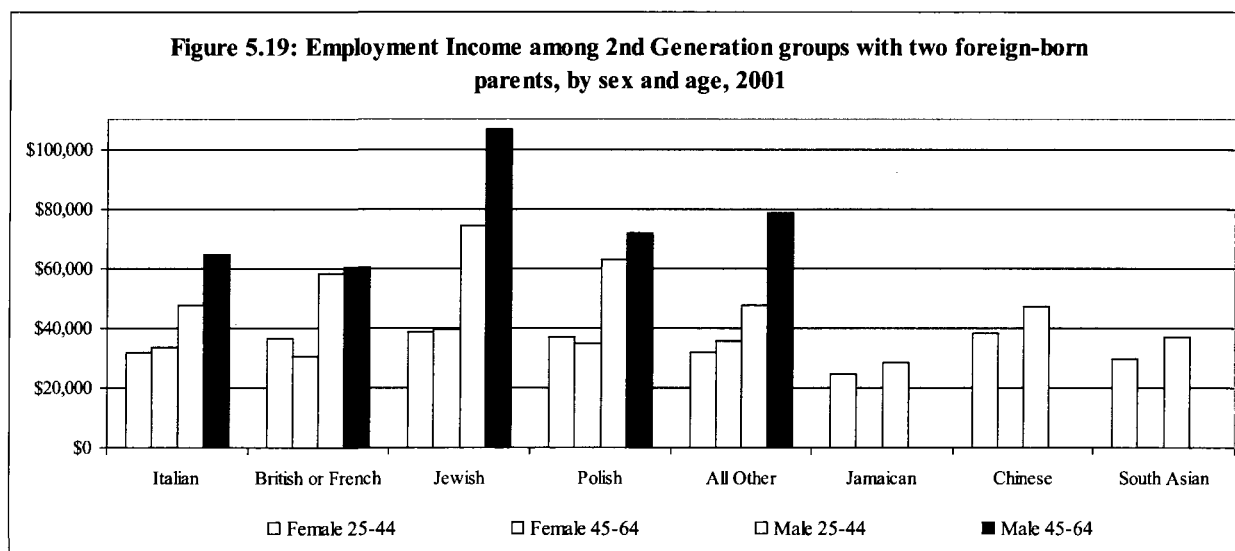
Source: Statistics Canada, 2001 Census of Canada Master file

The similarity in employment incomes between groups is also evident for the second generation. Figure 5.18 compares second-generation groups with one foreign-born parent, and it reveals that employment incomes that are remarkably consistent across groups, including the British and French. Only Jewish men stand out as having exceptionally higher levels of employment income compared with other groups, although the income levels of Jewish women are in line with those of women in other groups.



Source: Statistics Canada, 2001 Census of Canada Master file

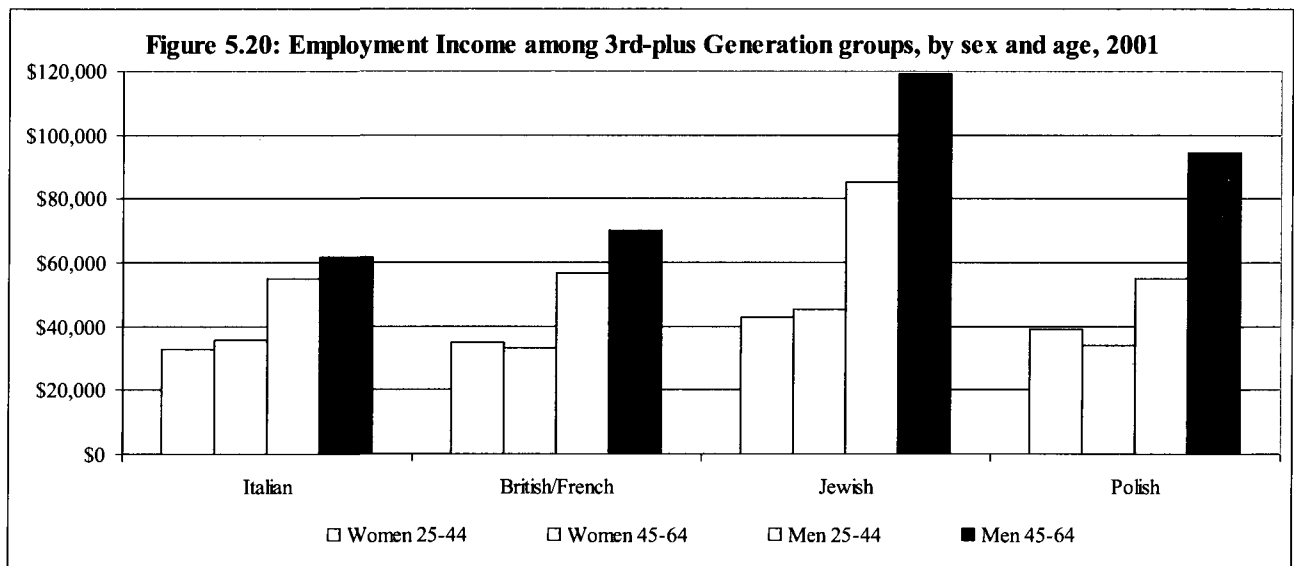
Some of the same broad trends are observed when comparing second-generation groups with two foreign-born parents (Figure 5.19). Italians have levels of employment income that are very similar to those of the British or French population, and Jewish men stand out as having extremely high annual employment incomes (over \$106,000 among the older cohort). Although a small number of respondents hamper drawing firmer conclusions for groups of Canadian-born individuals with Jamaican, Chinese and South Asian origins. Figure 5.19 indicates the young second-generation cohort earn significantly less than groups of European-origin, including Italians. Low levels of employment income are especially marked for members of the Jamaican second generation, with about 41 percent of men and 47 percent of women earning less than \$25,000 per year, and with average employment earnings of less than \$30,000 for both women and men.



Source: Statistics Canada, 2001 Census of Canada Master file

Earnings among the Italian third-plus generation are also significantly higher than the foreign-born generations, but are broadly similar to members of the second generation. There is no evidence of any dramatic rise or fall in labour market status of the third-plus

generation, at least in terms of earnings. Comparing the Italian third-plus generation to other ethnocultural cohorts reveals that the average earnings of Italians are similar to the British/French third-plus generation charter group (see Figure 5.20). Again, there is almost no variation in the earnings of women between age cohorts, although age does appear to influence earnings among men. The earnings of third-plus generation Italian men change very little with age (older men make only about \$6,800 more than younger men), but this gap is much wider among other groups (for instance, older Jewish and Polish men make between \$34,000-\$40,000 more than younger men). In contrast to the strong earnings enjoyed by older third-plus generation Jewish and Polish men, the relatively low earnings of third-plus generation Italian suggest that the mobility of Italian men may have ‘stalled’ for members of the third-plus generation.



Source: Statistics Canada, 2001 Census of Canada Master file

Summary

The analysis of the labour market performance of several generations of Italians has yielded several key findings. Each generation has generally enjoyed high labour force

participation rates and low levels of unemployment, and labour market attachment does not seem to be a significant problem for Italians. However, within each generation there are enormous gaps in the kinds of jobs that employ women and men. Men and women in the second generation do not work in the manual labour jobs that employed most of the immigrant generation, but each occupies a distinct occupational position. Second-generation men have successfully moved into 'professional' jobs, while women are more likely to work in clerical or administrative occupations and earn significantly less. The huge divergence in the labour market outcomes of Italian men and women across generations is evidence that interpreting the 'success' of an entire group can be misleading if the effects of gender are not considered. These results underscore the importance of analyzing the gender roles within families, and the ways that the family is involved in shaping ideas of what a 'successful' man or woman should do.

The next chapter begins to explore how gender roles are implicated in the upward intergenerational mobility of Italian men, but there are several other important findings of this analysis that should be developed in future. For example, there is very little improvement in earnings across age cohorts, especially among men in the third-plus generation. Is the absence of a rise in earnings with age evidence of 'stalled' intergenerational mobility among older Italians born in Canada? Is it possible that 'stalled mobility' may actually be 'economic integration', considering the similar occupational position and earnings of third-plus generation Italians with the British/French charter population? The following chapter only attempts to explain the mobility that occurs between first and second generation men, but the questions surrounding the status of the third generation warrants additional investigation.

Another interesting finding of this analysis is that there are some differences in the labour market outcomes of second-generation Italian men depending on whether one or both of their parents are foreign-born. While the differences are slight, Italian men with two foreign-born parents are more likely to be employed in manual labour occupations and have lower earnings than men with one foreign-born parent. These discreet differences also suggest that the structure and composition of families may have an important influence in the decisions that Italians have made regarding their education and/or occupations. Examining how exactly parentage influences employment status of the second generation, however, lies beyond the scope of this study.

