The Economic Performance of Canadian Immigrants: A comparison of Ontario, British Columbia and the Prairie Provinces

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Abstract

This paper focuses on a comparison of the economic performance of female and male immigrants in Ontario and British Columbia, the most popular provinces of destination, and in the less popular Prairie Provinces of Alberta, Manitoba and Saskatchewan. The issue of an unbalanced geographic distribution of the population is emerging since the choices of location of immigrants are highly correlated with economic development and the presence ethnic networks. All the Prairie provinces have developed Provincial Nominee Programs in order to attract more immigrants. The results of the analysis show that the years since migration of female and male immigrants in Saskatchewan and Manitoba are between one and two years longer than those of immigrants in the other three provinces. Moreover, the proportion of Asian immigrants tends to be higher in the most Western parts of Canada, with the exception of Saskatchewan. Some of the regression results are consistent with the previous studies: for females and males, immigrants had earning disadvantages compared to the Canadian-born and immigrants from Asia had further earning disadvantages relative to those from United States and Europe. According to the results, both females and males who do not reside in major CMAs earned less than those who lived in major CMAs. In addition, the results imply that the negative effect of both female and male immigrants who do not live in major CMAs is slightly less important for immigrants than for the Canadian-born individuals, with the exception of male immigrants in Alberta.

Introduction

According to the 2006 Census, there are 6.2 million immigrants in Canada, accounting for approximately 20 percent of the total population (Statistics Canada 2007). Since human capital is an important factor driving the development of the economy, immigrants are considered to be an asset to Canada.

Along with the increased number of immigrants, the issue of an unbalanced geographic distribution of the population has emerged. In 2006, half of the new immigrants chose to settle in Ontario, and approximately 18 and 17 percent went to Quebec and British Columbia respectively. Compared to those popular provinces, the central provinces, Alberta, Manitoba and Saskatchewan, accounted for only 8.2 percent, 4 percent and 1.1 percent of the immigrants respectively, while the Atlantic provinces accounted for less than 1 percent each on average. There are two major reasons why immigrants are highly concentrated in a few provinces. First, immigrants have a high tendency to settle in those places with fast economic growth and high employment opportunities. Second, immigrants prefer larger ethnic clusters, so that the new immigrants are more likely to follow the old ones and settle in the popular provinces. Moreover, internal migration after landing can increase the concentration of immigrants.

How to promote a greater dispersal of immigrants away from those popular provinces to other less developed ones is a big challenge to the Canadian society. The governments of the less popular provinces have developed some strategies to attract more immigrants. For instance, all of the three Prairie provinces introduced a Provincial Nominee Program (PNP) to increase their shares of immigrants.

This paper will focus on Alberta, Manitoba and Saskatchewan to discuss their strategies, and to assess how those strategies work and what challenges still remain. The empirical part of the paper uses data from the 2001 Canadian Census to examine the assimilation of immigrants in three less popular provinces, Saskatchewan, Manitoba and Alberta, and in two more popular provinces, British Columbia and Ontario, in order to compare their economic performances to that of the native-born Canadians. Because they are a small number and they may be self-selected, immigrants in the less popular provinces may perform better than those in the more popular provinces. This is one of the hypotheses to be tested.

There are five parts in this paper. Part one includes a brief overview of the provincial distribution of immigrants and discusses the statuses, strategies, and challenges related to immigration in the three Prairie provinces. Part two introduces a literature review that focuses on the economic performance of immigrants and their migration within Canada after landing. Part three includes an introduction to the data, model specification and variables definition. In part four, the empirical results are interpreted and discussed. The last part summaries and concludes the paper.

1. The provincial distribution of immigrants and policies to attract immigrants in Prairie Provinces

1.1 The Provincial Distribution of Immigrants

Considerable waves of immigration contributed to the development of the Western part of Canada starting in the 1880's. A large number of rural people were looking for farming opportunities in the new land. After declining substantially during the Great

Table 1 Percentage Distributions of New Immigrants by Province

Province/territory	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
					Percentage distribution					
Newfoundland and Labrador	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2
Prince Edward Island	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2
Nova Scotia	1.3	1.2	0.8	0.7	0.7	0.6	0.7	0.8	0.7	1
New Brunswick	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.7
Quebec	12.9	15.3	15.3	14.3	15	16.4	17.9	18.8	16.5	17.8
Ontario	54.5	53	54.8	58.7	59.3	58.3	54.1	53	53.6	50
Manitoba	1.7	1.7	2	2	1.8	2	2.9	3.1	3.1	4
Saskatchewan	0.8	0.9	0.9	0.8	0.7	0.7	0.8	0.8	0.8	1.1
Alberta	5.9	6.4	6.4	6.3	6.5	6.4	7.2	7	7.4	8.2
British Columbia	22.1	20.7	19	16.5	15.4	14.9	15.9	15.7	17.1	16.7
Yukon	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada, Facts and Figures 2006

Depression of the 1930s, immigration to Canada started to increase again in the post-war era. However, most immigrants at that time came from urban areas and chose to land in the urban parts rather than in the rural parts of the country. Currently, immigrants have a high tendency to settle in three provinces: Ontario, British Columbia and Quebec.

Table 1 shows the percentage distribution of immigrants by province and Appendix table A1 shows their numbers from 1997 to 2006. In 2006, half of the immigrants chose Ontario as their province of settlement, while16.7 percent and 17.8 percent of them chose British Columbia and Quebec respectively. In contrast, the other provinces attracted much fewer immigrants. The Prairie Provinces, Alberta, Manitoba and Saskatchewan, account for 8.2 percent, 4 percent and 1.1 percent of Canadian

immigration respectively in 2006, while the Atlantic provinces and territories had very few immigrants (less than 1 percent each).

Looking at the trends during the ten-year period, we see that the popular provinces of Ontario and British Columbia experienced a decline in their proportion of immigrants: For Ontario, the proportion grew from 54.5 percent in 1997 to a peak of 59.3 percent in 2001, but it then decreased to 50 percent in 2006; for British Columbia, the proportion fell from 22.1 percent in 1997 to 16.7 percent in 2006. On the other hand, all three Prairie provinces increased their proportion of immigrants. Alberta's immigrants' percentage rose from 5.9 percent in 1997 to 8.2 percent in 2006, while the increase was from 1.7 percent to 4.0 percent in Manitoba, and from 0.8 percent to 1.1 percent in Saskatchewan.

The geographic distribution of immigrants is highly correlated with economic development and job opportunities within the country. The fact that Ontario and British Columbia have relatively strong economies is an important reason for their high concentration of immigrants. Immigrants also have a propensity to cluster geographically, so that the large sizes of the ethnic communities in those two provinces are attractive to them. Furthermore, good climate environment and highly developed transportation, such as major international airports, are also considered by the immigrants.

To respond to the problem of the uneven provincial distribution of immigration, some of the less popular provinces have developed strategies to attract immigrants. The following sections discuss the statuses, strategies, and challenges of immigration in the three Prairie Provinces.

