Short-term, Medium-term and Long-term Economic Performance of Immigrants -

Economic Domain Project

Final Research Report

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and

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to

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Updated Abstract

There have been serious policy concerns over the apparent earnings erosion of recent immigrants. Such concerns are largely premised on findings based on tax data which show that skilled workers who immigrated to Canada prior to 1989 earned more and recent immigrants earned less than the average earnings of Canadian tax filers one year after landing. Several studies also noted that immigrants who came in the late 1960s and early 1970s performed much better than those who came later. However, policy considerations and academic research thus far tend not to distinguish between short-term and long-term economic performance of immigrants. In this project, immigrants' economic performance is conceptualized in four stages: settlement period up to 3 years after landing; medium term from 3 to 10 yeas; long term extending beyond 10 years; and 2nd generation. The research question is as follows: What are the factors and barriers that affect the short-term, medium-term and long-term performance of immigrants. Researchers in this project use different data and methods to address this question, focusing on different stages of the process. The findings of the team project confirm that the economic performance of immigrants and the factors which determine such performance vary depending on the stage of integration in terms of short term, medium term and long term. The findings also indicate that different types of immigrants as defined by such factors as gender, country of origin, class of admission and age show substantial variations in their experiences in the labour market. The team project concludes that it is unwarranted to frame immigration policies based only on short-term performance of immigrants and on general models universally imposed on all categories of immigrants. Immigration and settlement policies need to consider integration as a process that goes through different stages, especially since different types of immigrants have different experiences in the process.

Executive Summary

Several studies have argued that immigrants who immigrated to Canada in the late 1960s and early 1970s performed much better than those who came in the 1980s, in terms of their ability to catch up with Canadians' earnings. However, the claim of recent immigrant cohorts not performing as well as earlier ones has been challenged. The research question for the team project is as follows: What are the factors and barriers that affect the short-term, medium-term and long-term economic performance of immigrants? For the purpose of this study, the process of economic performance of immigrants is conceptualized as composed of several stages: (1) settlement period up to 3 years after landing; (2) medium term from 3 to 10 years after landing; (3) long term extending beyond 10 years after landing; and (4) 2nd generation immigrants.

Derek Hum and Wayne Simpson use the second wave of SLID (Survey of Labour Income and Dynamics) to study the economic performance of 2nd generation immigrants as compared to other groups. Their results suggest that the legacy of immigration is concentrated in the greater educational attainment of the second generation. Men and women of the second generation attend school about one year longer than other Canadians, other factors considered, which raises their wages and earnings permanently between 4 and 7 per cent. Ethnic effects are significant in explaining schooling, but do not affect the estimated advantage of the second generation.

Richard Wanner uses a merged data file created from Censuses of Canada between 1971 and 1996. He studies successive immigrant cohorts as they aged to determine the extent to which the effects of birthplace on occupational status and earnings change over their careers. In both cases, and for both men and women, he finds a considerable advantage associated with being educated in Canada compared to being educated abroad. For those visible minority immigrants just beginning their careers in Canada, he finds no evidence that more recent cohorts have lower attainments than earlier cohorts, though this is true for some European groups. In the analysis of aging cohorts he finds evidence of a tendency for immigrant earnings to converge with those of the Canadian born and for that tendency to be stronger in more recent cohorts. The gap between their earnings and those of the Canadian born shows little sign of diminishing over the career, and in fact the gap has increased from cohort to cohort.

Shiva Halli compares the educational and economic attainment of the second generation and immigrant children with that of their native peers. His analysis reveals that children of immigrant parents are not performing as well as most theories of linear assimilation suggest. However, there is a considerable diversity in outcome depending upon whether one or both parents are foreign-born. The study also finds a significant proportion of the limited economic mobility experienced by the second generation and immigrant children can be explained by the limited mobility of their parents.

Lori Wilkinson uses census data to study the employment income of immigrant women in Canada and the United States in different stages. The model predicting income works best for describing the long-term economic integration of immigrant women.

Hours worked per week has the greatest influence on the employment income for all immigrant women, regardless of the stage of immigration, country of origin, or region of settlement. Education is not a strong predictor. Region of settlement is generally the second strongest predictor of income for immigrant women in both countries. Membership in a visible minority group has a positive influence on income for Canadian and American women in the medium- and long-term stages of integration, but no statistically significant impact in the short-term. Fertility and marital status affect immigrant women in the US and Canada differently.