Chapter 6: Explanations for the Employment Status of Italian men

The preceding chapter describes the widespread movement of second-generation Italian men and women out of the manual labour occupations that employed so many of their immigrant parents. Italian second-generation men have particularly strong mobility trajectories, earning significantly higher incomes than foreign-born individuals in the same age category. A large proportion of second-generation Italian men have also been able to find employment in professional and managerial occupations. This chapter begins to provide some understanding of why and how this work transformation has occurred across generations of Italian men. First, the chapter puts forward evidence that the most consistent message Italian immigrants directly and indirectly pass on to their male children is the importance of ‘a good education’. Italian parents in turn strongly support the educational pursuits of their sons. Secondly, it is argued that a large number of non-Italian friends in the social networks of second-generation men serve to broaden the information horizon about education and employment opportunities, thereby enhancing upward mobility. Social network composition characteristics are in many ways related to broader change in where Italian children grew up and with whom they attended school. Lastly, the chapter examines the ways in which gender roles constructed for men within families and the community influence on the kinds of work men undertake and their long-term mobility strategies. Much of the existing research about Italians has focused on women’s decisions with regard to balancing family care, a household need for income, and careers (see Iacovetta, 1992; Posca 2006). The findings presented in this chapter seek to extend the discussion by considering the kinds of strategies and obligations that have influenced men’s trajectories in Toronto’s labour force.

Lessons Learned from Labourers: The Importance of 'Going to School'

In explaining the occupational mobility of men, it is impossible to ignore the immigrant generation's emphasis on education, especially post-secondary education. A strong theme across generations of men interviewed is that 'school' is the way to become 'the boss' instead of 'the worker'. In addition, the challenging physical conditions of work for the immigrant generation helped convince sons to pursue an education.

Upon arrival in Canada, many first-generation Italians worked at jobs in construction and manufacturing, where they literally 'built' the city of Toronto. These jobs were very physically demanding, and N. Harney (1998: 161) provides a compelling description of the meaning of 'work' for these Italian immigrants: "Work is physical labour. Work is done to create financial certainty. Work is part of the sacrifice that life entails. Work is practical. Work is a necessary part of the family economy". As N. Harney (1998: 162) recalls, the meaning of work was so strongly associated with manual labour that parents would often say to their children 'show me your hands, and I'll tell you if you have worked'. Indeed, the first-generation men who were interviewed in this research all worked in manual labour occupations for some part of their lives, and their bodies paid a heavy price for the work they performed. Domenic describes his first job in Canada, which he held for eleven years:

"It was draining concrete. It's a very heavy job. That's why I quit, because if I was there another 2 years, I was finished. Sure, I felt it in my body. Especially...I break my back, and (they say) its rheumatism...it was from construction, everyday to lift up the pipe. A big pipe, concrete pipe."

Frank describes similar physical challenges involved in construction work:

"I was working in construction running the compressor for seven years. [Was it a hard job?] Oh yes! If you don't know how to use it, you kill yourself."

The work performed by these first-generation men was not just physically challenging, but it was also economically precarious. Seasonal layoffs in the construction industry meant that the winter months were often particularly difficult for many Italian families, as many men lacked a steady and reliable source of income. Frank remembers his time working in construction:

“A few months and the job is finished, they lay-off, and you know, and you had to go (on unemployment insurance). If today they finish the building, they lay-off (you) again. In construction, there was no security.”

Each first-generation man interviewed also felt that their lack of education credentials and low levels of English proficiency had negatively influenced their occupational mobility. Again, Frank’s experience of rejection parallels the experiences of several of the other first-generation respondents:

“(In Italy) we never recognized school was very important...I went to make an application for a good job, they wanted me (to get) more school, and I was feeling really bad.”

Unfortunately, each immigrant man interviewed described the impossibility of improving his education and English-language skills while working full-time to support his family. Domenic illustrates the vicious circle of work demands and education requirements when describing how he was unable to find work outside of the construction industry, but was also unable to continue English classes at a local high-school:

“To learn English, I went to night school, but not more than five nights. Not longer than that because I was so tired. I worked all day, and (I went to classes) a few times...but I had to quit.”

The immigrant men interviewed generally described the limited prospects for finding employment outside of manual labour occupations, but they were determined to provide better opportunities for their sons. Children who grew up in Italian immigrant

families witnessed their parents' struggles firsthand, and the message often conveyed to the boys was that to be successful, a person (and especially a man) needs a 'good education'. Domenic's comments demonstrate the power and significance of this message:

"very important...stay in school, study, try to go. Because if you have good marks and you go to school, you 'are somebody'."

Men who grew up in Italian immigrant families recognize the importance that their parents placed on 'going to school', and each discussed their parents' attitudes about education. Telly and Gino (1.5-generation) succinctly describe the messages received by men growing up in Italian immigrant families:

"The Italian parents always wanted their kids to do well in school because they knew where they came from, and without an education you do not go anywhere." (Telly)

"(My parents) stressed going to school. There was no doubt about it. There was none of this goofing off and quitting school. It was you are going to go to high school and they never discouraged us from saying no you cannot go to university. They clearly wanted us to go...They clearly saw education as being important to getting a good job...I would say to get a good job the thing they stressed the most was education." (Gino).

Messages about 'getting an education' were clear, but men raised in Italian immigrant families also understood the underlying reason: making a living in manual labour occupations is extremely difficult. Several of the men interviewed who were raised in Italian immigrant families talked candidly about the hardships that their fathers faced because of their jobs, and echoed their desires to avoid the same fate:

"Well, I knew I did not want to work in a factory. It was long hours and hard work. It was a dirty, noisy, environment, and (my father) lost his hearing. The people that worked there always pushed hard, they always made him work, faster, harder, longer. He worked a lot, and they really just 'used him up', physically and mentally." (Joe, 1.5-generation)

“When he moved to Canada (my father) got stuck in a job as a janitor...I think that affected me in the sense that I definitely did not want to do that. Not that there is anything wrong with it, but it was not good for me...the hardship of him having to work nights, where my mother worked days, that they never saw each other, and some of the demeaning situations that he sometimes brought home with him.” (Pino, 1.5-generation)

A few of the men interviewed even had experiences working with their fathers in their youth, and they discussed how the experience helped mold their decisions about education and employment. For example, Sandro (second-generation) described working with Enrico, his Italian-born father, in his drywall business:

“For me, I did go work with (my father) and try it out, and I would help him, but it just wasn’t my thing. I wanted to take a different path...(It was) hard work.”

After working alongside his father, Sandro decided to pursue his college degree, and this decision was strongly supported by both of his parents. Similarly, Claudio’s father Domenic had high expectations of academic performance for his son, but during the summers Domenic encouraged Claudio (1.5-generation) to work with him in construction. Claudio spoke candidly about how working with his father as a teenager helped influence his own career choices:

“I didn’t want to bust my ass like my father was doing. Bottom line, he worked physically...I mean I would see him when he’d work construction...He was also in physical pain for a long time, through the winter with his back, and you could see it was having a real toll on him... I could see that physically it wasn’t the sort of thing that was sustainable.”

When asked to elaborate on how his parents influenced his own career, Claudio emphasized how his parents pushed him to become a ‘professional’, even though they had only rudimentary understandings of what exactly a ‘professional’ was:

“You listen to the advice of most of the mothers and fathers back then – the immigrant mothers and fathers, it was ‘go be a doctor, go be a lawyer’ or something like that...because they were the only two professions that they

knew, right? Because when they came here, you know, you had to go to the doctor and you knew doctors did well, and you needed a lawyer when you bought your house.”

While he never worked with his father, Gino (1.5-generation) described the ways in which parents emphasized a link between ‘success’ and ‘professionalism’ in the building trades, and how this helped shape his career path towards architecture:

“(My father) got into construction, and the way that it influenced me was, architecture, for him, he saw it as a prominent position in construction where you could tell ‘the workers’ what to do. He did not want me to become a labourer, digging ditches or pouring concrete. He wanted me to ‘do the drawings’... He brought home blueprints and showed me them and we would go over them. I was influenced to become an architect”

Gino’s discussion of his father’s influence on his career exemplifies the feelings of many of the men interviewed in this study: as labourers, Italian parents knew little about ‘professional’ occupations or what was required for entry into these kinds of careers. They believed, however, that these occupations were more prestigious and they knew that these ‘professionals’ had high levels of education.