1.2 Alberta

Immigration in Alberta increased from 12,832 in 1997 to 20,717 in 2006. This big jump is mainly due to its booming economy. Over the past decade, Alberta's economy grew at an average of 4.3 percent per year, which is the highest rate in Canada. In 2006, Alberta's economy grew by 6.8 percent, compared to the Canadian economy's rate of 2.8 percent. Alberta is expected to be one of Canada's top performing economies in the future. Its strong economy has induced a high demand for labour. There were approximately 465,600 new jobs generated between 1996 and 2006. Alberta had the lowest average unemployment rate in Canada, at 4.5 percent, during the period 2001 to 2006, compared to the Canadian rate of 7.1 percent over the same period (Government of Alberta 2007).

With an aim of attracting at least 24,000 immigrants each year, the Alberta government publicized policies to attract and retain immigrants to help develop its economy and social life. The Alberta government released a policy called "*Supporting Immigrants and Immigration to Alberta*" in 2005. The main strategies in this policy include the following elements: development of a Provincial Nominee Program (PNP) which has the flexibility to provide a quick way for immigrants to enter; increase people's awareness about Alberta and show its great living and working environment; improve settlement services, such as language training programs, to meet the diverse requirement of various immigrants and work with post-secondary institutions to develop more effective approaches to recognize immigrants' skills, knowledge and work experience gained abroad; and allow international students to work off-campus while studying under its agreement with the federal government (Government of Alberta 2007).

1.3 Manitoba

In the early 1980s, the Manitoba government started to attach importance to immigrants and devoted considerable resources to an immigration program. The government established an Immigration Division department that combined adult language training, settlement and immigration activities. Furthermore, Manitoba had a formal agreement with the federal government for the provision of settlement services.

To address the problem of labour shortage, Manitoba also innovated by implementing a Provincial Nominee Program (PNP), which was a pilot program started in 1998. The Manitoba Provincial Nominee Program (MPNP) is an "economic program which selects skilled workers who have the training, work experience, and language ability to be employed in Manitoba and make a positive contribution to the provincial economy" (Government of Manitoba 2007). Applicants to the MPNP must show that they are employable and have a strong prospect to settle successfully and permanently in Manitoba. Skilled workers have better chances to be nominated if they have: (a) training and work experience in their occupation; (b) enough language ability to start working soon after landing; and (c) settlement supports in Manitoba to help them upon arrival (Government of Manitoba 2005).

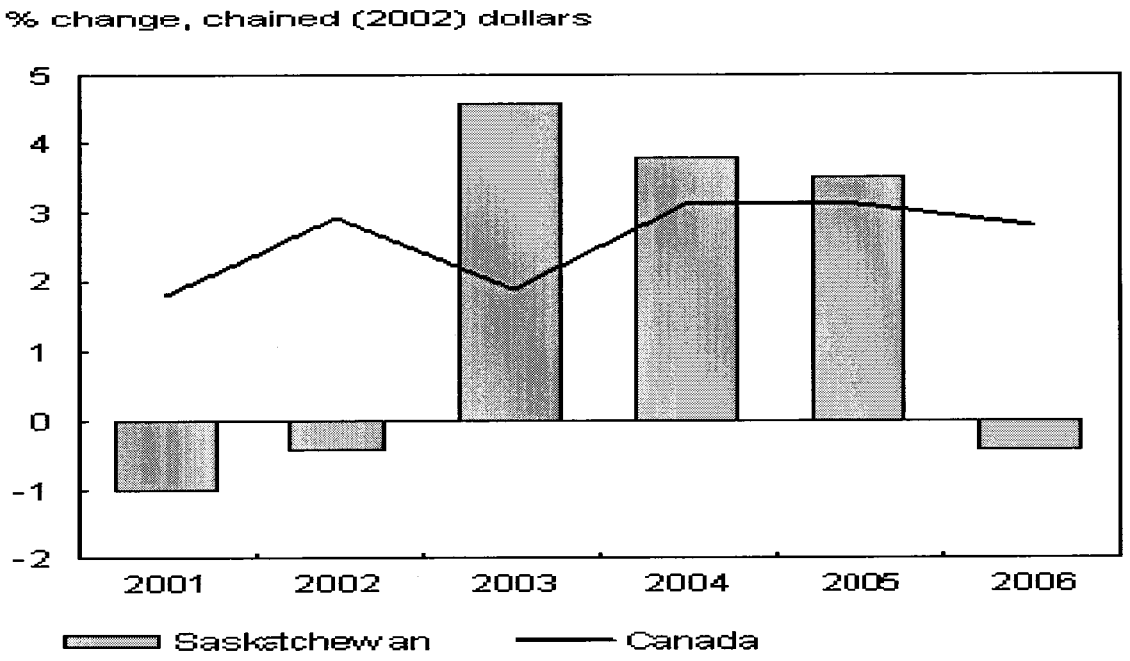
The government of Manitoba set up a goal to have the same proportion of Canada's immigrants as its proportion of the Canadian population. In 2006, Manitoba received 4 percent of Canada's immigrants, compared to its 3.6 percent share of Canada's total population; it was the first time it exceeded its goal in 20 years. Manitoba's success was largely attributed to the MPNP, which attracted skilled workers to meet the needs of the labour market. The number of immigrants in Manitoba increased from 3,703 in 1997

to 10,051 in 2006 (Appendix table A1), and 65 percent immigrants in 2006 came through the MPNP (Government of Manitoba, 2007). Retaining immigrants in Manitoba is as important as attracting them. To help immigrants integrate into the labour market and communities, the government of Manitoba developed a new settlement strategy. The settlement priorities include: a) increase pre-arrival information and orientation; b) increase access to employment and credential recognition; c) improve the connections between immigrant families and their new neighbourhood groups; d) provide some life skills and intercultural training programs (Government of Manitoba, 2007).

1.4 Saskatchewan

Compared to Alberta and Manitoba, Saskatchewan had a very fluctuating economy since 2001. From Chart 1, we can see that it experienced negative economic growth in 2001 and 2002. After that, its growth rate abruptly jumped to around 4 percent in 2003 and stayed high until 2005. However, this rate declined again to negative (-0.4 percent) in 2006, making Saskatchewan the only province which had a declining economy in Canada in 2006. To increase its share of immigrants, Saskatchewan also introduced an Immigrant Nominee Program (SINP) to provide a quicker way for immigrants to enter. Under SINP, Saskatchewan can nominate qualified applicants to the federal government. Similarly to the Nominee Programs of the other provinces, the SINP offers the ability to select qualified applicants according to the province's needs, with shorter application processing times than other federal immigration classes, and assistance from Provincial Immigration Officers, who can explain the requirements and

Chart 1- Saskatchewan's GDP



Source: Statistics Canada 2007, Provincial and Territorial Economic Accounts Review

processes of the program (Government of Saskatchewan, 2007). Although Saskatchewan's immigration increased from 1,734 to 2,724 from 1997 to 2006, the growth rate of immigration is much lower than that of the other two Prairie provinces (Appendix Table A1). Besides its uneven growth patterns, Saskatchewan has some other barriers to attract immigrants. When choosing their settlement, immigrants consider the community, job opportunities, lifestyle, housing, education, etc. Unfortunately, Saskatchewan does not have an advantage with respect to those aspects. Currently, most immigrants come from Asia, and their knowledge of the different regions in Canada comes from promotions and advertisements. However, Saskatchewan may be lacking awareness among those potential immigrants.