Peter Li uses data from IMDB and the Ethnic Diversity Survey to study the earnings of immigrants as an indication of economic integration. He finds that using the earnings one year after arrival, recent cohorts of immigrants indeed earned less than previous cohorts as compared to the earnings of the native born. However, more recent cohorts of immigrants take less time to catch up with the earnings of the native-born than earlier cohorts. This pattern holds true for all immigrants admitted under different classes. He then explores how human capital and social capital affect the medium-term economic performance of immigrants. Preliminary data from the Ethnic Diversity Survey indicate that the foreign credentials and foreign work experience disadvantage immigrants, but social capital produces some positive effects on earnings, but its effect varies depending on the level of human capital, gender and racial origin.

The findings of the team project confirm that the economic performance of immigrants and the factors which determine such performance vary depending on the stage of integration in terms of short term, medium term and long term. The findings also indicate that different types of immigrants as defined by such factors as gender, country of origin, class of admission and age show substantial variations in their experiences in the labour market. The team project concludes that it is unwarranted to frame immigration policies based only on short-term performance of immigrants and on general models universally imposed on all categories of immigrants. Immigration and settlement policies need to consider integration as a process that goes through different stages, especially since different types of immigrants have different experiences in the process.

Research Report

Statement of the Problem

Several studies have argued that immigrants who immigrated to Canada in the late 1960s and early 1970s performed much better than those who came in the 1980s, in terms of their ability to catch up with Canadians' earnings (Abbott and Beach, 1993; Beaujot and Rappak, 1990; Bloom and Gunderson, 1991; Coulson and Devoretz, 1993; Bloom, Grenier and Gunderson, 1995). Such declining performance of immigrants is often attributed to the policy change in the 1980s to admit large numbers of immigrants not subjected to selection criteria, which in turn results in immigrants with low levels of human capital being admitted (see for example, Bloom and Gunderson, 1991; Beaujot and Rappak, 1990). However, the claim of recent immigrant cohorts not performing as well as earlier ones has been challenged by several studies, which show that (1) immigrants arriving in the early 1980s were improving their earnings at a faster rate than their predecessors, and that those arriving in the late 1980s had similar entry earnings to those who came in the early 1980s (Grant, 1999), and (2) recent immigrant cohorts suffered a smaller earnings disadvantage on entry than earlier cohorts based on pooled cross-sectional survey data for 1981-92 (McDonald and Worswick, 1998).

There are many reasons which may account for the differences in findings. Most studies are based on cross-sectional census data which do not have longitudinal details needed to track immigrants' performance over time. Borjas (1985, 1994) has shown that using the earnings performance of immigrants who came earlier to extrapolate the future earnings of later immigrants can be misleading, since the projected earnings trajectories confound what Borjas (1994: 1671) calls "aging and cohort effects". Borjas (1994) also suggests another type of effect that pertains to the changing economic conditions that would affect immigrants' economic performance. Thus, it would appear that besides the compositional characteristics (human capital, age, origin, etc.) of immigrant cohorts, the changing economic conditions of the receiving society, as well as immigrants' improved productivity over time (as a result of more experience, better recognition of credentials, etc.) could influence the economic performance of immigrants.

Hence, the research question for the team project is as follows: What are the factors and barriers that affect the short-term, medium-term and long-term economic performance of immigrants? For the purpose of this study, the process of economic performance of immigrants is conceptualized as composed of several stages: (1) settlement period up to 3 years after landing; (2) medium term from 3 to 10 years after landing; (3) long term extending beyond 10 years after landing; and (4) 2nd generation immigrants. The purpose of the study is to see how characteristics of immigrants at the time of landing would affect their economic performance. These characteristics include educational credentials, official language capacity, age, sex, origin, landing year, and city or province of destination. It is hypothesized that immigrants' characteristics at landing would strongly affect their economic performance in the settlement period, but over time, the effects of these characteristics attenuate, and other factors, such as improvement of

credentials, further language acquisition and improvement in economic conditions, would play a more important role in influencing the long-term economic integration of immigrants.

Methodology

First Component of Team Research: Li

Policy debates about changing earnings of immigrants tend to use a short timeframe that captures the settlement period up to three years after landing. However, it is not clear whether education, language capacity, admission class and other individual and structural characteristics at the time of landing would affect immigrants' earnings in the medium and long term in the same way they affect them in the settlement period. This component of the team project develops the methodology to estimate the earnings gaps between immigrants of different characteristics initially and how the gaps are closed for different immigrants over time. The analysis is based on data from the IMDB for the period 1980 to 1997. In addition, some custom-made IMBD tables have been prepared. In each custommade table, each cell or record is defined by a cross-classification of "age", "sex", "admission class", "university degree", "official language capacity", and "area of origin", in addition to landing year and tax year. These tables will be used to test the methodology for analyzing immigrants' earnings gaps over time. The final goal of this component of the project is to use the refined methodology to calculate a catch-up rate for each individual, and then to explain how immigrants vary in their capacity to catch up with Canadians' earnings.