Each second-generation man interviewed agreed that some financial support for education from parents was always available, although parental resources were often limited. Several men also mentioned other forms of support that their parents provided, such as living rent-free while enrolled in school, and the availability of ‘a free meal’. Claudio (1.5-generation), for instance, emphasized the long hours of work that his parents put in to help him through school. Domenic, his Italian-born father, in turn described how he and his wife made arrangements to help fund their son’s education:

“Well anything he asked for, I gave to him... whatever he needed... I paid for school, but he (also) went to work. If he was short, I put the rest in”

The employment experiences of the Italian immigrant generation have had a strong influence on the employment trajectories of male children. Working for decades in jobs that were dirty, exhausting, and often dangerous strengthened the resolve of the immigrant generation to make sure that their sons became ‘the boss’ instead of ‘just a worker’. To that end, they supported education (in both tangible and intangible ways) as the primary mechanism to achieve this goal. Boys raised in Italian immigrant families have themselves witnessed the struggles of their parents as they tried to make a living in manual labour occupations, and they have often used the memory of their parents’ hardship as motivation.

New Opportunities: Suburbanization and the Changing Composition of Social Networks

Interestingly, regardless of the generation status of the respondent, each man interviewed felt that the social networks that they maintained were extremely influential in shaping their employment histories and trajectories. When asked about the specific ways that they found employment, each seemed to tell a similar story that “often it is not what you know, but who you know”. Additional investigation into the ethnic composition of each respondent’s social network revealed that the immigrant (and 1.5-generation) Italian men maintained fundamentally different networks when compared to those of second-generation men. In important ways, residential location contributed to shaping the ethnic backgrounds of friends. The immigrant men interviewed often lived for decades in one of Toronto’s ‘Italian neighbourhoods’, and correspondingly, they talked about maintaining strong social networks within the Italian community. The gradual spatial diffusion of Italians into Toronto’s ethnically diverse suburbs provided Italian second-

generation men with enhanced opportunities to form friendships beyond their ethnic group. For these men, ethnically-diverse friendship ties often became an important resource for finding employment outside traditional Italian occupation niches.

Each of the immigrant respondents arrived in Canada between 1952 and 1969, and all but one lived initially with their families in one of Toronto's 'Little Italies'³³. Corresponding with previous research on Italian immigrants in Toronto (see Sturino, 1990; N. Harney, 1998), each of the first-generation men interviewed confirmed that they made the decision to move to Toronto primarily because of existing family and/or friendship ties that they could rely on for support after their arrival. They also talked about how these co-ethnic networks were implicated in their decisions to move into certain neighbourhoods and find employment in the construction industry. Frank (first-generation) recalled that his father-in-law moved to Canada and told him he could help him find a job, so when Frank arrived in 1953, he immediately began digging trenches in the construction industry. Similarly, Domenic (first-generation) had a friend from his hometown in Italy who moved to Canada and became an entrepreneur in the construction industry, and when Domenic arrived in Toronto, his friend hired him to pour concrete. These two stories exemplify how the process of 'chain migration' created networks of information about employment opportunities that funneled many Italian immigrant men into manual labour occupations in the construction or manufacturing industry.

All but one of the 1.5-generation men who were interviewed was raised in an 'Italian neighbourhood', and they were able to share some interesting insights regarding how living in their neighbourhood influenced the ethnic composition of their social

³³ Domenic's family (including his son, Claudio), lived in North York. They both stated that this neighbourhood, where they still live, is much more of a Jewish neighbourhood, although many Italians also live there.

networks (and subsequent employment opportunities). Joe, Pino and Gino (all 1.5-generation) all shared strikingly similar descriptions of the neighbourhoods in which they grew up after the move from Italy:

“High density immigrant population. There were a lot of Italian and Portuguese immigrants at the time. A splattering of other people, but the primary ones were Polish, Ukrainian, Italian, and Portuguese...(It was a) hard working immigrant neighbourhood, not too much money lying around” (Joe)

“Predominantly at that time Italian. The first area we moved into, which is now Little Italy, is now predominantly Portuguese. It was a working-class neighbourhood” (Pino)

“Working neighbourhood...It was working class, a lot of Italians in the neighbourhood. Dufferin and Bloor was a large Italian community. We were within walking distance to most Italian friends and relatives” (Gino)

Each respondent shared memories of a ‘working class, immigrant neighbourhood’ with high proportions of Italian families. Joe explained that “the majority of my friends were Italian, but that’s because there was a higher majority of Italian immigrants (in the neighbourhood)”. The close proximity shared by most Italians at the time is important because it fostered strong intra-ethnic connections between families and friends. As Telly recalled, “you could walk to anybody’s house and you can walk home and it would take you less than one half hour”. For Telly, this high degree of proximity allowed him to maintain close friendships within the neighbourhood.

Italian men who were raised in these neighbourhoods often helped each other find work, as their immigrant parents often expected their sons to work to help pay household bills or to help fund their own education. For example, Telly discussed how a friend from the neighbourhood, who was also Italian, had helped him get a job in the printing industry working on the presses:

“He told me one day while I was sitting on my porch in the old neighbourhood, he came up the street and I talked to him. He said “they are hiring, come on down, and I will talk to the foreman”, and he got me in.... I went for a quick one-half hour interview. ...I ended up getting hired. I was there for three years and three months”

Like their fathers (see Sturino, 1990), the 1.5-generation men explained a process where by boys from the neighbourhood would try to help their friends find employment by ‘vouching’ for them at their own jobs. Pino describes the arrangement that he had within his own group of friends:

“You know, at the time it was more of ‘who you knew’ rather than applying for a job... (My friends) talked to their boss and said ‘this guy is good’ and whenever they needed people you got hired.”

Telly elaborated what was expected in return when this arrangement was successful:

“As a worker, they expected you not to discredit the guy, you know become an idiot, or quit on him, or be a trouble maker in that aspect because their work reputation was on the line. Because if (your friend) ever had to get any body else in, it wouldn’t work.”

Intra-ethnic friendship and familial networks were an important source of information about employment opportunities for many 1.5-generation men. However, since the Italian first generation was so strongly concentrated in manual labour occupations, friendship ties often led to occupations involving manual labour.

The strong spatial concentration of Italians in a few inner-city neighbourhoods meant that many first- and 1.5-generation men interacted primarily with other Italians. The majority of the Italian population has now moved to the suburbs, away from the ‘ethnic village’. Today, many Italians have settled in high concentrations in the suburb of Vaughn, as well as more multiethnic suburbs like Mississauga, North York, and Etobicoke. The majority of the Italian second generation, therefore, has grown up in an entirely different social context than did their parents. These neighbourhoods are much

more ethnically and racially diverse, and several today are the new ‘immigrant reception areas’ of Toronto. For example, when talking about the neighbourhood where he grew up, Luca (second-generation) emphasized its ethnocultural diversity:

“I would say overall a lot of different groups, ethnic backgrounds. I can’t say there was one group (that was the) majority... There was a big mix... I would say, if I can give a percentage, there was maybe 20-30 percent Italians. A lot of other ethnic backgrounds would beat that out”.

Each of the second-generation men raised in Mississauga emphasized their childhood neighbourhood was not in any way an ‘Italian neighbourhood’. Furthermore, their social networks often reflected the diverse places where they lived and went to school³⁴. For example, Marco (second-generation) describes his school friendships as being:

“Very diverse. Like everything from having a Spanish buddy to an Indian buddy, to whatever, it was a very, very mixed... we were just friends, right? If they happened to be Italian or Polish or Scottish, it didn’t matter”

All second-generation men interviewed indicated that their school was the place where they met most of their friends. As they aged, many also developed friendships through work. It was almost inevitable that their friendship networks would be quite different than those of their fathers. Mario, for instance, indicated that not many of his friends are Italian because “there wasn’t too many Italians in high school... I usually have a lot of friends from all different cultures”. Marco, Luca, and Mario all reported that very few of their friends were Italian, and Robert and Michael reported having many Italian friends in addition to the friendships they maintain with people from other ethnic backgrounds.

³⁴ The lone second-generation respondent raised in a strongly-Italian suburban neighbourhood in Vaughn (Sandro), reported that the vast majority of his friends were Italian. When asked if most of his friends were Italian, he said “Most of them, yes, I would say 90%... it is inevitable. More research is necessary regarding the effects of living in an ‘ethnoburb’ on the social networks of 2nd generation Italians, but Sandro’s discussion of his own friendships suggests an important relationship between residential locale and the ethnic composition of social networks.

Second-generation Italian men still had access to employment opportunities through their familial networks. As Luca notes, “there is always a relative who can find you a job, if you want it”. Importantly, however, second-generation men were also able to access information about jobs from their non-Italian friends, acquired by living, working, and going to school in increasingly-diverse parts of the city. Some of the second-generation men interviewed provided examples of how they utilized non-Italian friendships to find employment. For example, Marco shared his experience of learning about a job opening at a car dealership from a Persian friend who he met in high school. This information helped him get an entry-level job, but he took advantage of the opportunity and now has a promising career in management at another dealership. Another second-generation respondent, Michael, talked about utilizing his network of friends (both Italian and non-Italian) to help him improve his resume when he was preparing to finish university, and he has now started his career as a marketing manager.