1.5 Summary

The Prairie provinces developed strategies, such as Provincial Nominee Programs and improvement of settlement services, to attract more immigrants. Those strategies had positive effect to attract and retain more immigrants, especially in Alberta. However, those provinces still face some challenges. First of all, the competition for attracting skilled immigrants is increasing. Other provinces in Canada, such as Ontario, developed their own Provincial Nominee Programs to attract and retain immigrants. Moreover, the number of immigrants who come from the main source countries, such as China and India, may decrease because of their improving life condition and job opportunities in their home countries. Second, immigrants will face barriers to find jobs after entering into Canada. These barriers include a gap in language and recognition of foreign credentials and a lack of Canadian work experience and specific skills needed in Canada. Taking that into account, this under-utilization of immigrants' skills has been estimated to cost the Canadian economy $2 billion annually (Reitz, 2001). Third, governments need to improve public attitudes towards immigrants. Although economic conditions and ethnic communities are important to immigrants, public attitudes can also affect the adaption of immigrants to the Canadian society. It is important for the government to promote greater acceptance of immigrants and better awareness of their contributions (Government of Alberta 2007).

2. Literature Review

There were many empirical studies that focused on the economic performance of immigrants in Canada in the past decades. Most of them examined the assimilation rate of immigrants by comparing their earning patterns to those of their Canadian-born counterparts. In addition, other studies looked at immigrants' geographical distribution and at their migration patterns after their landing.

2.1 Assimilation of Immigrants

Chiswick (1978) compared the earnings of foreign-born adult white men aged 25 to 64 with the U.S. native born by using the 1970 U.S. Census of Population. According to his results, on average, immigrants earned much less than native born did upon arrival. However, their earnings grew faster than those of the native born with similar characteristics. Foreign-born had equal earnings compared with native-born after approximately 13 years after immigration, and they were even 6 percent higher after 20 years. However, Borjas (1985) questioned the empirical validity of Chiswick's conclusion. Using the 1970 and 1980 U.S. census, he showed that the cross-sectional of regressions that Chiswick (1978) used overestimated the assimilation rate of immigrants. His results were consistent with the hypothesis that the higher assimilation rates measured in the cross-section studies were partly due to the lower quality of the more recent cohorts of immigrants, who have lower productivity and less adaptability to the labour market; the lower quality of immigration is largely attributed to the changing distribution of source countries. Finally, he concluded that for most immigrant groups, the overtaking points took place much later in their life cycles than the cross-sectional studies predicted.

Subsequently, Bloom, Grenier and Gunderson (1995) examined the entry effect, the assimilation effect and the cohort effect for Canada by using the 1971, 1981 and 1986 Censuses. The paper developed an empirical study that focused on the assimilation rates of females and males among the different immigrant cohorts. Compared to the previous literature, the paper generated consistent results for the cross-section regressions. The results confirmed, for both of male and female immigrants, the negative entry effect and the positive assimilation effect, while the recent cohorts need much more time to catch up with the Canadian-born. For the pooled data regressions, after controlling for the separate cohort effects, the entry and assimilation effects are lower than those of the separate census regressions for both male and female. The study suggested the following reasons why more recent immigrant cohorts need more time to fully assimilate:

- Decline of the quality of immigrants because the immigration policy was changed from emphasizing skills to emphasizing family reunification and human rights;
- Changes of the source countries of immigration from the industrial countries to the developing countries, which are more likely to include visible minority people;
- Negative impact of the economic recession of the early 1980s on the labour market.

Schaffsma and Sweetman (2001) used Canadian census data to study the effect of age at immigration on earnings. The results suggest that age at immigration matters. Those immigrants who arrived at larger ages had important earning disadvantages compared to their Canadian-born counterparts, while those who arrived before their teen

ages had no earning deficit. The reason is that compared to the young immigrants, older immigrants are less able to acculturate when entering a new country.

More recently, Aydemir and Skuterud (2005) conducted an empirical study that focused on the possible causes of this deterioration in the economic performance of Canadian immigrants. They used the Canadian Censuses of 1981, 1986, 1991, 1996 and 2001, with complete 20 percent micro data files, to examine long-term changes in immigrant cohort entry earnings and assimilation profiles. The major finding is that one-third of the deterioration of immigrants' entry earnings can be explained by the decline in return to foreign labour market experience, and this decline in the return to foreign labour market experience was found almost entirely in the immigrants who came from non-traditional source countries. They also indicated that one-third of the deterioration can be explained by the shifts from traditional European source countries to non-traditional Asian sources countries with weaker language abilities. However, the decline in return to foreign labour market experience cannot be explained by these shifts. Furthermore, their results suggested that two-thirds of the decline in the entry earnings of Canada's most recent immigrants can be explained by factors that are not related to conditions of the labour market.

Using Canadian Census data from 1981 to 2001, Ferrer and Riddell (2008) focused on how the human capital of immigrants is rewarded. The results confirmed that immigrants had lower returns to years of schooling and experience than their Canadian-born counterparts. However, their major finding suggested that those who have diplomas and degrees receive more earnings, compared others comparable individuals without those credentials.

To sum up, the earnings of immigrants are lower at the time of entry, but grow faster than those of their Canadian-born counterparts. However, the more recent cohorts of immigrants need much more time to catch up with the Canadian-born counterpart because of their lower quality due mainly to the changing distribution of source countries.

2.2 Choice of Location and Secondary Migration of Immigrants

By examining immigrants from 1976 to1981, Trovato (1988) found that the more recently arrived immigrants were more likely to move than those who had lived in Canada longer. In addition, those immigrants who lived more than 10 years in Canada had mobility patterns similar to those of the Canadian born. He concluded that the existence of large ethnic communities was the primary factor of attraction of immigration.

Using the longitudinal survey of the Economic and Social Adaptation of Immigrants to Life in Canada from 1969 to1974, Nogle (1994) concluded that, in addition to economic conditions, the age, sex, marital status, and education level of the immigrants also contributed to the internal migration. Furthermore, he found that recent immigrants were likely to move to the cities with large ethnic communities.

Subsequently, Newbold (1996) examined the interprovincial migration patterns of the foreign-born and Canadian-born in Canada. He used the Public Use Sample file of the 1986 Canadian census to compare the in- and outmigration rates of the foreign-born to the interprovincial migration rates of the Canadian-born. The results suggest that the foreign-born have a greater tendency of interprovincial migration than the primary migrants, while this tendency is lower than the one of the return and onward Canadian-born migrants. Compared to other provinces, both Ontario and British Columbia have

higher in-migration rates and lower out-migration rates of foreign-born. The superior abilities of these two provinces to attract and retain the foreign-born are due to their strong economy, large size of ethnic communities, job opportunities, high incomes, etc. Furthermore, the personal attributes, such as age, sex, level of education and family type, affected the interprovincial migration of the foreign-born and the Canadian-born in the similar way.