Second Component of Team Research: Wanner

This component addresses a similar set of issues using a separate database. Specifically, data from four censuses of Canada, 1981, 1986, 1991, and 1996, are linked into a single file to explore the question of how the individual characteristics of immigrants, along with characteristics of their entry cohorts, social structural factors and macroeconomic conditions, influence their earnings in the settlement period, the middle term and the long term. Although the census does not track individuals over time as would a prospective panel design, the use of cohort methods does permit studying changes in immigrant entry cohorts over time, assuming that a sample from each entry cohort is represented in subsequent censuses. The analysis estimates a series of earnings models separately for men and women that permits the effects of education and language ability to vary over time. Also incorporated in these models are a set of dummy variables indexing country of origin and their interaction with the education and language ability trends. While such models provide an overall estimate of whether or not returns to these forms of human capital change over time and for which country of origin groups, they do not take into account either differences over time in the composition of immigrant cohorts or changing macroeconomic conditions in Canada during their period of arrival. The primary measure of the former is the distribution of each cohort in the major entry classes (Wanner 2002), while the primary measure of the latter is the prevailing unemployment rate in the

immigrants local labour market (CMA) during his or her year of arrival in Canada (McDonald and Worswick 1998).

Third Component of Team Research: Halli

Recent studies in Canada and abroad on the economic experience of immigrants have produced mixed results in terms of the mechanics of assimilation, and concurrent socioeconomic success (Kazemipur and Halli, 2001; Skyt Nielsen, Rosholm, Smith and Husted, 2001; Riphahn, 2001; Maani, 1994; Suro, Lowell, Fry and Saenz 2002; Van Ours and Veenman, 2001; Perlmann and Waldinger, 1998). For instance, Waters et al. (1999), based on their investigation of the second generation in New York City, found that the socioeconomic achievement of the second generation largely depends on parental experiences, the social and cultural resources of the national groups, and the structural context of reception. On the other hand, Borjas (1992) has highlighted the importance of ethnic capital on the skills and labour market outcomes of children. Similar inferences can be drawn by Hirschman's 1994 analysis of studies on immigrant adaptation. According to Hirschman, as the immigrant children identify with American culture and assimilate more into the mainstream society, their economic mobility may be reduced due to lack of educational achievement. Similarly, Portes (1995) argues that poor economic performances by second generation immigrants are due to their lower levels of social capital. Furthermore, Portes (1995) argues that, owing to factors such as neighborhoods, a process of 'segmented assimilation' may occur, whereby the second generation may be assimilated into the underclass.

All of the studies discussed above are not conclusive in terms of offering specific policy directions. This is much more the case in Canada as there are hardly any systematic studies on the second generation economic experience. This component of the study investigates the question of educational and labour force outcomes of both immigrant children and the second generation, compared to that of the children whose parents were born in Canada. Specifically, the questions are: Why is it that the second generation upward mobility of the past is not applicable to all recent immigrants? Why is it that there are some differences within and between groups of immigrants?

In the first stage, we perform a descriptive analysis of parents as well as their children, in order to provide not only the context for our inferences on the socioeconomic experience of the children, but also to test some of the hypotheses, though tentatively. We utilize cohort analysis in order to decompose the socioeconomic experience of the second generation by cohort, period and age effects. In the second stage of the analysis, a multivariate analysis is developed to assess the importance of both the ascribed and achieved characteristics on the outcome variables such as educational attainment, labour force participation and earnings. Data used include census data and the General Social Survey

Fourth Component of Team Research: Hum and Simpson

Economists have spent relatively little effort studying the so-called second generation immigrants. Here sociologists have done more. Most early sociological work can be classified as "straight-line" assimilation theory. Despite the name, the core of straight-line theory is not that assimilation proceeds linearly across generations, but only that it proceeds monotonically. That is, the second generation is more successful than the first, the third generation (the grandchildren of immigrants) is more successful still, and so on. Recent work (Gans 1992), has attacked the straight-line hypotheses as too simple, stressing the differences in assimilation paths among ethnic groups, even in the long run. The vast majority of empirical studies use American data and caution is required in extending their results to Canada, since the two countries differ in the ethnic composition of immigrants and in the institutional setting greeting new arrivals.