In one way or another, each of the second-generation men seemed to be able to draw distinct advantages from both their Italian and non-Italian networks. Luca’s experience in finding his job is particularly illustrative. Luca mentioned that he has a very diverse group of friends, and many of his friends informed him about job opportunities after he finished high-school. He said that he had many chances to get a job through one of his friends, but he actually found a better opportunity working in an administrative position at a large steel company through one of his father (Pino’s) business contacts:

“I got my current job with help from my dad...I have kept that job through school (college). Why I have been so fond and so positive about this job is that they have given me the flexibility to work and go to school. To (be able to) go to school, to have an education and they still will be there behind my back”.

Luca's experience exemplifies the 'advantage' that some Italian second-generation men enjoy – they are often able to capitalize on employment opportunities that stem from both their Italian and non-Italian friendships. Furthermore, his experience suggests that it is naïve to think that co-ethnic networks cease to be important in shaping the decisions of second-generation men, as Luca's concern about improving his own education is a testament to the messages he received from his Italian family.

This section suggests that second-generation Italian men have been able to draw upon resources that arise from being a part of both Italian and non-Italian social networks, and that these resources have contributed to them achieving upward mobility. Evidence of this 'second-generation advantage' among Italian men in Toronto is especially important considering emerging arguments that in diverse neighbourhoods and workplaces, members of the second generation may “negotiate among the different combinations of immigrant and native advantage and disadvantage to choose the best combination to suit themselves” (Kasinitz et al., 2008: 20). In Toronto's diverse suburbs, second-generation Italian men have used a combination of their ethnically-diverse friendship networks and existing ties to the Italian community in order to produce the best possible employment opportunities for themselves.

'Lessons in Masculinity': The obligations of men to their families

Without doubt, family resources and a growing diversity of contacts in social networks do appear to account for social mobility among second-generation men. However, the employment trajectories that men have pursued cannot be divorced from gendered expectations about men's work roles in families.

Regardless of generation, the consensus among the men interviewed was that the responsibility of being an economic ‘provider’ for the family falls on men. Although men raised in Italian immigrant families were encouraged to ‘get an education’ so they could escape the hardships of manual labour, the message about the responsibility of a ‘good man’ to his family did not vary between the generations. The broad consensus among all men was that a ‘good man’ earned enough money to pay the mortgage, the bills, and to support the educational aspirations of his children.

Among some of the men interviewed, there was a tendency to over-estimate the rigidity of traditional gender roles. Gino (1.5-generation), for instance, recalled the way that his parents’ generation divided family responsibilities:

“the men would go to work to basically bring food and shelter, the basic necessities in life, while the women took care of the children”

Gino’s description, of course, makes no mention of immigrant women working to make ends meet, in addition to taking care of the family (see Iacovetta, 1992; Posca, 2006).

Several other 1.5 and second-generation men, however, did talk about the importance of their mother’s jobs to the economic vitality of their family. Across generations, most of the men interviewed believed that their wives (and women in general) should only resort to finding employment if it was absolutely necessary. If a man makes sufficient money, then there is a strong feeling that women ‘should’ stay at home. For example, Pino (1.5-generation) stated that the role of men in families is to be:

“The provider. The financial provider... I think it is more important that the mother is home with the family rather than the other way around... I think its nature, personally”

Interestingly, a broadly similar position was taken by his son, Luca (second-generation):

“If you have a wife and you have your family, you support them so they do not have to work. The same way that my father has done, try to provide for his family, for (us) to enjoy our lives, and that is what a man should be there for”.

The men who were interviewed often underlined that the work performed by women in the home is not trivial. For example, comments from Luca and Telly emphasize the importance of caring for children:

“If you are going to have a family, kids are a major part of responsibility. It could even be more than a job...it is more than a job, your family should be more important than your job. To have your wife, someone looking after the kids if you are working then that is a major advantage” (Luca, second-generation)

“Believe it or not, regardless of what men say, the woman is the backbone of the household. If you have kids, the mother should be home at a certain time if she is working, so it is easier for her to come home, do what she has to do as a woman, take care of the kids, feed them, and for the man to go out and provide. So if he has to work overtime, he has to work overtime” (Telly, 1.5-generation)

Telly’s comment is particularly interesting because it hints at a widespread belief that to be the ‘providers’ for the family, Italian men often make sacrifices. Sandro (second-generation), for instance, emphasizes this point stating that if a family faced economic hardship in the early years after immigration, the men would “go out and find a second job or work overtime if that was required”. Marco (second-generation) perhaps comes closest to directly identifying a link between masculinity, the family, and work, arguing that:

“I think it’s more ‘manly’, to be honest with you...to be working those extra hours, you know, especially if you had a son, to show him that you’re a ‘hard working guy’. I’d rather have my children watch me not be home for three or four days because I’m out making money and I come home with gifts...I think it shows dedication”

Pino (1.5-generation) also highlighted personal sacrifice when he lamented on the amount of time he had been away from his family on business, as he tried to earn more money to support his wife (a homemaker) and their four children. He explained how being away from his family for long periods of time were extremely difficult for him, but that he was willing to accept this sacrifice if it meant a 'better life' for his wife and children.

The construction of masculine gender roles within families is strongly implicated in understanding intergenerational mobility of Italian men. Boys raised in Italian families have learned that a 'good man' is the economic 'provider' for his family, and that a 'good man' will make personal sacrifices to ensure that his familial obligations are fulfilled. These expectations about the role of men in families also intersects with the high value placed on education and potentially higher incomes associated with professional occupations. Furthermore, the expectation that Italian men should be the economic 'providers' for their family while women manage the household and perform reproductive labour corresponds with previous research on the women's roles in Italian families (Iacovetta, 1992; Posca, 2006). These gendered expectations begin to explain why Canadian-born Italian men achieve such strong mobility when compared to women.

Summary

Building on the quantitative analysis of the labour market outcomes for different generations (Chapter 5), this represents a first step toward explaining how second-generation Italian men achieved strong social mobility, especially given the rudimentary education and low-skill jobs held by their parents. Unlike the children of many immigrants who arrived after the early 1970s, very few Italian second-generation children

had parents with higher education experiences. Nevertheless, the men interviewed here were raised in Italian families that strongly encouraged them to ‘go to school’ in order to improve their employment opportunities (and subsequently, their earnings). Moreover, their support was more than rhetorical as they frequently provided important forms of financial support. At the same time, the gradual suburbanization of the Italian community out of the ‘urban village’ and into more diverse neighbourhoods allowed many second-generation men to build ethnoculturally-diverse friendship networks in their schools and workplaces. These men are still able to draw on support from their intra-ethnic social networks, but their non-Italian networks also often become important resources for information sharing and hearing about employment opportunities. Lastly, the chapter considers the ways in which gender expectations for men influence their labour market experiences and status. The evidence suggests that Italian men have been taught that it is their responsibility to become the economic ‘provider’ for their family, and that they must make certain sacrifices to achieve this goal. The interview findings emphasize a crucial point: unraveling how particular groups fare in a metropolitan labour market entails more than just uniting workers with willing employers as social relations constituted in place are constantly at play.

Chapter 7: Summary of Contributions and a Look Forward

Considering Canada's long history as a settler society (see Li, 2003), it is understandable that a great deal of research attention is devoted to understanding how immigrants integrate into Canadian society. However, many immigrants arriving in Canada encounter significant barriers in the labour market that often prevent them from achieving employment outcomes that are comparable to Canadian-born individuals. Some researchers have argued that evaluating the economic integration of immigrant groups requires an examination of the mobility patterns of later generations, as members of the first generation often face disadvantages related to language proficiency, credential recognition, or cultural differences (Gans, 1973, 1992; Zhou, 2008). A lively debate about the status of the second generation has developed among researchers examining groups in the United States and Europe (for example, see Portes and Rumbaut, 2001; Crul, 2007; Kasinitz et al., 2008), and the contours of this debate were described in Chapter 2. However, researchers have only begun to examine the characteristics of the Canadian second generation, and little is known about processes that underlie the labour market trajectories of the children of immigrants in a Canada (Rajiva, 2005; Boyd, 2008).

