The Intersection of Immigration and Family in Canada

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CONTENTS

Abstract

This dissertation studies the complex relationship between family and migration processes. The overarching question that drives this research project is: *How do family dynamics, migration adaptation processes, and policy mediate the immigrant integration process?* Specifically, I focus on three instances of the intersection of immigration and family in Canada. First, I study differences in living arrangements by entry status over the first four years of arrival to shed light on the relationship between immigrant family dynamics, adaptation processes and selection policy. Second, I study the role of living arrangements on life satisfaction – an indicator of social integration – as recent immigrants go through processes of adaptation. Finally, I study ethnic differences in interpartnering – an indicator of and mechanism for integration – among Latin American immigrants, a population that has increased considerably in recent years.

First, I study differences in living arrangements by entry status over the first four years of arrival to shed light on the relationship between immigrant family dynamics, adaptation processes and selection policy using data from the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada (LSIC). Explanations for doubling-up – coresidence with extended kin and non-kin – among immigrants center on life-course events, culture, and economic need. Empirical evidence on how entry status influences the duration of being doubled-up remains limited. Findings suggest that using a linear effect of time since arrival to measure the migration process without considering variations by entry status is misleading.

Second, I study the role of living arrangements on life satisfaction – an indicator of social integration – as recent immigrants go through processes of adaptation. As in the first paper, I use LSIC and cross-sectional and longitudinal logistic regression models. Findings here provide evidence that social and economic integration make a significant contribution to immigrant life satisfaction, while co-residents and living arrangements have a small influence on satisfaction shortly after arrival, and over time.

Finally, using the 2006 Canadian Census, I study ethnic differences in interpartnering – an indicator of and mechanism for integration – among Latin American immigrants, examining their unions with co-nationals, non-conational foreign-born, and non-conational Canadian-born. The analysis evaluates the contribution of social exchange theory, demographic accounts, and theories of immigrant integration. Evidence from multinomial logit regressions shows that differences in exogamy between immigrants from these four countries are more prominent for men than women for both types of interpartnering, and the most pronounced country differences in interpartnering are for partnerships with non-conational foreign-born. Findings further show differences in the explanatory factors by type of partnering.

The contributions of this dissertation are threefold. At the empirical level, this dissertation offers the first evaluation using nationally representative Canadian data of the outcomes under study. At the methodological level, the use of longitudinal data and fixed-effects models contributes to the understanding of the migrant adaptation process. These models account for entry status, personality, ethnicity, cultural values, and norms that are difficult to measure in quantitative studies, and that may be related to selectivity processes in family dynamics. Finally, it makes a theoretical contribution to the immigrant integration literature by showing that socialization processes and modes of incorporation do not explain interpartnering with non-conational foreign-born, demonstrates the need for a better understanding of immigrant ethnic boundaries, and shows a non-homogenous effect of time since arrival by entry status.

Résumé

Cette thèse s'intéresse aux relations complexes entre la famille et les processus migratoires. Elle examine la façon dont *les dynamiques familiales, les processus d'adaptation migratoires et les politiques migratoires affectent le processus d'intégration des immigrants.* Premièrement, nous étudions les différences dans les modalités de résidence selon le statut d'entrée afin de mieux comprendre la relation entre les dynamiques familiales des immigrants, leur processus d'adaptation et les politiques de sélection des immigrants. Deuxièmement, nous analysons l'influence des modalités de résidence sur la satisfaction à l'égard de la vie – un indicateur de l'intégration sociale – au moment où les nouveaux arrivants sont en processus d'adaptation. Enfin, nous étudions les différences ethniques quant aux unions entre groupes nationaux – un indicateur de l'intégration sociale – chez les immigrants latino-américains.

Le premier article s'intéresse aux différents statuts d'entrée des immigrants et à leur propension à habiter dans un ménage partagé avec des membres de la famille élargie ou d'autres individus durant les quatre premières années dans le pays d'accueil. Les facteurs habituellement évoqués pour expliquer le fait de vivre dans un ménage partagé portent sur les événements du parcours de vie, la culture ou les nécessités économiques. Basés sur l'Enquête longitudinale auprès des immigrants du Canada (ELIC), nos résultats indiquent que le fait de supposer un effet linéaire du temps depuis l'arrivée pour mesurer le processus migratoire sans considérer le type de statut à l'arrivée peut conduire à des résultats erronés.