Many of the sociologists studying second generation immigrants have relied on case studies. (e.g., Isajiw, Sev'er and Driedger 1993). Boyd and Grieco (1998) is probably the most comprehensive Canadian article on immigrant generations, since unlike Isajiw, Sev'er and Driedger (1993), it considers the entire immigrant population of Canada. Boyd and Grieco , using the 1994 Canadian General Social Survey; find that not all second generation immigrants are alike. Boyd and Grieco conclude that while Canadians with two foreign-born parents experience overachievement, Canadians with only one parent born abroad largely resemble the third generation. However, most of the individuals with one foreign-born parent in the 1994 GSS had Anglo origins, so this resemblance may dissolve as the composition of Canada's immigrant population changes.

As mentioned, there are few credible economic studies of second generation immigration assimilation in the labour market employing Canadian data. Past Studies by economists employing non-Canadian data sources include: Chiswick (1977), Carliner (1980), Chiswick and Miller (1985), Kossoudji (1989); Borjas (1993, 1994) and Maani (1994). Taken as a whole, the literature on second generation immigrant economic assimilation is an unenlightening mess. Almost every conceivable hypothesis receives some support. Further, almost all of it uses a single cross-section of data. As Borjas (1993) demonstrates, this method assumes that the generations' relative positions are invariant with respect to time. As a consequence, it can deliver seriously misleading results. More studies of Canada's second generation are clearly warranted. If they are to be credible, however, they must go beyond the existing literature, especially the reliance of cross-sectional data. For this reason, we plan to investigate this question employing SLID, a panel micro data set.

Our project examine the assimilation experience of Canadians by investigating the second wave of SLID (Survey of Labour Income and Dynamics) and concentrate on their performance in the labour market.

Fifth Component of Team Research: Wilkinson

Observations that immigrant women face barriers to employment, high status occupational attainment, and reasonable economic returns to their education are not new. Several studies conducted in the United States show how Black, Hispanic, and immigrant women are concentrated into low-paying, low status clerical and service occupations compared to American-born women (for example: Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1999; Schoeni, 1998; Takaki, 1994). In Canada, the findings are similar (for example: Preston and Giles, 1998; Sorensen, 1995; Boyd, 1990). Yet despite the fact that both the U.S. and Canada claim to have similar histories as "nations of immigrants" there remain few studies directly comparing the labour market experiences of immigrant women in these two countries. While Jeffery Reitz's (1998) work on comparing immigrant earnings in Canada, the US and Australia is exemplary, he does not directly examine other labour market experiences. Furthermore, his research, along with others, does not adequately differentiate between the short-term, medium-term, and long-term employment experiences of immigrants. Instead of examining the various stages of labour market adjustment, most research simply compares the situation of immigrants with the nativeborn and inserts the variable "year of arrival" into statistical analyses. The problem with relying on year of arrival as an independent variable is that there is little room to discuss discrete stages in the integration process.

The study of immigrant women becomes even more challenging as much of the existing research on women is inconclusive, which is largely due to a methodological flaw. Typically, studies apply a generalized model to explain the employment experiences of immigrant men and then invariably conclude that the model does not explain as much of the variation for immigrant women (Grant, 1999: 932; Pendakur, 2000: 205). A contribution of the proposed research is to create a statistical model that best explains the labour market experiences of immigrant women. It will take into account factors such as family and marital status, and other aspects that are not generally accounted for in much of the literature on immigrant men.

The main research question asks: what are the factors influencing the short-term, medium-term and long-term labour market experiences of immigrant women in Canada and the United States? As a result, there are six study groups that vary by country of residence (Canada or the United States) and by stage of integration (short-term: less than three years, medium-term: 3 to 9 years; and long-term: ten years or more). These groups, in turn, are compared to their female native-born counterparts. There are two dependent variables. Strength of labour force attachment is measured by employment activities (employed, unemployed and not in the labour force). Type of employment is a measurement reserved only for those actively participating in the labour force (full-time employed, part-time employed, and temporarily employed). The 1990 PUMS of the US Census and the 1991 PUMF of the Canadian Census are the main dataset used for this study.

Analysis of Data, Findings and Policy Implication

In this project, immigrants' economic performance is conceptualized in four stages: settlement period up to 3 years after landing; medium term from 3 to 10 years; long term extending beyond 10 years; and 2nd generation. The research question is: What are the factors and barriers that affect the short-term, medium-term and long-term performance of immigrants?