This study contributes to this emerging field by examining the labour market status of successive generations of Italians in Toronto, the predominant destination for both historical and contemporary immigration in Canada. The large and long-standing presence of Italians in Canada is a tremendous advantage for examining labour market status across generations, as most members of the second generation are mature adults and have participated in the labour market for a number of years. It is not possible using available data sets to investigate quantitatively the education and employment histories of

individuals within the same family or how the employment characteristics of individuals change over time. The data do, however, facilitate the development of a strong profile of employment characteristics for individuals belonging to each generation at a single point in time (2001), and the cohorts are matched as closely as possible in terms of age and gender. Bearing in mind these data possibilities and constraints, this study has had two principal objectives: to quantitatively describe the labour market status of second- and third-generation Italians relative to the immigrant generation and other ethnocultural groups, and to investigate social and geographic factors that may influence labour market outcomes observed for each generation of Italian men.

To couch the examination of Italians in its proper context, this study has reviewed the existing literature about the Italian community in Toronto in order to summarize some key themes. Compelling evidence shows that the process of ‘chain migration’ encouraged many Italian immigrant families to settle in a few inner-city neighbourhoods (Sturino, 1992), and the information networks and close physical proximity funneled many newcomers into distinct occupational niches. These forms of employment and the networks that brought people to them were strongly gendered: men often found work in construction and heavy industry, while women frequently worked in manufacturing and several other low-wage sectors of the economy (R. Harney, 1993).

The analysis of the census data revealed that second-generation Italians have experienced strong mobility when compared to the less skilled and often less highly paid jobs held by the Italian immigrant cohort. A ‘second-generation decline’ among Italians appears not to have occurred, as second-generation individuals have higher earnings and have moved into professional, technical and managerial occupation sectors. Most

Canadian-born Italians do not work in manual labour trades that so frequently employ members of the immigrant generation. It must be underlined that these types of occupation gains have been achieved primarily by men. While a small number of second-generation women continue to work in manual labour, many find employment in clerical or administrative occupations and earn significantly less than their male counterparts. These important differences in the labour market outcomes of Italian men and women across generations are evidence that interpreting the 'success' of an entire group can be misleading if the effects of gender are not considered.

A significant objective of the study has been to describe some potential factors that may underlie the social mobility of second-generation Italian men. The first explanation emphasizes the value placed on education by families, at least for sons. Parents encouraged sons and frequently provided financial support even though their own incomes were modest. The potential value of education was also indirectly communicated to sons as they watched the financial and physical hardships that their parents endured in manual labour occupations. A consistent theme across the interviews was the desire to use education as a way to become a 'professional' and escape working in low-skill, low-wage types of manual labour jobs.

The neighbourhood of residence, schools attended, and places of work also appear to play an important role in understanding the employment achievements of the second-generation. For Italian men born in Italy (first and 1.5 generation), their social networks are dominated by Italian friends and relatives, many of whom lived in the same neighbourhood and/or were co-workers. However, over the years the Italians moved away from traditional inner-city 'Little Italies' and suburbanized, with some settling in

places with high concentrations of Italians (Vaughn), and many more in ethnoculturally-diverse suburbs like Mississauga, North York, and Etobicoke. Unlike their fathers, most of second-generation men who were interviewed grew up in suburbs where ethnoculturally diverse friendship networks in neighbourhoods, schools and workplaces were (and are) the norm. Second-generation respondents underlined the importance of friendships made when they were in school or at work, and inevitably they drew attention to the positive value of strong cultural diversity in these locales. Second-generation men did capitalize on the resources available through their Italian (familial) networks, but their ability to develop non-Italian friendships often provided additional opportunities for finding employment outside of traditional Italian occupation niches. This evidence of ‘second-generation advantage’ corresponds with research suggesting that in diverse neighbourhoods and workplaces, the children of immigrants may use resources from both within and outside their own ethnic group and thereby expand their employment possibilities (Kasinitz et al., 2008).

The interviews conducted also reveal that men’s employment trajectories are intrinsically connected to gendered expectations about men’s roles in families and ideas about masculinity. Men raised in Italian immigrant families consistently emphasized the role that men should play as an economic ‘provider’. Men raised in Italian families learned that a ‘good man’ must make sacrifices (such as working overtime or traveling long distances) to ensure that their earnings are high and that they can support their families. Men’s understanding of familial obligations complements existing research about women’s interpretation of gender roles in Italian families (see Iacovetta, 1992; Posca, 2006). Italian men may make choices that diminish the amount of time spent with

their wife and children but boost the household income, while women frequently sacrifice the possibility of a high-skill, high-income career in order to fulfill familial desires or expectations.

The mixed-methods approach used in the study makes important contributions to an on-going debate about the social mobility of the descendants of immigrants in major migrant-receiving countries and cities. The results underline the need to evaluate the trajectories of men and women separately. Conflating the outcomes of men and women in a macro immigrant or ethnic group analysis can create a misleading overview of the degree to which individuals enjoy success or problems. The positive value of given to diverse suburban neighbourhoods and ethnoculturally-diverse friendship networks also coincides with findings from New York's diverse inner suburbs (Kazinitz et al. 2008). It also underscores the importance of much more detailed study of the ways that residential locale, especially the ethnic composition of neighbourhoods and schools, influences the employment opportunities and information networks available to the children of immigrants.

This study in many ways is a beginning point, and several questions and issues deserve more attention in subsequent research. The quantitative analysis presented here is strictly descriptive, and modeling of these individual-level data in order to unravel the relative importance of many of the independent variables discussed here is in order. It would be interesting, for instance, to evaluate the relative significance of education levels to understanding income status across the different generational cohorts when other factors are held constant. Considering qualitative dimensions of the findings, it would be equally valuable to investigate more fully the effects of parenting strategies among the

immigrant generation on the mobility strategies and attitudes of second generation men. The fifteen interviews conducted are merely suggestive of the roles played by immediate and extended family members, as well as the Italian community at large, on shaping employment trajectories. Another important question concerns the employment status of the Italian third-plus generation, which generally does not exhibit the same strong gains in the employment status compared to the second generation. By no means is there evidence of significant downward mobility in the third generation, but the employment status of these individuals does not depart strongly from that of the second generation.

It is also important to note that this study examined the Italian population in Toronto, a European group that arrived in Canada many decades ago. What does the future hold for Canada's 'new' second generation (the children of immigrants who arrived after 1970 from predominantly non-European countries)? Will members of the 'new' second generation achieve the same upward mobility exhibited by Italians, or will they face ethnic and racial discrimination barriers? Questions about the influence of racial discrimination on educational and labour market trajectories of the 'new' second generation seem particularly important in light of the low earnings of second-generation Jamaicans discussed in earlier chapters. For many ethnoracial groups, the second generation is still too young to be meaningfully compared with Italians and other established European groups. There are, for example, very few older adults (40-plus) in the second generation of many visible minority groups.

Pondering the fortunes of the 'new' second generation also raises interesting questions about historical and contemporary immigration policy in Canada. Most Italian immigrants arrived in Toronto decades ago after being sponsored by a relative, most with

little education and many destined for manual labour occupations. This study reveals that it is precisely these conditions which have strongly encouraged the pursuit of educational credentials and a desire to become a 'professional' among male children. Times have changed since migration from Italy to Toronto slowed to a trickle, and many more immigrants that arrive in contemporary Toronto have impressive levels of education. How will the children of these immigrants interpret messages about education and employment? If immigrants who arrive with strong educational qualifications are unable to get their credentials recognized in Toronto's labour market, will this have an influence the educational aspirations of their children? These questions hint at some very interesting avenues for future research.

Another consideration that should be emphasized that the data used in this study to profile labour market status of generation groups were collected during a time of relative economic prosperity (May 2001). The impact of the recent (2008-09) economic recession on the labour market experiences and status of second-generation groups remains an open question. It has been almost two decades since the last major recession hit North American cities and in the intervening years much has changed with regard to immigration flows and the human and social capital of newcomers. The impact of largely negative economic conditions on immigrants and the second generation, especially as the Canadian-born baby boom generation ages out of employment, is a particularly important avenue for future research. The gains made by second-generation Italian men are impressive, but their trajectories are a product of a particular historical moment in immigration, economic development, and urban growth. Although it would seem that Canada has done a great deal to facilitate the economic integration of the second

generation, there are few guarantees that the conditions Italians could capitalize upon – from education opportunities to employment to familial and ethnic community resources – will be as readily available in the years and decades to come.

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APPENDIX 1: CLASSIFICATION OF FOREIGN-BORN RESPONDENTS

The foreign-born population was categorized into ethnocultural groups based on their answer to question 9 on the 2006 census, which read:

“Where was this person born? Specify one response only, according to present boundaries.”

Respondents with were sorted into the following groups based on their response:

1. Italians: born in Italy
2. British/French: born in France, Ireland, or the United Kingdom
3. Polish: born in Poland
4. Jamaican: born in Jamaica
5. Chinese: born in People’s Republic of China, Hong Kong, Macau, Taiwan
6. South Asian: born in Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, and Pakistan
7. ‘All Other’ includes all foreign-born respondents who were not born in any of the above listed countries

APPENDIX 2: CLASSIFICATION OF CANADIAN-BORN RESPONDENTS

All respondents who were born in Canada were categorized into ethnocultural groups based on their first response to question 17 of the 2006 census, which asked:

“While most people in Canada view themselves as Canadians, information on their ancestral origins has been collected since the 1901 Census to capture the changing composition of Canada’s diverse population. Therefore, this question refers to the origins of the person’s ancestors.