Recently, Grenier (2008) compared the internal migration patterns of immigrants and Canadian-born by using the Canadian censuses of 1981, 1986, 1991 and 1996. Besides making a formal comparison of those two groups for the first time, this paper also considered the mobility both within a province and across provinces. The results suggested that immigrants have less mobility than the Canadian-born across provinces, but not at the local level, while they have more mobility than their native counterpart who lives in their home provinces. Another finding is that, compared to the Canadian-born, education has a more positive impact on immigrants' interprovincial mobility, while their ages have a more negative impact. It can be concluded that immigrants contributed more to geographic concentration than the native born did.

Using the Statistics Canada micro data files for 1991 and 1996 censuses, McDonald (2003) focused on the choice of initial locations of recent immigrants to Canada. The results indicated that the large size of ethic group is an important cause that not only affects immigrants' first provincial settlement but also affects their interprovincial mobility after arriving. Furthermore, the results suggested that government policy designed to encourage immigrants to settle in less popular places may work.

To conclude, the internal mobility of immigrants decreases with the years since immigration, and they have more mobility than their native-born counterpart who live in their home provinces. Overall, compared to their native born counterpart, immigrants exhibit more geographic concentration.

3. Data and Model Specification

This paper uses the 2001 Canadian Census public micro data file. This 2.7 percent sample of the Canadian population selects males and females aged 20 to 65 who worked at least one week and had positive wages and salaries during the year 2000. The data for five provinces are obtained separately to compare the immigrants and the native born.

The model for the empirical study is based on Chiswick's (1978) human capital equation with the addition of some dummy variables for immigrants' countries of origin:

$$y = X\beta + \alpha \text{Immig} + \theta \text{YSM(Immig)} + \beta_1 \text{Asia} + \beta_2 \text{Other} + \beta_3 \text{Noncma} + \beta_4 \text{Imnoncma}$$

where

y = natural logarithm of earnings;

X = vector of standard human capital determinants of earnings and other control variables----education, proxy of working experience, square of proxy of working experience, marital status, weeks worked in 2000 and full-time or part-time status of weeks worked in 2000; this vector has an associated parameter vector β;

Immig= dummy variable coded 1for immigrants, 0 for Canadian-born individuals;

Asia= dummy variable coded 1for immigrants come from Asia region, 0 for immigrants come from other regions (the reference group is Europe and the U.S);

Other= dummy variable coded 1for immigrants come from Africa, Latin America and other regions, 0 for immigrants come from other regions(the reference group is Europe and the U.S);

YSM = years since migration for immigrants;

Noncma=dummy variable coded1 for people who do not live in one of the major census metropolitan areas identified in the public micro-data, 0 for people who live in one of those CMAs;

Imnoncma=immig*noncma, interaction dummy variable coded1 for immigrants in non-CMA, 0 for immigrants in CMA and Canadian-born individuals.

A Census Metropolitan Area (CMA) is a geographical area defined by Statistics Canada. According to Statistic Canada, "the census population count of the urban core is at least 50,000 and the area must have a population of at least 100,000 to form a census metropolitan area (CMA)." (Statistics Canada 2007) The major CMAs are identified in the data (see Appendix Table A3). Noncma is a dummy variable for residents outside a major CMA in each province, the reference group including those in the major CMAs in each province. Imnoncma is an interaction dummy variable of immigrants in non-CMA in order to see if the effect of not living in a CMA is the same for immigrants and Canadian-born individuals.

The coefficient of the immigration dummy α, expected to be negative, is a measurement of the entry effect, which is the difference in log earnings between the immigrants at the time of entry and their Canadian-born counterparts with similar characteristics. One would expect α to be negative because immigrants, due to their

scarcity of language skills and work experiences, earn less than their comparable Canadian-born counterparts, all other factors held fixed.

The coefficient θ is a measure of the assimilation effect, which is the percentage of earnings the immigrants can catch up to every year with their comparable Canadian-born counterparts. One would expect θ to be positive, since immigrants will assimilate into the labour market as they develop their language skills and work experiences. However, because only one cross-section of data is used, cohort effects cannot be introduced explicitly. The assimilation effect may capture part of the cohort effect.

The coefficients β_1 and β_2 represent the earning difference of the immigrants from Asia and other regions respectively at the time of entry, compared to the reference group, immigrants from United States and Europe. They are expected to be negative. The coefficient β_3 measures the earnings gap between people not living in CMAs and those living in CMAs, and it is expected to be negative. The coefficient β_4 measures the earnings gap between immigrants not living in CMAs and their reference group, Canadian-born individuals not living in CMAs.

The regression is estimated for females and males separately, and for each of the five provinces of Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Alberta, British Columbia and Ontario. All the variables used in the model are defined in Appendix table A2 and the CMAs in the five provinces are identified in Appendix table A3. Tables A4 and A5 in the Appendix present the descriptive statistics for female and male immigrants, respectively. The estimated parameters of all the variables in the model for female and male are presented in the Appendix tables A6 and A7 respectively.

4. Empirical Results and Interpretation

4.1 Descriptive Statistics for Women

Appendix table A4 presents the comparison of female immigrants and Canadian-born in terms of labour market characteristics in the five provinces. Female immigrants in all five provinces have similar number of years of schooling (educ) of around 14 years, potential work experiences (exp) of approximate 23 years. However, the years since migration (ysm) show that immigrants in Saskatchewan and Manitoba have between one and two more years than those in the other three provinces. Immigrants in Saskatchewan and Manitoba had immigrated 22 and 21 years earlier respectively, while those in Alberta, British Columbia and Ontario had experienced about 19.65 years on average.

Compared to the immigrants, Canadian-born individuals in the five provinces have approximately the same years of schooling and 3 to 4 years less potential work experiences than the immigrants. The logarithm of wages in dollars (lnwages) is used to measure people's wages and salaries. It is worth mentioning that the wages of immigrants and Canadian-born individuals are related to the economic development of the five provinces with the following ranking: Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Alberta, British Columbia and Ontario. This situation is as expected since people living in the more developed places need higher income to cover the higher standard of living. Although immigrants in Saskatchewan earn the lowest wages, they also experience the smallest wage differentials with Canadian-born individuals (logwage of 9.63 compared to 9.64), while immigrants in British Columbia have the largest wage gap (9.71 compared to 9.84 in terms of lnwages). The differences in the proportion of immigrants who do not live in major CMAs among the five provinces are large. For example, Saskatchewan has the

Table 2 Proportion of Female Immigrants by Region of Birth

	United States and Europe	Asia	Others
Saskatchewan	58.60%	28.07%	13.33%
Manitoba	39.79%	40.96%	19.25%
Alberta	43.31%	41.54%	15.15%
British Columbia	35.71%	52.10%	12.19%
Ontario	42.34%	35.61%	22.06%

Source: based on descriptive statistics in Appendix table A4

highest proportion of immigrants who do not live in CMAs (28.77 percent), while Ontario experiences the lowest one (7.75 percent). Furthermore, the Canadian-born individuals are more than twice as likely as immigrants not to live in major CMAs in all the provinces (four times in Ontario).