Derek Hum and Wayne Simpson use the second wave of SLID (Survey of Labour Income and Dynamics) to study the economic performance of 2nd generation immigrants as compared to other groups. Their results suggest that the legacy of immigration is concentrated in the greater educational attainment of the second generation. Men and women of the second generation attend school about one year longer than other Canadians, other factors considered, which raises their wages and earnings permanently between 4 and 7 per cent. Men and women with only one immigrant parent do better than other Canadians but not as well as those with two immigrant parents. Ethnic effects are significant in explaining schooling, but do not affect the estimated advantage of the second generation.

Richard Wanner uses a data file created by merging public-use microdata files from Censuses of Canada between 1971 and 1996. He studies the experience of successive immigrant cohorts as they aged to determine the extent to which the effects of birthplace on occupational status and earnings change over their careers. In both cases, and for both men and women, he finds a considerable advantage associated with being educated in Canada compared to being educated abroad. For those visible minority immigrants just beginning their careers in Canada, he finds no evidence that more recent cohorts have lower attainments than earlier cohorts, though this is true for some European groups. In the analysis of aging cohorts he finds evidence of a tendency for immigrant earnings to converge with those of the Canadian born and for that tendency to be stronger in more recent cohorts. The sole exception to this generalization is Blacks from Africa and the Caribbean. The gap between their earnings and those of the Canadian born shows little sign of diminishing over the career, and in fact the gap has increased from cohort to cohort.

Shiva Halli compares the educational and economic attainment of the second generation and immigrant children with that of their native peers. His analysis reveals that children of immigrant parents are not performing as well as most theories of linear assimilation suggest. However, there is a considerable diversity in outcome depending upon whether one or both parents are foreign-born. Specifically, there is a marked similarity between the outcomes of native-born children and those second generation children with only one immigrant parent. As well, there are striking similarities between immigrant children and those of the second generation with two foreign-born parents. The results also indicate that immigrant children of developed and developing countries have distinctly different educational experiences, labour force characteristics, and earning levels: immigrant children from developing countries are much less likely to obtain a university degree; and a larger percentage of those from developing countries fall into the

lower income categories. The study also finds a significant proportion of the limited economic mobility experienced by the second generation and immigrant children can be explained by the limited mobility of their parents.

Lori Wilkinson uses census data to study the employment income of immigrant women in Canada and the United States in different stages. The model predicting income works best for describing the long-term economic integration of immigrant women. Hours worked per week has the greatest influence on the employment income for all immigrant women, regardless of the stage of immigration, country of origin, or region of settlement. Education, while positively related to employment income for almost all immigrant women, is not a strong predictor. For immigrant women in the medium-term and long-term in Canada and the US, education remains the weakest predictor of income. Region of settlement is generally the second strongest predictor of income for immigrant women in both countries. In Canada, settlement in British Columbia, the Prairies, Alberta, and Quebec has a negative effect on income in the short- and long-term, but region of origin has no effect on the income of immigrant women in the medium-term. In the US, settlement in the East and West has positive influences on the income of women in the short- and long-term. Again, region of settlement appears to have no influence on income in the medium-term. Membership in a visible minority group has a positive influence on income for Canadian and American women in the medium- and long-term stages of integration, but no statistically significant impact in the short-term. Fertility and marital status appear to affect immigrant women in the US and Canada differently. For American women, marriage has a strong negative impact on income in the short-term, while fertility is a major negative predictor in the medium-term. For immigrant women in Canada, the presence of children under age 6, has a negative impact on income only among those in the long-term.

Peter Li uses data from IMDB and the Ethnic Diversity Survey to study the earnings of immigrants as an indication of economic integration. He finds that using the earnings one year after arrival, recent cohorts of immigrants indeed earned less than previous cohorts as compared to the earnings of the native born. However, more recent cohorts of immigrants take less time to catch up with the earnings of the native-born than earlier cohorts. This pattern holds true for all immigrants admitted under different classes. He then explores how human capital and social capital affect the medium-term economic performance of immigrants. Preliminary data from the Ethnic Diversity Survey indicate that the foreign credentials and foreign work experience disadvantage immigrants, but social capital produces some positive effects on earnings, but its effect varies depending on the level of human capital, gender and racial origin.