To which ethnic or cultural group(s) did this person’s ancestors belong?

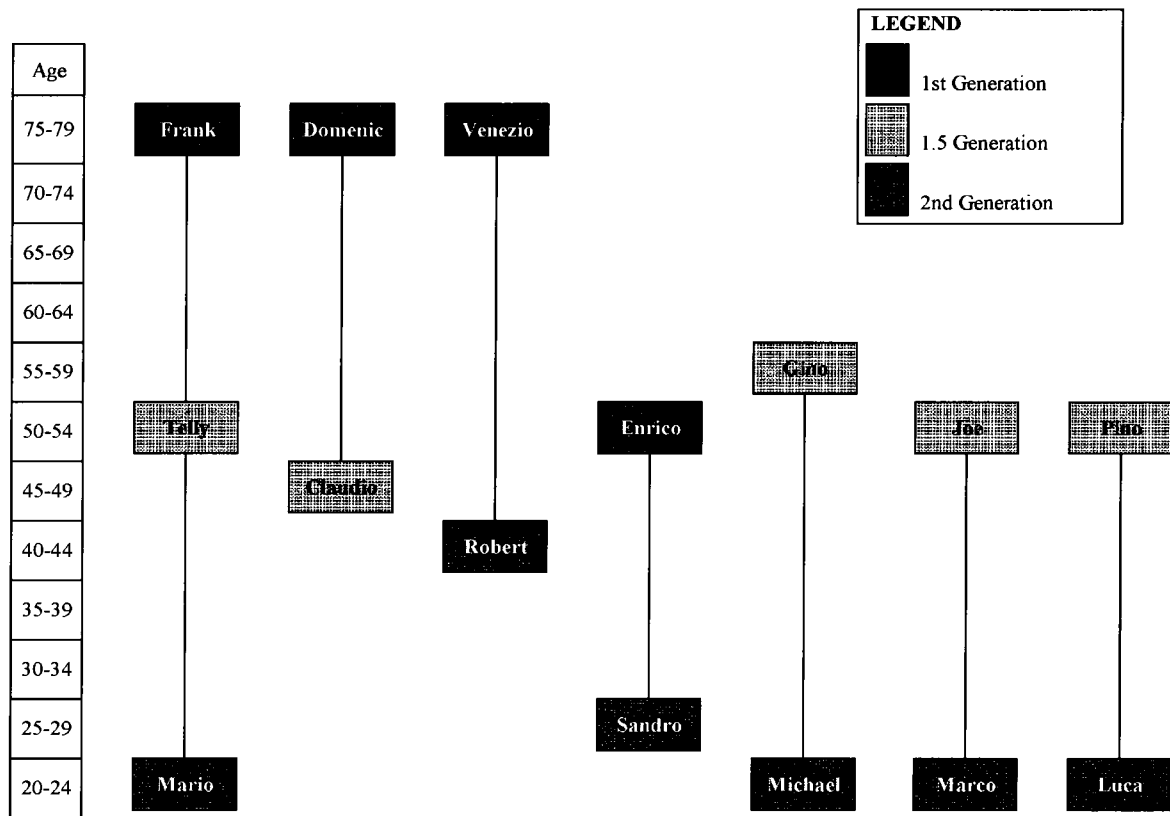
For example, Canadian, French, English, Chinese, Italian, German, Scottish, Irish, Cree, Micmac, Métis, Inuit (Eskimo), East Indian, Ukrainian, Dutch, Polish, Portuguese, Filipino, Jewish, Greek, Jamaican, Vietnamese, Lebanese, Chilean, Somali, etc.”

Respondents sorted into the following categories:

1. Italians: includes respondents with Italian ethnic ancestry
2. British/French: includes respondents with British, Irish, Scottish, Welsh, British (not indicated elsewhere), or French ethnic ancestry
3. Polish: includes respondents with Polish ethnic ancestry
4. Jamaican: includes respondents with Jamaican ethnic ancestry
5. Chinese: includes respondents with Chinese ethnic ancestry

6. South Asian: includes respondents with Bangladeshi, Bengali, East Indian, Pakistani, Punjabi, Sinhalese, South Asian (not indicated elsewhere), Sri Lankan, Tamil, Goan, Khasmiri, Nepali, Khmer, or Gujarati ethnic ancestry
7. 'Canadian': includes respondents who have reported 'Canadian' ethnic ancestry
8. 'All Other': includes all respondents who have reported any ethnic origins not listed above as their first response to the ethnic origin question.

APPENDIX 3: FAMILY RELATIONS OF RESPONDENTS INTERVIEWED



APPENDIX 4: ITALY'S REGIONS AS SOURCES OF MIGRATION



Source: N. Harney (1998: 23), adapted from Jansen (1987: 9-10).

APPENDIX 5: PRE-INTERVIEW 'FACT-SHEET'

- 1) First Name* : _____ Last Name* _____
- 2) Age: _____
- 3) Occupation: _____
- 5) Place of Birth: _____
- 6) If you were not born in Canada, at what age did you arrive? _____
- 7) Father's place of birth: _____
- 8) Mother's place of birth: _____
- 11) Father's occupation: _____
- 12) Mother's occupation: _____
- 9) Education:
- ☐ Less than high school
 - ☐ High school
 - ☐ Some college or university
 - ☐ College or university degree or higher
- 10) Where did you obtain most of your education?
- ☐ Canada
 - ☐ Italy
 - ☐ Other _____
- 11) What municipality do you live in now? _____

* This information will only be seen by the researcher and will not be published.

APPENDIX 6: INTERVIEW GUIDE

Introduction

1. Purpose of study – emphasize places, generation status and employment
2. Consent form
3. Fact sheet: demographic information
4. Audio recording of interview – discuss with participant

Theme 1: Education

(a) Length of schooling

1. How long did you go to school? Can you discuss some of the reasons why you stopped going to school when you did?
2. Would you consider going back to school in the future? Why or why not?

(b) Location of schools

1. Where did you go to high school (or what is the last school that you attended if you have never enrolled in high school)? Have you ever gone to school in another city or country? If so, where and for how long?
2. Did you ever have to switch schools? If so, why? If you did switch schools, were these schools located in different parts of Toronto? Please explain.
3. Can you describe the location of the school(s) you went to (for example, urban, suburban, or rural)? What kind of neighborhood(s) were your school(s) located in?
4. Did you live close to your school/schools?
5. Did the friends that you went to school with also live in the neighbourhood?

(c) Experiences of education (focused on high school, if applicable)

1. Did you enjoy school? Do you think that you received a good education at the schools you attended? Which ones? Why?
2. Was school a place where you had many friends? Were they also kids from the neighbourhood? Were many of them Italian?
3. Was there anything about the location of your school (like its urban/suburban/rural setting or the neighborhood the school was located in) that made it more or less enjoyable? Why? Did this influence your decisions about ceasing or continuing your education?
4. Did you learn anything in school that you think has helped you become more successful? For example, did you learn any particular skill or trade that has helped you get a job or a promotion? Can you tell me about something that school did not or could not teach you about being successful? If so, did you learn this lesson somewhere else?

5. Has your time in school taught you any other languages besides English? Have you ever gone to any specialized language school outside of your regular schooling (e.g. Italian school or E.S.L. classes)? If so, in what ways has this language education helped you (e.g. communicating with relatives, acquiring a job, building friendships, etc.)?
6. Do you remember any teacher (or guidance counselor) in high school who taught you a particularly important lesson about how to be successful? What did they tell you? Did any teacher or administrator have an impact on the career you chose (e.g. encouraging you to go into a particular field or occupation, or discouraging you from pursuing another)? Looking back, do you think any teacher/counselor had a positive or negative impact on your career and your ability to be financially successful? Please explain why.

(d) Ethnic composition of schools (focused on high school, if applicable)

1. If you went to school in Canada, was your school in a diverse neighbourhood (e.g. were there many immigrant children or children of immigrants at your school)? How did this affect your experience of education?
2. Were there many Italians at your school? If so, did you become friends with many other Italians? If so, were there certain things that you had in common with other Italian children that made it easier to become friends?