Le deuxième article cherche à comprendre de quelle manière la satisfaction à l'égard de la vie est liée aux modalités de résidence alors que le nouvel arrivant est en processus d'adaptation. Pour cela, nous utilisons des modèles de régressions logistiques transversaux et longitudinaux appliqués aux données de l'ELIC. Les résultats montrent que l'intégration sociale et économique contribue grandement au degré de satisfaction à l'égard de la vie des immigrants, alors que la corésidence et les modalités de résidence

ont relativement peu d'influence sur le niveau de satisfaction peu après l'arrivée et au fil du temps.

Utilisant les données du recensement de 2006, le troisième article étudie l'exogamie chez les immigrants latino-américains au Canada. Plus précisément, nous examinons les unions entre immigrants de la même nationalité, entre immigrants de nationalités différentes et entre immigrants et natifs d'une autre nationalité. Cette analyse évalue l'apport de la théorie des échanges sociaux, des caractéristiques démographiques et des théories de l'intégration pour comprendre les modes de formation des unions des immigrants du Chili, du Guatemala, du Mexique et du Salvador. Les résultats montrent que les différences dans l'exogamie sont plus importantes pour les hommes que pour les femmes et que les différences nationales les plus marquées touchent les unions impliquant des immigrants issus de nationalités différentes. Les résultats révèlent également des différences dans l'effet des facteurs explicatifs selon le type d'exogamie.

Au niveau empirique, cette thèse offre une première évaluation des éléments à l'étude en faisant usage de données nationales canadiennes. Au niveau méthodologique, l'utilisation de données longitudinales et de modèles à effets fixes, qui tiennent compte de facteurs habituellement difficiles à mesurer dans des analyses quantitatives et qui peuvent être liés au processus de sélection, constitue un apport significatif. Au niveau théorique, cette thèse illustre que les processus de socialisation et les modes d'incorporation ne permettent pas d'expliquer les unions avec les immigrants d'une autre nationalité; elle souligne la nécessité de tenir compte des frontières ethniques entre immigrants et montre que l'effet de la durée de résidence varie en fonction du statut d'entrée des immigrants.

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List of figures and tables

Acronyms

CA	Census agglomerations
CIC	Citizenship and Immigration Canada
LSIC	Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada
US	United States

STATEMENT OF ORIGINALITY

This dissertation bridges the literatures of family, migration, and ethnic studies. To acknowledge the complex relationship under study, family was used as an outcome – shared households and married or cohabiting unions – and as an explanatory variable – living arrangements. The contributions of this dissertation are threefold: empirical, methodological, and theoretical.

At the empirical level, this dissertation offers the first evaluation using nationally representative Canadian data of the outcomes under study. Each of the papers is unique in its area of research. At the methodological level, the use of longitudinal data and fixed-effects models contributes to the understanding of the migrant adaptation process. These models account for entry status, personality, ethnicity, cultural values, and norms that are difficult to measure in quantitative studies, and that may be related to selectivity processes in family dynamics. Finally, it makes a theoretical contribution to the immigrant integration literature by showing that socialization processes and modes of incorporation do not explain interpartnering with non-conational foreign-born, demonstrates the need for a better understanding of immigrant ethnic boundaries, and shows a non-homogenous effect of time since arrival by entry status.

The objectives, design, methods, research findings, and analysis constitute original work.

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

The family is "perhaps the strategic research site […] for understanding the dynamics of immigration flows (legal and illegal) and of immigrant adaptation processes as well as long-term consequences for sending and especially for receiving countries"
(Rumbaut, 1997b, p. 4).

"Supportive networks should not be taken as an attribute of an immigrant group itself, but as processes contingent upon the physical and material location within which they unfold" (Menjívar, 1997a, p. 120).