The findings of the team project confirm that the economic performance of immigrants and the factors which determine such performance vary depending on the stage of integration in terms of short term, medium term and long term. The findings also indicate that different types of immigrants as defined by such factors as gender, country of origin, class of admission and age show substantial variations in their experiences in the labour market. The team project concludes that it is unwarranted to frame immigration policies based only on short-term performance of immigrants and on general

models universally imposed on all categories of immigrants. Immigration and settlement policies need to consider integration as a process that goes through different stages, especially since different types of immigrants have different experiences in the process.

Dissemination Activities

Members of the research team have published the findings of research in scholarly outlets such as Canadian Journal of Urban Research, Canadian Ethnic Studies, Canadian Public Policy/Analyse de Politiques, Journal of International Migration and Integration, Canadian Studies in Population, Canadian Journal of Sociology, International Migration Review, as well as chapters in books. Several additional papers are expected in the near future. In addition, members of the team have presented the research findings in national and international Metropolis conferences and others professional meetings.

National/International Linkages

The researchers have maintained regular contacts with researchers and policy makers in HRDC, CIC, Canadian Heritage and Policy Research Initiative. Several researchers presented their findings at the National and International Metropolis conferences, as well as shared their expertise with governments and NGOs in other regional and national conferences.

Student Assistants/Thesis Supervised

Kathleen Sexsmith, Honours undergraduate in Economics and Sisira Sarma, Ph D candidate in Economics (assistants for D. Hum and W. Simpson)

Alisa Stevenson, undergraduate in Sociology, University of Calgary (assistant for R. Wanner)

Tracey Peter, PhD. Candidate in Sociology and Renuka Chaturvedi MA student in Sociology (assistants for L. Wilkinson)

Le Li, graduate student and Qing Zhang, part-time student (assistants for P. Li)

James Brownlee, graduate student (assistant for Shiva Halli)

Raul Marcello Munoz, University of Saskatchewan, M.A. thesis in progress "Effect of Class and Identity on Migration Decision: The case of Chilean Political Exiles in Saskatchewan" (completion date expected 2005; supervisor P. Li)

Christine Broda, University of Saskatchewan, M.A. thesis in progress "Immigration Discourse after 9-11" (completion date expected 2005; supervisor P. Li)

Renuka Chaturvedi, University of Manitoba, M.A. thesis in progress "Understanding Social Capital: A Preliminary Analysis of the Norm of Reciprocity and Bounded Solidarity" (completion date: thesis defense 22 April 2005; supervisor L. Wilkinson)

Publications/Selected Conference Presentations

- Halli, Shiva S. & John P. Anchan (Forthcoming). "Structural and Behavioural Determinants of Immigrant and Non-immigrant Health Status: Results from the Canadian Community Health Survey." *Journal of International Migration and Integration*.
- Hum, D. & W. Simpson. "Economic Integration of Immigrants to Canada: A Short Survey." (2004). *Canadian Journal of Urban Research* 13 (1): 46 61.
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- Halli, Shiva S. (2003). "The Educational and Labour Force Outcomes of Immigrant Children and Second Generation Immigrants in Canada." Presented at the 6th National Metropolis Conference, Edmonton, Canada, March.
- Halli, Shiva S. (2003). "The Problem of Second Generation Decline?: Perspectives on Integration in Canada." Presented at the 8th International Metropolis Conference, Vienna, Austria, September.
- Hum, D. and W. Simpson. "The Legacy of Immigration: The Labour Market Performance of the Second Generation." PCERII Working Paper Series, 2004.
- Wilkinson, Lori (2004)) "The Short-, Medium-, and Long-Term Labour Market Adjustment of Immigrant Women: Canada and the United States Compared" 9th International Metropolis Conference, Geneva, Switzerland.
- Wilkinson, Lori (July 2004) "Integration and First Work: A Comparison of the Job Experiences of Immigrant-, Refugee-, and Canadian-born Youth" Inter-Cultural Research Network Congress, Florence, Italy.
- Wilkinson, Lori (March 2004) "The Labour Market Entry of Immigrant, Refugee and Native-born Youth in Canada" British Sociology Association Annual Meeting, York, UK
- Peter, Tracey, Renuka Chaturvedi and Wilkinson, Lori, (June 2004) "The Labour Market Experiences of Immigrant Women: Canada and US Compared" Canadian Sociology and Anthropology Association Annual Meeting, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg.
- Wilkinson, Lori "An Examination of the Initial Labour Market Transitions of Refugee Youth in Canada" Presented at The Refugee Studies Centre (RSC), University of Oxford, Oxford UK, January 20, 2004, invited by the Director, RSC.

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