(e) Friendships developed in school

1. Are you still friends with anyone from your time in school? If yes, why do you think you are still friends (e.g. common interests, same job, friendships extend to other family members, etc.)? If not, can you suggest why you are not friends anymore (e.g. too busy with work obligations, different interests, etc.)?
2. Have you ever had a friend from school who has helped you get a job? Have you ever gone to a friend from school to ask for advice about employment?
3. Have you ever helped a friend from school get a job? Has a friend from school ever asked you advice about employment? If so, what did you tell them?

Theme 2: Employment

(a) Employment history

1. Can you talk about the different jobs that you have had since you have finished school? Why did you decide to work in these places? Which job(s) did you enjoy, and which did you not like? Can you describe the ways that you obtained these jobs? Did any other people help you get these jobs in any way (e.g. helped you improve your resume, put in a good word with their own employer, drove you to your interview, etc.)?
2. Have you ever owned your own business? If so, why did you decide to become your own boss?

3. (If applicable – currently employed) How did you obtain your current job? Did it require any particular qualifications or credentials? Did you know anybody that worked in your field/occupation before you got the job? If so, how did they influence your decision to work in this occupation/field? Did any other people help you get the job that you have now (e.g. helped you improve your resume, put in a good word with their own employer, drove you to your interview, etc.)?
4. (If applicable – currently employed) Do you intend to make your current job your life-long career? Why or why not? Are there any important pieces of advice that you have received from others about your long-term employment that effect your decisions when it comes to planning your career? If so, please explain.
5. (If applicable - retired) If you have already retired, what were the factors involved in you deciding that a particular occupation should be your career? Why did you choose a career in this field/occupation instead of another? Did you know anybody who worked in your field/occupation who influenced your decision to work in this particular career? How did they influence your decision? Did anyone else help you obtain your career (e.g. hiring you to work for them, ‘vouching’ for you or providing a personal reference to their employer on your behalf, helping you with your resume, driving you to your interview or carpooling with you, etc.)? Did you have any opportunities to switch jobs and work in another occupation/field? If so, can you explain your reasoning for the decisions you made.

(b) Understandings of the labour market

1. Is your education particularly important in your current job (if applicable) or any of the jobs you have held in the past? Has your education ever prevented you from obtaining a job or getting a promotion?
2. What do you understand to be a ‘man’s work’? In terms of employment, what are the responsibilities of a man to his family? For example, is it a man’s responsibility to go to work and bring home enough money to support his family, or is this a shared responsibility between men and women? In this context, are there any obligations that men have to meet to fulfill their role as ‘the man of the family’ (e.g. work long hours/overtime, travel often for work, work ‘dirty jobs’, or any other sacrifices)?
3. What do you understand to be a ‘good job’ for a man? For example, does a ‘good job’ allow you to ‘put food on the table’, pay a mortgage, go on vacation, work flexible or convenient hours, travel frequently, allow you to spend time with children (if applicable), or become wealthy? In this context, can you describe your past employment (and current employment, if applicable) and talk about what things made certain jobs ‘good jobs’ and what other elements of these jobs were more negative.
4. Do you feel that ‘being Italian’ ever helped you get a job somewhere? Please describe how. Have you ever felt that ‘being Italian’ prevented your from working in a particular place? Do you feel that Italians have a reputation in the labour market? If so, can you describe this reputation?

5. Has your proficiency or lack of proficiency at speaking Italian ever played a role in you obtaining a job?
 - i. (If applicable) Do you think that your chances of getting a certain job were strengthened by your ability to speak Italian? Why do you feel this way?
 - ii. (If applicable) Do you feel that you have been declined access to particular jobs because you do not speak Italian? Why do you feel this way?
6. (If applicable – retired) Can you reflect on your experiences of employment in Canada? Do you think that you chose a career path that met the needs of you and your family? Looking back, would you do anything differently? Why? How do you think that the current labour market different from the one that you worked in during your working years?
7. Can you reflect on the employment of your father? How did his job affect your career choices? Do you have any particular memories of your father's employment that made you decide to work in one field/occupation or another?
8. (If applicable – employed) Can you reflect on your experiences of employment so far? Do you think that you are employed in an occupation that will allow you to meet the needs of you and your family in the future? Explain why or why not. If you could do anything differently knowing what you now know about the labour market, what would you change?
9. If I asked you to define what made somebody 'successful' in the labour market, what would you say?

Theme 3: Italian Community Institutions/Organizations

(a) Italian cultural organizations

1. Are you a member of any Italian cultural organizations or institutions (for example, an Italian church, an Italian hometown association, or an Italian cultural organization, an Italian language school, etc.)? If so, how did you become a member (e.g. family, friends, etc.)?
2. If you are not a member of any of these institutions/associations, would you ever consider joining one? Why or why not?
3. If you are a member of one of an Italian institution or organization, do you feel a strong sense of attachment to this organization?
4. If you are a member of an Italian cultural association, have you developed any personal networks with other members of these cultural organizations? How strong is your connection with these people? Has your personal connections to other members of this organization ever helped you find and obtain a job?
5. Have you ever looked for a job in an Italian community newspaper or on the bulletin board of a community association? If so, were you successful?
6. (If applicable) Do you feel that any of these Italian cultural associations has encouraged a particular career path for its members, while other occupations are devalued? Were there certain members of the association who had a higher status than others because of their occupation? What did your membership in these

organizations teach you about the kinds of work a man should do? Did any of this influence your decisions regarding your own employment?

7. (If applicable) Has your membership in any Italian cultural association helped you improve your Italian language skills? If so, what kind of impact has this had on your life (e.g. better communication with relatives, better job opportunities, etc.)?

(b) Living in an Italian neighbourhood (if applicable)

1. Do you live in a neighborhood with many Italians? Have you ever lived in an Italian neighborhood? (If respondent used to live in an Italian neighbourhood, these questions will be asked retrospectively).
2. Do you have any personal connections with your Italian neighbours? Has anybody in your neighbourhood ever helped you get a job or given you advice about work?
3. Do other family members of yours live in the same neighbourhood? If so, can you explain how this affects your interactions with them (e.g. more frequent family gatherings, family members more likely to help each other out, etc.)?
4. In general, has growing up in an Italian family/neighborhood (if applicable) given you any particular advantages or disadvantages when it comes to employment? Has living in an Italian neighbourhood had any effect on your employment or your chances of acquiring a particular job? Have Italian neighbours ever helped you get a job, or provided advice regarding employment? Please explain.
5. Do you think that living in an Italian neighborhood has had an effect on your Italian language skills? Do you think that speaking Italian is necessary if you want to work in an Italian neighborhood?

Theme 4: Family

(a) Italian family influences

1. Would you describe your Italian family as close-knit? Do you have family gatherings often? Where does your family usually meet? Why?
2. Which family members were born in Italy, and which are Canadian-born?
3. How would you characterize your family's attitude toward education? Is education strongly emphasized as a way to achieve success, or do your family members think that education is not as important as other factors? What other factors do your family members consider important to achieving success?
4. Do the older men in your family ever discuss the work that they did in Italy before they moved to Canada? What do they talk about? How does this affect the way that you envision a 'man's work'?
5. What kinds of jobs do your male relatives living in Toronto currently work at? Do family gatherings ever involve your male family members talking about their jobs? Do they discuss their jobs often? What do they say?
6. Have your decisions regarding your employment been affected by the experiences of your male relatives? In what ways have their experiences

affected the jobs you have chosen? How does the employment of your relatives affect the way that you think of a 'man's work'?

7. Have any of your male relatives in your extended family ever given you advice about work/employment? What did they say? Do you think it was good advice? Why?
8. Have you ever received help in getting a job from a member of your extended family (either male or female)? How did they help you? Was there anything expected from you in return for their help?
9. Have you ever helped a family member find a job? Have you ever given any advice about work/employment to a younger family member or a family member that just began working in the same occupation as you?
10. Do any of your family members own their own business? Have they ever hired relatives (including you) to work for them? What was expected in return?
11. How important is being able to speak Italian in your family? Do you feel that it is more important for some family members than others? If so, which family members?
12. Can you remember any lessons that you learned about work from members of your immediate or extended Italian family? Do you feel that this lesson was valuable to you? How has this lesson affected your decisions regarding your employment?

(b) Non-Italian family influences

***only applicable to second generation participants with one non-Italian parent**

1. Is the non-Italian side of your family your mother's or your father's side? Would you describe your non-Italian family as close-knit? In general, are you as close to your non-Italian relatives as you are with your Italian side?
2. What kinds of jobs do your male relatives work in on the non-Italian side of your family? Do your male relatives on your non-Italian side discuss their jobs often? If so, what do they say? How do their stories affect your interpretation of a 'man's work'?
3. Are the messages about how to achieve success the same on your Italian side as they are on your non-Italian side? What are the differences, if any? Does one side seem to stress education more than the other?
4. Has a non-Italian male family member ever given you advice on your employment situation, or more generally, how to be successful? What did he/they say? Does this correspond with the overall message you received from the male members of the Italian side of your family? If not, how does their advice differ?
5. Has a family member from the non-Italian side of your family ever helped you obtain employment? If so, how? Have you ever helped one of your relatives from this side of your family obtain employment? How? In either case, what was expected in return?