Immigrant integration – the process through which boundaries between immigrant and native populations are diminished – impacts emigration and settlement patterns, future immigration, social cohesion, and ideas about a nation's cultural identity. The family is undoubtedly central to the migration experience; it impacts people's decisions about migrating and influences how migrants integrate into their receiving society. Additionally, the family is central to our sense of being and belonging, and the institution of kinship governs, to varying degrees, the very functioning of social life. However, there is mixed empirical evidence on whether maintaining close family ties facilitates integration, slows the process or has no effect. Immigration policy creates legal and bureaucratic channels for people to move, determines the definition of the family, who can migrate, and when. In addition to regulating the entry of new arrivals, it creates the institutional context to promote or hinder integration and social cohesion. However, the migration and family processes are deeply intertwined, which thus complicates our understanding of immigrant integration. In the following pages I aim to unpack these interconnected processes.

Canada presents a suitable context for studying immigrant integration. Canada is known to be a 'nation of immigrants' and has one of the highest immigration rates in the world. Today, around one in every five people is foreign born, but projections suggest that this will reach one in four within the next twenty years. The relative presence of immigrants is predicted to increase and will bring with it greater ethno-cultural diversity in terms of visible minority status, language, and religion. As a result, the racial and ethnic composition of the Canadian population is under constant flux. The effect of increasing immigration and ethnic diversity on family dynamics is threefold: first, demographic characteristics of immigrant flows influence variations in family composition that affect kinship ties; second, changes in the ethnic map influence intergroup relations that affect family and social networks; third, immigrant intermarriage produces ethnic diversity as the result of childbearing from interracial couples and a population with kinship ties from mixed origins. However, the dynamics and salience of ethnic boundaries in a context of increasing immigration is in need of empirical inquiry.

This dissertation studies the complex relationship between family and migration processes. The overarching question that drives this research project is: *How do family dynamics, migration adaptation processes, and policy mediate the immigrant integration process?* Specifically, I focus on three instances of the intersection of immigration and family in Canada. First, I study differences in living arrangements by entry status over the first four years of arrival to shed light on the relationship between immigrant family dynamics, adaptation processes and selection policy. Second, I study the role of living arrangements on life satisfaction – an indicator of social integration – as recent immigrants go through processes of adaptation. Finally, I study ethnic differences in interpartnering – an indicator of and mechanism for integration – among Latin American immigrants, a population that has increased considerably in recent years.

The first two papers use data from the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada (LSIC), a nationally representative survey that followed immigrants over the course of their first four years after arrival. The third paper uses nationally representative data from the 20 percent analytic sample from the 2006 Canadian Census. Data from the 2006

Census is the most recent data available in Research Data Centres (RDC) that allows analysis at this level of disaggregation.

The structure of this dissertation is the following. In the remaining pages of this section, I provide a brief overview of the overarching theories and themes that are developed further in each paper. After setting the context of immigration, race, and ethnicity in contemporary Canada, I briefly discuss theories of immigrant integration and the links between family and migration processes. The three papers that constitute the core of this dissertation follow. Afterwards, I present a concluding section with a summary of the findings. I also highlight the major empirical, methodological, and theoretical contributions, discuss limitations of the study, as well as implications for future research.

THEORETICAL OVERVIEW

International migration: the general context

Migration has been an important phenomenon throughout history. Throughout this time, the reasons why people move have depended on various contexts – wars, persecution, pandemics, environmental disasters, economic crisis, and recessions – but have maintained a constant feature: people move with the expectation of having a better life, understood in a broad sense. There are many reasons why people move. The 'push-pull' framework has long established that there are unfavorable factors in an area that push individuals from a place of origin and favorable factors that attract them to a destination. This framework, however, does not provide a way to understanding what happens once people arrive in the host society. The study of the determinants, processes, and patterns of migration has remained separate from the research on how immigrants become incorporated into host societies (Castles & Miller, 2009). Migrants do not assume that they will gain an immediate improvement in life conditions, but expect to do so over time. In fact, the foreign-born population often suffers from a deterioration in life standards, while some eventually catch-up to the natives and some do not (Borjas, 1985; Chiswick, 1978). The reward, however, is sometimes a better life for their children and subsequent generations (Gans, 1992).