Table 2 shows the distribution of female immigrants by region of birth in each province. It is worth noticing that these provinces tend to have a higher proportion of Asian immigrants in the Western part of Canada, with the exception of Saskatchewan. The fact that Saskatchewan has a lower proportion of Asian immigrants is possibly due to its unstable economy and the small number of immigrants. Furthermore, Table 2 indicates that the distributions of immigrants' original countries are more even in Manitoba, Alberta and Ontario than in Saskatchewan and British Columbia. In Saskatchewan, 58.6 percent of immigrants are from United States and Europe, and 28.1 percent of immigrants are from Asia, while these proportions are 35.7 percent and 52.1 percent in British Columbia. This may be one of the factors accounting for the fact that immigrants in Saskatchewan experienced the smallest wage gap with the Canadian-born, while those in British Columbia had the highest one. That is because the immigrants from

United States and Europe had less of an earnings disadvantage, due to their language skills, than those from Asia and the other regions.

4.2 Descriptive Statistics for Men

The descriptive statistics in Appendix table A5 shows that the characteristics of male immigrants are similar to those of female immigrants. Compared to the females, male immigrants in the five provinces have the same number of years of schooling (educ) of around 14 years, and their potential work experiences (exp) is approximately 23 years. Years since migration (ysm) are also higher in Saskatchewan and Manitoba, showing that the male immigrants in those two provinces had immigrated earlier than those in the other three provinces. The distribution between CMAs and non-CMAs in the five provinces is also similar to that of females. The pattern of wages of male immigrants is the same as that of females, but their wages were higher than those of females. Although immigrants in Saskatchewan still had the lowest wages, they were the only group of immigrants with higher wages than their Canadian-born counterparts.

Table 3 displays the proportion of male immigrants by region of birth and province. The trend in the geographical distribution of male Asian immigrants is not as clear as that of females. British Columbia still had the highest proportion of Asian immigrants at 50.4 percent, but the other provinces had around 35.6 percent of Asian immigrants on average. Furthermore, Table 3 indicates that the distributions of male immigrants' countries of origin are more even than those of females. For example, in Saskatchewan, there were 53.6 percent of immigrants from United States and Europe and 31.1 percent from Asia, while these proportions were 38.2 percent and 50.4 percent in

Table 3 Proportion of Male Provincial immigrants by Region of Birth			
	United States and Europe	**Asia**	**Others**
Saskatchewan	53.58%	31.06%	15.36%
Manitoba	45.34%	36.33%	18.33%
Alberta	45.35%	38.03%	16.62%
British Columbia	38.21%	50.42%	11.37%
Ontario	43.22%	37.11%	19.67%

Source: based on descriptive statistics in Appendix table A5

British Columbia.

4.3 Regression Results for Women

Table 4 presents selected estimated coefficients for women, which are based on the complete regression results shown in Appendix table A6. It indicates that, at the time of entry, the immigrants in all of the five provinces had lower earnings, while those who lived in less developed provinces had less of an earnings disadvantage than those who lived in the more developed provinces. For example, female immigrants in Saskatchewan and Manitoba had 26.4 percent lower earnings than their comparable Canadian-born women, while those in Alberta, British Columbia and Ontario had approximately 35 percent lower earnings than their female Canadian-born counterparts.

The immigrants in Saskatchewan had the lowest growth rate of earnings at 0.6 percent compared to assimilation effects of the other four provinces at about 1 percent for each, but the coefficient of Saskatchewan was not significant ($t = 1.43$). As a result, it would take female immigrants in Saskatchewan about 44 years to catch up with Canadian-born women in Saskatchewan, while those in Manitoba only need about 29

Table 4
Selected Regression Results for Females

	Saskatchewan	Manitoba	Alberta	British Columbia	Ontario
Variables	Coefficient Estimate				
Immig	-0.264 (-1.99)	-0.26042 (-2.94)	-0.34864 (-7.92)	-0.36125 (-10.24)	-0.33585 (-18.43)
Asia	-0.18712 (-1.52)	-0.29727 (-4.04)	-0.06073 (-1.62)	-0.08046 (-2.83)	-0.06592 (-4.11)
Other (Including Africa)	0.04889 (0.31)	-0.05057 (-0.59)	0.0231 (0.49)	0.01984 (0.52)	-0.05017 (-2.92)
Noncma	-0.14525 (-5.76)	-0.18167 (-7.11)	-0.15526 (-10.4)	-0.19231 (-13.4)	-0.17637 (-20.24)
Imnoncma	0.0374 (0.32)	0.00111 (0.01)	0.06881 (1.45)	0.00399 (0.12)	0.0426 (1.68)
YSM	0.00596 (1.43)	0.00903 (3.29)	0.00933 (6.66)	0.00946 (9.26)	0.01002 (17.81)
Years to Equality (-immig/ysm)	44.3	28.8	37.4	38.2	33.5
N	5,137	6,260	17,869	21,941	66,122

NOTES:
The figures in parentheses are the t-statistics.
The reference group for the immigrants who come from Asia and Other regions is those come from Unite States and Europe.
The reference group for the immigrants in non-CMA is the immigrants live in CMA and Canadian-born individuals.
Source: based on regression results in Appendix table A7.

years to catch up with Canadian-born women in Manitoba; female immigrants in Ontario, Alberta and British Columbia need 34, 37 and 38 years respectively to catch up to their comparable Canadian-born women.

The reference group of immigrants from different regions of origin is those who came from United States and Europe. As indicated in Table 4, the immigrants from Asia in all of the five provinces had negative entry effects compared to their reference groups. In contrast to the trend of entry effects of all of the immigrants, the immigrants from Asia had more of an earnings disadvantage in the less developed province than those in the more developed provinces. For example, at the time of entry, the immigrants from Asia in Saskatchewan and Manitoba earned 18.7 percent and 29.7 percent less than their reference group did, while those in Alberta, British Columbia and Ontario earned an average about 7 percent less than their reference group did. This is consistent with many previous studies that pointed out that the immigrants from Asia had lower quality than those from United States and Europe. That is because, compared to immigrants from Asia, many of those from United States and Europe had English or French as their mother tongue and experienced similar social cultures and work experiences to those of the Canadian-born individuals. However, the coefficients for Saskatchewan and Alberta are not significant.

On the other hand, the effect for immigrants from other regions cannot be clearly identified. For example, the immigrants from other regions in Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia had positive entry effects compared to immigrants from United States and Europe; while those in Manitoba and Ontario had negative entry effects, but all the coefficients except one are not significant.