Theme 5: Italian Ethnicity – Being Italian in Toronto

1. Do you think there is anything 'unique' about being Italian in Toronto? If so, what is unique? Upon reflecting about growing up in an Italian family, what do you think is

- the most important values that children are taught by their relatives? Do you think that these values influence a person's success in the labour market? Why?
2. Do you feel a strong sense of attachment to the Italian community? Can you explain why? What else do you feel a strong sense of attachment to (e.g. Canada, the city of Toronto, your school/university, etc.)?
 3. Describe the way that you identify yourself. For example, would you describe yourself as 'Italian', 'Canadian', 'Italian-Canadian', or something else? Can you explain why?

Conclusion

1. Review purpose of study
2. Choice of pseudonym
3. Any additional information that the participant may wish to add

APPENDIX 7: RECRUITMENT TEXT

Dear Mr. _____,

I am a Master's student in the Department of Geography at the University of Ottawa, and I would like to kindly request your participation in my thesis research, titled "Employment Across Generations: Italian Men in Toronto". My research examines the ways that employment is experienced by generations of Italian men in the Toronto area, and the ways that an individual's education, family, neighbourhood of residence, and membership in cultural institutions or organizations affects their work experiences. If you decide to take part in this study, you will be asked to complete a short questionnaire and participate in one interview, which will take approximately 30 to 60 minutes and will focus on your employment history and job search experiences. Interviews will take place in the setting of your choice.

Your participation in this research is completely voluntary, and you have the right to withdraw at any time. The collection of information is not for any commercial purposes, and information will never be given to a third party. Your personal privacy is extremely important, so a pseudonym will be assigned to your responses and your real name will never be revealed. This research has been approved by the University of Ottawa's Research Ethics Board which ensures that procedures and methodology of this research project follow ethical norms and that people who agree to participate will be treated with fairness, dignity and respect. Thank you for considering this request.

If you would like any additional information about the project, please do not hesitate to contact me by phone at (905) 828-4177 or (613) 241-0560, or by email at pmand029@uottawa.ca. You may also contact my thesis supervisor, Professor Brian Ray by phone at (613) 562-5800 (x1044) or by email at bray@uottawa.ca.

Sincerely,

Peter Mandarino
M.A. Candidate
University of Ottawa

APPENDIX 8: CONSENT FORM

Thesis Title: “Employment Across Generations: Italian Men in Toronto”

Researcher: Peter Mandarino, University of Ottawa

Department of Geography

Phone: (905) 828-4177 or (613) 241-0560

Email: pmand029@uottawa.ca

Supervisor: Professor Brian Ray, University of Ottawa

Department of Geography

Phone: (613) 562-5800 ext. 1044

Email: bray@uottawa.ca

I have been invited to participate in the research titled “Employment Across Generations: Italian Men in Toronto” that will be conducted by Peter Mandarino (a Master’s candidate at the University of Ottawa) and supervised by Professor Brian Ray. I understand that the purpose of this study is to examine the ways that employment is experienced by several generations of Italian men in the Toronto area, and that the study will investigate the ways that education, family, community, and gender influence employment experiences. My involvement in this study will consist of participating in one research session where I will fill out a short questionnaire and will participate in one interview. This research session will take approximately 30 to 60 minutes. This session will take place on the day of _____, 2007, at _____ (location).

I have been assured by the researcher that my participation in this study will not expose me to any risks that I would not encounter in my everyday life. My participation in this study will enhance academic understandings of the economic integration of immigrants and their children into Canadian society. More specifically, my participation will also help construct understandings of the social and cultural processes that may shape employment histories.

I have received assurance from the researcher that the information I will share will remain strictly confidential. I understand that the contents of questionnaires and interviews will only be used for this research project. The responses that I provide in this study will remain anonymous, as the researcher will use a pseudonym in any publications to protect my privacy. Interviews will be tape-recorded, and all completed questionnaires and tape-recorded interviews will be kept in a locked cabinet in Professor Brian Ray’s office at the University of Ottawa. I will receive a copy of my interview transcript by December first, 2007 and I will have the opportunity to contact the researchers to clarify, modify, or revise my interview responses until January first, 2008. If I do not contact the researchers by January first, 2008, the researchers will assume that I have accepted the contents of my interview transcript. Data will be retained by the researcher for five years, and only the researcher and the research supervisor will have access to the collected data.

I understand that I may request a transcript of my interview at any time, for any reason. I am not obligated to participate in this research because of any existing relationship with

the researcher, and I will not suffer any consequences if I choose not to participate in this study. If I choose to participate, I can withdraw from the study at any time and/or refuse to answer any questions, without suffering any negative consequences. If I choose to withdraw, all data gathered until the time of withdrawal will be destroyed.

I, _____ (name) agree to participate in the above research study conducted by Peter Mandarino, Master's student of the Department of Geography, Faculty of Arts, University of Ottawa, under the supervision of Professor Brian Ray.

If I have any questions about the study, I may contact the researcher or his supervisor by phone or email.

Peter Mandarino, University of Ottawa – Department of Geography
Phone: (905) 828-4177 or (613) 241-0560
Email: pmand029@uottawa.ca
Professor Brian Ray, University of Ottawa – Department of Geography
Phone: (613) 562-5800 ext. 1044
Email: bray@uottawa.ca

If I have any questions regarding the ethical conduct of this study, I may contact the Protocol Officer for Ethics in Research:

University of Ottawa, Tabaret Hall, 550 Cumberland Street, Room 159, Ottawa, ON K1N 6N5
Phone: (613) 562-5841
Email: ethics@uottawa.ca

There are two copies of the consent form, one of which is mine to keep.

Participant's signature: _____

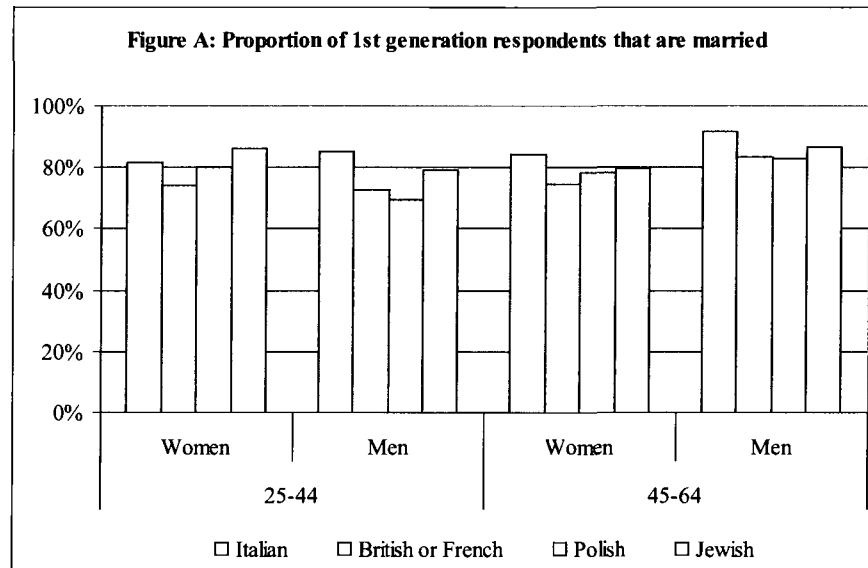
Date: _____

Appendix 9: Absolute size of Canadian-born Jamaican, Chinese and South Asian groups by generation status, sex, and age, 2001

Sex	Age	Jamaican			Chinese			South Asian		
		2nd - 1 FB	2nd - 2 FB	3rd-plus	2nd - 1 FB	2nd - 2 FB	3rd-plus	2nd - 1 FB	2nd - 2 FB	3rd-plus
Women	25-44	40	575	110	65	1015	70	40	695	90
	45-64	10	30	60	35	55	20	10	20	35
	Total	50	605	170	100	1070	90	50	715	125
Men	25-44	40	525	115	50	1110	80	40	740	80
	45-64	10	20	40	40	65	35	0	15	45
	Total	50	545	155	90	1175	115	40	755	125

Source: Statistics Canada, 2001 Census of Canada Master File

Appendix 10: Marital Status of Immigrant Groups



While the proportion of married individuals is high among the Italian cohorts, the Jewish population also has high a high proportion of married respondents. South Asians have the highest proportion of married respondents when compared to any other immigrant group (including Italians), and the proportion of first generation Chinese individuals who are married is also relatively high. In contrast, the proportion of first generation Jamaicans who are married is extremely low, especially for women.