Destination Canada

Canada presents a suitable context for studying immigrant integration. Canada is known to be a 'nation of immigrants' – with one in every five people being foreign born (Statistics Canada, 2007). Immigration has been central to nation building (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010; Li, 2003; Simmons, 2010) and is likely to continue since the country has the highest migration rate in the world today. Immigration was responsible for two-thirds of Canadian population growth during the period 2001-2006 (Statistics Canada, 2007a). Projections suggest that the foreign-born population will increase to one in four within the next twenty years (Statistics Canada, 2010). Canada has been an attractive destination, "pulling" migrants because of its economic situation, its high standards of living and, most importantly, because the country has actively engaged in creating immigration policy as well as programs to promote itself as an attractive destination (Simmons, 2010). Since the 1980s, the Canadian government has explicitly aimed to increase the population with the annual number of new immigrants to be around 1% of the population (Coleman, 2006).

The 1967 Immigration Act removed all explicitly racially discriminatory rules and implemented a points system to select immigrants in terms of their skills, work experience and demographic characteristics. However, immigrants are not only accepted into Canada as permanent residents for economic reasons, but also for humanitarian and family reunification considerations. Since 2000, the annual average of new permanent residents has been 250,000. In the last ten years, around 26% of the new immigrants are family class, 60% are economic migrants, 11% are refugees and 3% are other immigrants (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2012).

Immigration policy determines who can enter the country; it stipulates a particular definition of the family and determines who can migrate and when they can do so (Triadafilopoulos, 2006). However, government policy is not limited to determining who can enter the country. Multiculturalism – the internal dimension to Canadian immigration policy – promotes immigrant integration, social cohesion and access to citizenship (Beach, Green, & Reitz, 2003; Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010). Although Multiculturalism

has lost legitimacy and saliency in recent years in Europe, scholars consider the Canadian model as successful because it acknowledged integration as a two-way street and directed its objectives toward the population as a whole, and not only toward immigrants (Koopmans, Statham, Giugni, & Passy, 2005). However, the evaluation of Canadian Multiculturalism has been mixed, with some being more optimistic (Kymlicka, 1998; Taylor, 1992) than others (Bannerji, 1993; Stasiulis & Abu-Laban, 1990). Relative to the United States, which in 1965 opted for family reunification as the pillar of immigration policy, Canadian immigration policy has being considered a role model for attracting 'better quality' immigrants (Borjas, 1993), for implementing temporary workers programs (Verduzco, 2008) and for keeping the unauthorized population small.

Ethnic and cultural divides in Canada

Historically, group distinctions in Canada have been centered on language: differentiating French-speaking and English-speaking Canadians, and leaving Aboriginals aside. Until Confederation in 1867, Canada was a British Colony and a European nation in the Americas with Quebec being a French-speaking ethnic nation within Canada (Simmons, 2010). The vertical stratification structure after Confederation placed English-speaking whites at the top. Canadian ethnic relations within the "Two solitudes/Deux nations" divide, was then based on culture and not skin color – although the *Canadiens-Français* were considered a different race by the English-Canadian population (Helmes-Hayes & Curtis, 1998). This contrasts the United States, for example, where a White/Black divide dominates race relations.

Immigration policy is an external force that shapes ethnic and cultural boundaries (Nagel, 1994). Canada had a long history of selective immigration admission restrictions aimed at maintaining Canada's identity as a white country (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010). For example, in 1903 the head tax imposed in 1885 by the Canadian Parliament to regulate and restrict the arrival of Chinese was raised, and in 1908 measures to restrict the arrival of East Indians were introduced, such as stipulating a direct arrival from origin country (Li, 2003). One of the consequences of the 1967 Canadian Immigration Act was an increase of Latin American and Asian immigrants, substituting previously majority

European inflows. To deal with increasing ethnic diversity and the political climate among national groups, Canada adopted multiculturalism as a policy in 1971 and then passed the Multiculturalism Act in 1988. Will Kymlicka (1998) argues that multiculturalism had the strong symbolic value of denouncing the history of racial or ethnocentric bias in the selection of immigrants.