Compared to residents in CMAs, those who do not live in CMAs had lower earnings in all of the five provinces. The differences in the earning gaps among the five provinces are small. For example, residents in Saskatchewan had the smallest earning gap

of negative 14.5 percent, while those in British Columbia experienced the largest one of negative 19.2 percent. This situation can be explained by the facts that residents in CMA need higher wages than those who do not live in CMAs to afford higher life expenditure.

Although the magnitude is small and the coefficients are not significant, the immigrants not living in CMAs in the five provinces had positive coefficient. This means that the negative effect of not living in a CMA is slightly less important for immigrants than for the Canadian-born individuals. Possible reasons for the distinction between immigrants in CMA and those who do not live in CMAs within a province may include the following: first, immigrants not living in CMAs are more likely to improve their language skills fast compared to those in CMA since they live in a place with a high proportion of people speak English or French. Second, immigrants may face less discrimination and more reception to integrate into the labour market in non-CMAs; a possible reason is that immigrants in CMAs started looking for jobs after landing while those not living in CMAs may get good job offers before arriving.

To summarize, for the female immigrants, those who settled in the less developed provinces had lower earning disadvantages than those in the more developed provinces. In contrast, immigrants from Asia in less developed provinces faced a tougher situation than those in more developed provinces. In the five provinces, residents who do not live in CMAs had earning disadvantage; the negative effect of not living in a CMA is slightly less important for immigrants than for the Canadian-born individuals.

4.4 Regression Results for Men

Table 5 presents selected estimated coefficients for men, which are based on the complete regression results shown in Appendix table A7. Although the entry effects of male immigrants in the five provinces are also negative, the overall picture of the pattern is quite different from that of the female immigrants. Table 5 shows that the entry effects of male immigrants are relatively similar to those of female immigrants in Manitoba, Alberta and British Columbia, while those in Saskatchewan and Ontario are quite different. Male immigrants in Saskatchewan had stronger entry earning disadvantage at negative 40 percent, compared to negative 26.4 percent for female immigrants, while the entry effects were negative 26.4 percent and 33.6 percent for male and female immigrants, respectively, in Ontario. Overall, on average, the male immigrants in the five provinces had stronger earning disadvantage than female immigrants at the time of entry.

Compared to female immigrants, male immigrant had more even growth rates of earnings in the five provinces (coefficients of YSM). For example, Saskatchewan had the highest rate at 1.3 percent, twice as much as that of female immigrants; in Manitoba and Ontario, the growth rates of male immigrants, 0.7 and 0.8 percent respectively, were two tenths of a percent lower than those of female immigrants.

Overall, the faster and more even earning growth rates of male immigrants overcome their uneven and stronger negative entry effects, resulting in a quite smoothly distributed and shorter years to equality: the male immigrants in the five provinces need an average of 33 years to catch up their Canadian-born counterparts. Compared to females, male immigrants in most provinces need less or the same amount of time to fully assimilate, with only one exception: male immigrants in Manitoba need 5 more years than female immigrants to fully assimilate.

Table 5
Selected Regression Results for Males

	Saskatchewan	Manitoba	Alberta	British Columbia	Ontario
Variables	Coefficient Estimate				
Immig	-0.40183	-0.24885	-0.34106	-0.32439	-0.2638
	(-2.83)	(-3.23)	(-8.09)	(-9.87)	(-15.45)
Asia	-0.12213	-0.35337	-0.22932	-0.18316	-0.2012
	(-0.95)	(-5.42)	(-6.39)	(-6.85)	(-13.45)
Other	0.13746	-0.06416	-0.14005	-0.09004	-0.152
	(0.86)	(-0.84)	(-3.20)	(-2.43)	(-9.10)
Noncma	-0.16375	-0.12261	-0.05637	-0.02508	-0.1602
	(-6.21)	(-5.43)	(-4.05)	(-1.91)	(-19.44)
Imnoncma	0.25047	0.06044	-0.02818	0.00711	0.07092
	(1.93)	(0.75)	(-0.64)	(0.23)	(3.04)
YSM	0.0125	0.00737	0.01042	0.00974	0.00766
	(2.93)	(3.21)	(7.96)	(10.28)	(14.67)
Years to Equality (-immig/ysm)	32.1	33.8	32.7	33.3	34.4
N	5,218	6,669	20,005	23,516	70,508

NOTES:
The figures in parentheses are the t-statistics.
The reference group for the immigrants who come from Asia and Other regions is those come from Unite States and Europe.
The reference group for the immigrants in non-CMA is the immigrants in CMA and Canadian-born individuals.
Source: based on regression results in Appendix table A8.

The negative entry effects of male immigrants from Asia are much stronger than those of female immigrants with one exception: male immigrants from Asia in Saskatchewan earned 12.2 percent less than their Canadian-born counterparts, while

female immigrants had negative entry effect at 18.7 percent, but the coefficient of Saskatchewan was not significant (t =-0.95).

The male immigrants from other regions in most provinces faced worse prospects than females, while those in Saskatchewan earned 13.7 percent more than their reference group did, compared to the positive 5 percent entry effect of females, but again, the coefficient of Saskatchewan was not significant (t =0.86). Alberta and British Columbia experienced the largest changes: the entry effects for male immigrants in these two provinces were negative 14 and 9 percent respectively, compared to the positive 2.3 and 1.9 percent of female immigrants.

Similarly to females, males not residing in CMAs earned less than their reference groups, which are male residents in CMAs in each province. However, the pattern of male residents' effects was quite different from that of females. Male residents in the more developed provinces had the smaller earning gap, with the exception of Ontario, which had the second largest earning gap of negative 16 percent, while Saskatchewan had the largest one of negative 16.4 percent.

Male immigrants who do not live in CMAs in most of provinces had positive effects and the effects were stronger than those of females. However, male immigrants who do not live in CMAs in Alberta had negative effect of 2.8 percent, while females had a positive effect of 6.8 percent. The largest differences between females and males were in Saskatchewan and Manitoba, the less developed provinces: the effects were positive 25 and 3.7 percent for male and female immigrants in Saskatchewan, while those percentages were positive 6 and 0.1 percent for males and females respectively. However,

the coefficients of Manitoba, Alberta and British Columbia were not significant (t-statistics are less than 2 in absolute values).

To sum up, on average, male immigrants in the five provinces had stronger earning disadvantages at the time of entry, but higher and more evenly distributed growth rates of earnings than female immigrants. As a result, compared to females, male immigrants in most provinces need less or equal time to fully assimilate, with the exception of Manitoba. Moreover, male residents not living in CMAs had earning disadvantages, while those residing in the more developed provinces had the smaller earnings gap, with the exception of Ontario. However, male immigrants who do not live in CMAs in all the five provinces had stronger positive effects than females, with the exception of Alberta.

5. Conclusion

This paper used data from the 2001 Canadian Census to compare the economic performance of female and male immigrants between Ontario and British Columbia, the most popular provinces of destination, and the less popular Prairie Provinces of Alberta, Manitoba and Saskatchewan.