The meaning of race has shaped and has been shaped by its data collection. Self-identification and the possibility of selecting more than one racial/ethnic option in surveys acknowledge a situational, dynamic, and instrumentalist approach. The definition through which groups are counted in surveys, census and official records institutionalize racial and ethnic boundaries in government policy and practice, which are then institutionalized in the national collective consciousness (Lee & Bean, 2010). Perceptions of the racial and ethnic map have repercussions for inter-group relations (Bobo & Hutchings, 1996). Race in Canada was not measured following the 1951 census. After adopting the 1986 Federal Employment Equity Act, which aimed to reduce discrimination in employment, a race question was introduced in the 1996 census in the form of 'visible minority' status (Simmons, 2010). A visible minority includes persons who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in color and who do not report being Aboriginal. The current categories within the visible minority status are Chinese, South Asian, Black, Filipino, Latin American, Southeast Asian, Arab, West Asian, Korean, Japanese, other and multiple visible minorities (Statistics Canada, 2009). The use of the adjectival form 'visible minority status', similarly to racial/ethnic status, connotes the social, historical, and contextual contingency of these categories (Lee & Bean, 2010).

Immigrant integration

Upon arrival, immigrants have to juggle different tasks, such as finding housing and employment, learning a new language, and establishing new social networks. However, this initial adaptation process is considered a stepping-stone for longer processes of incorporation (Berry, 2001). The acculturation process – the process of cultural and psychological change – is characterized by changes to culture, customs, and social institutions, primarily associated with changes in daily behavior: language, food,

clothing, and customs, as well as psychological well-being. Much has been discussed about the extent to which ethnic retention is possible throughout these processes. The pluralist/multiculturalist and assimilationist perspectives dominate this debate (Gans, 1999), although a third perspective that views integration as a two-way process of mutual accommodation recognizes that adaptation occurs gradually towards the reduction of social boundaries between groups (Castles & Miller, 2009). In this context, integration is the complex result of the two-way processes of adaptation and acculturation, which takes place through negotiations between hosts and immigrants about the social boundaries of a society (Zolberg & Long, 1999).

Immigrant integration – the process through which boundaries between groups are diminished – has been central to the study of race and ethnic relations, social stratification, and international migration. Throughout this dissertation, I use the terms 'integration' and 'assimilation' interchangeably reflecting terminology used by different scholars[1]. However, the word assimilation has been considered by many to be an ethnocentric concept, charged with negative connotations for political reasons, ideology, and fashion (Hirschman, Kasinitz, & DeWind, 1999; Rumbaut, 1997a).

Assimilation in American life, the seminal work by Milton Gordon in the literature of immigrant integration and race relations in the United States, considered intermarriage the ultimate indicator of immigrant integration, resulting from the large scale entry of immigrants and their descendants into the primary institutions of the host society (Gordon, 1964). From his perspective, assimilation was the result of several stages: acculturation would be followed by structural assimilation – i.e. the large-scale entry of immigrants and their descendants into the primary institutions of the host society – the development of a sense of shared people-hood with the host society, as well as changes in prejudice and discrimination towards the immigrant group, and power struggles. Thus, classic assimilation theory establishes that immigrants are increasingly integrated into mainstream society over time, with each successive generation. Although Gordon's view

[1] I adopt a broad definition of immigrant integration following the perspective of Alba and Nee (2003) that allows for different dimensions – social, economic, political – in a context of dynamic ethnic and social boundaries.

of assimilation was that acculturation was inevitable, he also anticipated ethnic divisions (Stepick & Stepick, 2010).

Critics of the classic assimilation model argue that it is ethnocentric as it was based on the experience of European-origin immigrants and therefore neglects the role of skin color in a society with a long history of racial boundaries. Research on post-1965 non-European immigrants in the United States has shown alternative paths to assimilation: some groups experience upward mobility without integrating into mainstream society, while others experience downward mobility and are integrated into the underclass (Portes & Zhou, 1993). Segmented assimilation theory explains differences in rates of entry intro the primary institutions as a result of distinct modes of incorporation characterized by entry status, context of reception, and family and community resources (Portes & Rumbaut, 2006; Portes & Zhou, 1993). In other words, these modes of incorporation depend on three different levels of reception: the government's policy toward different immigrant groups, civil society and public opinion, and the characteristics of the ethnic community itself (Portes, 1995).

Contemporary perspectives add to these factors the salience and flexibility of social boundaries (Alba & Nee, 1997, 2003), changes in racialization processes and notions of diversity (Lee & Bean, 2010), and immigration patterns (Waters & Jiménez, 2005). Beyond the theoretical divide, classic and segmented assimilation may be considered complementary processes (Waters, Tran, Kasinitz, & Mollenkopf, 2010). However, one of the challenges of assimilation theory is how its definition at the group level can be translated to the individual sphere. Along with socio-economic status, usually measured via educational attainment, age at arrival and duration of residence in the destination country are important aspects of the assimilation process (Alba & Nee, 2003). For children, age at arrival is not only a measure of length and exposure to the host society, but it is an indicator of life-course stages at the time of migration (Rumbaut, 1997b, 2004).

Immigrant social integration in Canada

This dissertation focuses on Canada, which has adopted Multiculturalism as the official policy and ideology for immigrant integration. The ultimate goal of Canadian Multiculturalism – as a policy – is the overall unity of society and national cohesion. In this context, social integration has been defined as the process by which newcomers become a part of the social and cultural institutions of the host community or society while at the same time retaining their own identity (Frideres, 2008). Moreover, it is considered a multidimensional process where individuals who are vested in and participate in the core institutions of society, are fulfilled and feel a sense of satisfaction from this experience (Reitz, 2009). The recognition and encouragement of ethnic and cultural diversity is understood to have a positive impact on social cohesion given a sufficient degree of social inclusion and equal participation. Social hierarchies, inequality, and fairness are key for the social relationships between ethno-racial communities. Indicators of social integration fall into three broad categories: personal relationships, measured as trust in others, life satisfaction, and ethnic social networks; social belonging, measured as feelings of belonging; and the adoption of a Canadian identity, measured as naturalization and access to citizenship, and participation through voting and volunteer activity.

Canadian research on social integration has gained increased attention in recent years (Reitz & Banerjee, 2009; Reitz, Banerjee, Phan, & Thompson, 2009). Although scholars increasingly consider social integration as relevant for understanding the experience of immigrants and their descendants, most research to date concentrates on economic integration – on whether or not migrants achieve a better life in economic terms. More is known about objective measures such as educational attainment, income, or naturalization rates, than subjective measures of well-being and how migrants assess their life in the destination country (De Jong, Chamratrithirong, & Tran, 2002; Easterlin, 2006; Suh, Diener, & Frank, 1996).

Family and migration

Immigrant family changes

Changes in the nuclear family have been a major theme in family sociology (Bianchi, Robinson, & Milkie, 2006; Goldscheider & Waite, 1991). Recent trends show an increase of female labor force participation, new forms of union formation, and an increase of separation, divorce and remarriage (Bianchi et al., 2006; Cherlin, 1978, 2004; Lesthaeghe & Surkyn, 1988; McDonald, 2000; van de Kaa, 1994). Some argue that we are witnessing a decline of the family (Popenoe, 1993), but others highlight the importance of understanding extended households in a context where multigenerational bonds are becoming more diverse in their structures and functions (Bengtson, 2004; Swartz, 2009). In other words, the family is not declining, but simply changing forms. This is true for immigrant and non-immigrant families.

Much of the research on immigrant families in North America focuses on these family processes among immigrants in comparison to those in the receiving context within the assimilation framework, testing the adoption of family patterns from the destination country over time. Recent studies in the U.S. that focus on the adoption of marriage patterns, fertility rates, cohabitation, and other family behaviors, have found mixed evidence for segmented and classic assimilation theories (for an overview, see Glick (2010)). Similarly, Canadian research on immigrant fertility patterns (Bélanger & Gilbert, 2003), living arrangements (Boyd, 1991), intermarriage (Hamplová & Le Bourdais, 2010), and housing overcrowding (Haan, 2010), among other phenomena, has gained increasing attention. Although not always acknowledged, migration is usually associated with a change in family structure and coresidence that affects kin and non-kin availability and support. Studies of transnationalism have noted the importance of family ties beyond borders and their impact on values, norms and practices (Bernhard, Landolt, & Goldring, 2009; Levitt, 2001; R. C. Smith, 2006).