The results of the descriptive statistics suggest that the years since migration (ysm) of immigrants, both female and male, in Saskatchewan and Manitoba are between one and two more years than those in the other three provinces. Moreover, for females, the five provinces tend to have a higher proportion of Asian immigrants as one moves from East to West, with the exception of Saskatchewan. It is worth noticing that in

Saskatchewan, female immigrants had the smallest wage differential from their comparable Canadian-born individuals, while male immigrants earned slightly more than their comparable native-born Canadians.

Consistent with the conclusions of previous studies, the regression results of this paper found that both female and male immigrants had earning disadvantages compared to their Canadian-born counterparts. Furthermore, the results for female immigrants suggest that immigrants in the less-developed provinces experienced less earning disadvantages at entry than those in the more developed provinces. Although male immigrants in the five provinces had stronger earning disadvantage at the time of entry, their higher growth rates of earnings resulted in a lower number of years to equality than female immigrants on average.

Compared to immigrants from United States and Europe, which are the reference group, the results suggest that both female and male immigrants from Asia had earning disadvantages, with male immigrants from Asia facing a much more difficult prospect than females. This finding is consistent with the conclusions of previous studies that the immigrants from Asia had lower quality than those from United States and Europe. One explanation is that many immigrants from United States and Europe had English or French as their mother tongue and experienced similar social cultures and work experiences as the Canadian-born individuals. In addition, the results for female immigrants indicated that immigrants from Asia in the less-developed provinces had lower earning disadvantages than those in the more-developed provinces.

According to the results, both females and males who do not live in CMAs earned less than those who live in CMAs, while earning disadvantage of females is slightly

stronger than that of males on average. Furthermore, the results for males suggested that those residing in the more-developed provinces had the smaller earning gap, with the exception of Ontario. The results implied that the negative effect of both female and male immigrants who do not live in CMAs is less important for immigrants than for the Canadian-born individuals, with the exception of male immigrants in Alberta.

Overall, although some of the results suggest that immigrants who lived in the less developed provinces performed better than those who lived in more developed provinces, there is insufficient evidence to confirm that conclusion since some aspects of the regression results for female and male immigrants displayed significant different pictures.

Appendix Tables

Table A1 Distribution of Number of new Immigrants by Province

Province/territory	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
					Number					
Newfoundland and Labrador	417	402	424	417	393	407	359	579	496	511
Prince Edward Island	144	136	135	189	134	106	153	310	330	565
Nova Scotia	2,832	2,043	1,594	1,609	1,700	1,418	1,474	1,770	1,929	2,585
New Brunswick	663	723	660	758	798	706	665	795	1,091	1,646
Quebec	27,936	26,622	29,155	32,503	37,601	37,591	39,553	44,243	43,312	44,677
Ontario	117,737	92,397	104,166	133,505	148,640	133,592	119,723	125,092	140,524	125,914
Manitoba	3,703	2,997	3,725	4,635	4,593	4,619	6,502	7,426	8,096	10,051
Saskatchewan	1,734	1,564	1,729	1,882	1,704	1,668	1,668	1,942	2,107	2,724
Alberta	12,832	11,188	12,089	14,363	16,408	14,767	15,837	16,473	19,404	20,717
British Columbia	47,836	35,973	36,126	37,430	38,474	34,055	35,231	37,028	44,771	42,079
Yukon	89	62	77	60	65	50	59	62	65	65
Northwest Territories	100	63	58	83	95	60	94	89	84	98
Nunavut	0	0	14	12	13	12	9	8	12	9
Province or territory not stated	15	25	5	13	23	0	24	7	18	8
Total	**216,038**	**174,195**	**189,957**	**227,459**	**250,641**	**229,051**	**221,351**	**235,824**	**262,239**	**251,649**

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada, Facts and Figures 2006

Table A2 Variable Description

Lnwages: Logarithms of wages and salaries in dollars in 2000;

Edu: Education in years;

Exp: Potential work experience in years, calculated by Age-Education-6;

Expsq: Squared of potential work experience in years;

Married: Dummy variable for historical comparability indicator of marital status;

Tpart: Dummy variable for part-time work in 2000;

Immig= dummy variable for immigrants (reference: Canadian-born individuals);

Asia= dummy variable for immigrants come from Asia region (reference: immigrants come from Europe and the U.S);

Other= dummy variable for immigrants come from Africa, Latin America and other regions (reference: immigrants come from Europe and the U.S);

YSM = years since migration for immigrants;

Noncma=dummy variable for people who do not live in one of the major census metropolitan areas (reference: people who live in CMAs) (see Table A3 for list of major CMAs);

Imnoncma=immig*noncma, interaction dummy variable for immigrants who do not live in one of the major census metropolitan areas (reference: Canadian-born individuals who live in CMA).

Table A3 Major CMAs by province

	CMA
Saskatchewan	Regina, Saskatoon
Manitoba	Winnipeg
Alberta	Calgary, Edmonton
British Columbia	Vancouver, Victoria
Ontario	Ottawa-Hull, Oshawa, Toronto, St. Catharines-Niagara, Kitchener, London, Hamilton, Windsor, Sudbury and Thunder Bay

Table A4 Descriptive statistics for immigrant and Canadian-born females

		Saskatchewan	Manitoba	Alberta	British Columbia	Ontario
Variables		**Mean**				
Educ	Immigrants	13.99298	13.10210	13.70577	13.93952	13.85723
	Canadian-born	13.48454	13.42310	13.73121	13.91424	14.12091
Exp	Immigrants	24.19825	24.21412	22.23945	22.00531	22.14155
	Canadian-born	20.30049	20.07339	18.96455	19.50690	18.61648
Exp2	Immigrants	713.67456	718.69341	629.24492	616.71892	627.14314
	Canadian-born	550.44590	540.07278	490.28469	511.75959	481.13531
Lnwages	Immigrants	9.63192	9.63939	9.66227	9.71339	9.82746
	Canadian-born	9.64428	9.70734	9.78005	9.84163	9.90862
Noncma	Immigrants	0.28772	0.14586	0.14212	0.19270	0.07752
	Canadian-born	0.52638	0.35443	0.35947	0.45218	0.32495
Mar	Immigrants	0.71930	0.68961	0.69675	0.65128	0.66125
	Canadian-born	0.62552	0.57450	0.55607	0.50827	0.54411
Lnweeks	Immigrants	3.72573	3.74752	3.66296	3.64783	3.68970
	Canadian-born	3.69004	3.71512	3.68937	3.67305	3.71931
Tpart	Immigrants	0.28772	0.21704	0.26233	0.27666	0.20080
	Canadian-born	0.28607	0.27799	0.26344	0.29935	0.24916
YSM	Immigrants	22.15614	21.12952	19.66484	19.45046	19.85450
Asia		0.28070	0.40957	0.41540	0.52099	0.35608
Other		0.13333	0.19253	0.15147	0.12192	0.22057
N	Immigrants	285	857	3,103	6,127	19,622
	Canadian-born	4,852	5,403	14,766	15,724	46,500