Migration is a disruptive event affecting family events such as marriage, childbearing, or divorce; for a review, see (Kulu & Milewski, 2007). For example, studies on the effect of

migration on childbearing have adopted four potential hypotheses: socialization, adaptation, selection, and disruption (Kulu, 2005; Kulu & Milewski, 2007). The socialization hypothesis considers that what matters for fertility behavior is the practices from the childhood environment, whereas the adaptation hypothesis allows for re-socialization after migration so that immigrant fertility behavior resembles the behavior at the destination country. The selection hypothesis argues that different behavior is the result of having a specific group, not always representative of the origin population, with similar patterns to those from the ones in the destination country. On the other hand, the disruption hypothesis argues that lower levels of fertility are observed among recent immigrants because of the disruptive effect of the migration process. I presented these hypotheses here in terms of fertility, but they have also been applied to studies of migration and other family events; for example, union dissolution (Boyle, Kulu, Cooke, Gayle, & Mulder, 2008). However, the empirical evaluation of these hypotheses within other family processes has been limited due to data limitations (Seltzer et al., 2005).

A complex 'research site'

According to Rubén Rumbaut and others who have echoed him, the family is "perhaps the strategic research site […] for understanding the dynamics of immigration flows (legal and illegal) and of immigrant adaptation processes as well as long-term consequences for sending and especially for receiving countries" (Rumbaut, 1997b, p. 4). However, these two sets of processes – migration processes and family processes – are deeply intertwined, which thus complicates our understanding of immigrant integration. Scholars studying the relationship between these complex processes have highlighted the large diversity of immigrant families, in different settings that prevent us from studying a singular family migration experience (Rumbaut, 1997b; Waters, 1997).

The family is undoubtedly central to the migration experience; it impacts people's decisions about migrating (De Jong & Gardner, 1981; Massey, 1999; Stark & Bloom, 1985) and influences how migrants adapt to and integrate into the receiving society (Boyd, 1989; Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007; Mincer, 1978; Pessar, 1999; Portes & Rumbaut,

2006). Additionally, the family is central to our sense of being and belonging, and the institution of kinship governs, to varying degrees, the very functioning of social life (Segalen, 1986). Most immigrants do not move alone but do so with other family members, or move where relatives and friends have already settled (Massey, 1999; Massey et al., 1993).

To overcome the challenges of the adaptation process, immigrants may turn to family and friends for different types of support. Extended kin can provide a safety net in terms of economic resources, but also by providing non-economic social support (Glick, 2010; Leach, 2012), especially in the first years upon arrival (van Hook & Glick, 2007). However, just as it can provide a safety net, it can also put family members into a position of stress as they juggle different family roles (Barker, 1991; Swartz, 2009; Thoits, 1986). This is particularly true in contexts where material and physical resources are limited. For example, Menjívar (1997b) shows that economic need influences the duration of kinship networks, both inside and outside the household, challenging the notion that support is an attribute from the immigrant group itself (1997a). Although cultural explanations permeated old accounts of immigrant family patterns, more recent studies show that patterns in the destination countries are not mere replicas of what happens in origin countries (Menjívar, 2010; van Hook & Glick, 2007).

There is mixed empirical evidence on whether maintaining close family ties facilitates immigrant integration, slows the process or has no effect. More than three decades ago, Marta Tienda (1980) delineated this puzzle, highlighting results from research carried out more than half a century ago; in other words, the relationship between kinship, adaptation and integration is an old problem in sociology (see Tienda (1980), for a review). One of her arguments is that what matters for structural assimilation is how family functions, rather than 'familism'. That is, although family networks play a key role in determining migration (Massey, 1990; Massey & Zenteno, 1999; Pessar, 1999), the assimilation into the main institutions of the host society, for example the labor market, is not a direct result of family ties but the nature of the assistance that kin may provide. Over time, there was a move away from explanations of family patterns that highlighted 'familism'

and cultural factors to emphasize structural factors that shape access to goods and resources and create social inequality among immigrants (Glick, 2010; Landale & Oropesa, 2007; Menjívar, 2010).

Others have explained these mixed results acknowledging that family social capital can have positive and negative effects (Portes & Sensenbrenner, 1993), while others argue that the mode of incorporation is a function of social, financial, and the human-cultural capital of immigrant families and their position and relationship within ethnic networks (Nee & Sanders, 2001). However, researchers have noted that family-based social capital is closely connected to the structure of immigrant communities (Portes, 2000; Portes & Rumbaut, 2006). This circular process creates a complex relationship between family- and community-based social capital that complicates the study of how families manage social capital, and what the consequences of this capital are for the welfare of families (Furstenberg, 2005).