Table A5 Descriptive statistics for immigrant and Canadian-born males

		Saskatchewan	Manitoba	Alberta	British Columbia	Ontario
Variables		**Mean**				
Educ	Immigrants	14.30375	13.29820	14.04237	14.00392	13.91648
	Canadian-born	12.93594	13.07004	13.59619	13.63869	13.78812
Exp	Immigrants	22.87372	23.85434	22.76144	23.05824	22.89665
	Canadian-born	20.74497	20.39328	19.15673	20.23396	19.19462
Exp2	Immigrants	658.79863	706.53046	648.75450	672.62402	665.38786
	Canadian-born	572.95959	554.23707	498.23563	543.45968	504.46467
Lnwages	Immigrants	10.15649	10.10752	10.22577	10.15340	10.28736
	Canadian-born	10.10717	10.15948	10.37457	10.30823	10.38029
Noncma	Immigrants	0.22867	0.14089	0.14703	0.18823	0.08178
	Canadian-born	0.52792	0.36996	0.36972	0.46915	0.32988
Mar	Immigrants	0.68942	0.7330508	0.7050487	0.7139717	0.7204159
	Canadian-born	0.60061	0.56035	0.54796	0.51382	0.54983
Lnweeks	Immigrants	3.72562	3.7901884	3.7681301	3.7171738	3.7689843
	Canadian-born	3.74433	3.76973	3.78308	3.73203	3.79144
Tpart	Immigrants	0.09556	0.0529661	0.0720402	0.1117739	0.0681316
	Canadian-born	0.07858	0.08332	0.06415	0.09921	0.07573
YSM	Immigrants	21.85836	21.95286	20.63980	19.79655	19.93396
Asia		0.31058	0.3633475	0.3802775	0.5042386	0.3711006
Other		0.15358	0.1832627	0.1662238	0.1136578	0.1966781
N	Immigrants	293	944	3,387	6,370	21,253
	Canadian-born	4,925	5,725	16,618	17,146	49,255

Table A6
Complete Regression Results for Females

	Saskatchewan	Manitoba	Alberta	British Columbia	Ontario
Variables	Coefficient Estimate				
Intercept	5.17563	4.8929	5.14867	5.62247	5.32192
	(43.37)	(45.23)	(83.23)	(98.85)	(155.65)
Educ	0.09201	0.09042	0.08204	0.06775	0.08412
	(16.58)	(19.22)	(30.02)	(27.53)	(59.95)
Exp	0.0403	0.03709	0.03937	0.03593	0.03334
	(10.76)	(10.68)	(19.72)	(18.77)	(32.02)
Exp2	-0.00071	-0.00063	-0.00065	-0.00058	-0.00051
	(-8.51)	(-8.16)	(-14.11)	(-13.36)	(-21.48)
Mar	0.03708	0.0913	0.07837	0.08841	0.08411
	(1.38)	(3.74)	(5.57)	(6.89)	(11.42)
Lnweeks	0.82347	0.9148	0.88485	0.85135	0.8688
	(36.91)	(41.44)	(72.13)	(77.33)	(127.44)
Tpart	-0.65069	-0.69211	-0.67452	-0.70972	-0.78887
	(-23.58)	(-26.32)	(-44.02)	(-51.91)	(-94.58)
Immig	-0.264	-0.26042	-0.34864	-0.36125	-0.33585
	(-1.99)	(-2.94)	(-7.92)	(-10.24)	(-18.43)
Asia	-0.18712	-0.29727	-0.06073	-0.08046	-0.06592
	(-1.52)	(-4.04)	(-1.62)	(-2.83)	(-4.11)
Other	0.04889	-0.05057	0.0231	0.01984	-0.05017
	(0.31)	(-0.59)	(0.49)	(0.52)	(-2.92)
Noncma	-0.14525	-0.18167	-0.15526	-0.19231	-0.17637
	(-5.76)	(-7.11)	(-10.4)	(-13.4)	(-20.24)
Imnoncma	0.0374	0.00111	0.06881	0.00399	0.0426
	(0.32)	(0.01)	(1.45)	(0.12)	(1.68)
YSM	0.00596	0.00903	0.00933	0.00946	0.01002
	(1.43)	(3.29)	(6.66)	(9.26)	(17.81)
Years to Equality (-immig/ysm)	44.3	28.8	37.4	38.2	33.5
R2	0.3983	0.4095	0.4095	0.4104	0.4053
N	5,137	6,260	17,869	21,941	66,122

NOTES:
The figures in parentheses are the t-statistics.

Table A7
Complete Regression Results for Males

	Saskatchewan	Manitoba	Alberta	British Columbia	Ontario
Variables	Coefficient Estimate				
Intercept	5.72085	5.79625	6.0927	6.21263	5.91191
	(45.48)	(54.93)	(89.30)	(110.99)	(163.65)
Educ	0.05734	0.06773	0.05214	0.05157	0.06043
	(11.46)	(17.78)	(22.06)	(24.15)	(49.12)
Exp	0.04019	0.03629	0.04188	0.03846	0.03732
	(10.33)	(11.52)	(21.56)	(21.50)	(36.66)
Exp2	-0.00072	-0.00058	-0.00074	-0.00061	-0.00059
	(-8.74)	(-8.60)	(-17.22)	(-15.77)	(-26.53)
Mar	0.19468	0.24305	0.22993	0.22382	0.22209
	(6.67)	(10.73)	(16.68)	(17.81)	(29.72)
Lnweeks	0.87099	0.80746	0.81782	0.78451	0.84836
	(31.23)	(33.78)	(52.30)	(64.81)	(104.64)
Tpart	-0.83705	-0.90436	-0.92169	-0.85823	-0.92987
	(-17.14)	(-23.30)	(-35.67)	(-44.28)	(-70.95)
Immig	-0.40183	-0.24885	-0.34106	-0.32439	-0.26382
	(-2.83)	(-3.23)	(-8.09)	(-9.87)	(-15.45)
Asia	-0.12213	-0.35337	-0.22932	-0.18316	-0.20123
	(-0.95)	(-5.42)	(-6.39)	(-6.85)	(-13.45)
Other	0.13746	-0.06416	-0.14005	-0.09004	-0.15196
	(0.86)	(-0.84)	(-3.20)	(-2.43)	(-9.10)
Noncma	-0.16375	-0.12261	-0.05637	-0.02508	-0.16023
	(-6.21)	(-5.43)	(-4.05)	(-1.91)	(-19.44)
Imnoncma	0.25047	0.06044	-0.02818	0.00711	0.07092
	(1.93)	(0.75)	(-0.64)	(0.23)	(3.04)
YSM	0.0125	0.00737	0.01042	0.00974	0.00766
	(2.93)	(3.21)	(7.96)	(10.28)	(14.67)
Years to Equality (-immig/ysm)	32.1	33.8	32.7	33.3	34.4
R2	0.3458	0.3743	0.3294	0.3809	0.3532
N	5,218	6,669	20,005	23,516	70,508

NOTES:
The figures in parentheses are the t-statistics.

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