More than a hundred years ago, Ravenstein presented laws or general statements of migrant characteristics: more migrants are adults, people from rural areas are more mobile than those of urban origin, most migrants move short distances, families are less likely to move than young adults, and migration flows create return flows (Lee, 1966). However, this description corresponds to the traditional labor migration of sojourners, mainly circular migrant men, which would migrate temporarily and return to their places of origin where family members had remained. More generally, these socially expected durations – whether immigrants expect to stay temporarily or settle permanently – relate to the timing of migration and family strategies or life-plans because these temporal expectations affect not only individual migration trajectories, but also the cohesion of ethnic and family groups (Roberts, 1995).

With the expansion of urban areas and work all year long, migration began to transform into immigration and long-term settlement, increasingly including family-based migration, and women in what were previously male-dominated flows (Cerrutti & Massey, 2001; DaVanzo & Morrison, 1981; Jasso, 1997). Studies of transition from

sojourning labor migration to settlement often identified women as 'tied-movers' or 'followers'. There are cases where immigrant flows were not initiated by men, but instead women paved their way for later reunification, for example as in Philippine-Hong Kong migration (Curran, Shafer, Donato, & Garip, 2006) or Philippine-Canada migration via the Live-In Caregiver Program (Simmons, 2010). As a result of the diversification in the temporary/permanent migrant flows, in terms of gender, family dynamics have been affected, both at the origin and destination countries.

Although many studies have pointed to the importance of gender in family and ethnic social networks (Boyd, 1989; Hagan, 1998; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994), for its most part, the major theories of immigrant integration give no attention to gender (Donato, Gabaccia, Holdaway, Manalansan, & Pessar, 2006). With the exception of studies pointing out the importance of gender and family differences for understanding immigrant integration (Boyd, 1984; Boyd & Pikkov, 2005), the lack of quantitative studies of the role of gender in immigrant integration contrasts advances from the qualitative arena (Curran et al., 2006; Donato et al., 2006). Overall, scholars suggest that gender identity shapes ties within networks that are in constant change upon migration, which in turn influence cultural expectations about gender (Curran & Saguy, 2013), but areas of research remain open on this regard.

HOW DO FAMILY DYNAMICS, MIGRATION ADAPTATION PROCESSES, AND POLICY MEDIATE THE IMMIGRANT INTEGRATION PROCESS?

Research on immigrant integration has traditionally focused on individual outcomes. Immigration scholars tend to study individual migration while family scholars tend to study families, regardless of immigration status. Although the theoretical frameworks used to explain immigrant integration have increasingly considered the role of the family in this process, much work remains to be done to bring together studies of family dynamics and composition within major processes of family change, and its relationship with integration.

This dissertation builds on the theoretical framework of immigrant integration by improving our knowledge of how family dynamics relate to immigrants' adaptation and

integration processes. Today, questions remain open on the nature of the relationship between family ties and immigrant integration and adaptation. To shed light on the overarching question that drives this research project I center on three components of the intersection of family, migration, and ethnicity.

First, I study differences in living arrangements by entry status over the first four years of arrival to shed light on the relationship between immigrant family dynamics, adaptation processes and selection policy. I focus on doubling-up – coresidence with extended kin or non-kin – that may serve as a safety net as individuals pool economic and non-economic resources. The main theoretical explanations for doubling-up have been related to life-course and cultural factors, as well as economic need. More recently, studies have argued the temporary nature of doubled-up households within the migrant adaptation process. However, studies on the duration of shared living arrangements have been scarce and little is known about how immigrant entry status influences doubling-up and the temporariness of these living arrangements. To fill this gap in the literature, the first paper evaluates differences by immigrant class of entry on the propensity to a) double-up six months after arrival; d) double-up over the first four years; and c) the continuity of immigrants' living arrangements over time. By providing a better understanding of immigrant living arrangements, this paper aims to inform the old sociological problem of the relationship between kinship ties and family dynamics, and the adaptation process. However, the focus here highlights the role of structural constraints defined by immigration policy, instead of cultural explanations.

Second, I study the role of living arrangements on life satisfaction – an indicator of social integration – as recent immigrants go through processes of adaptation. Although immigrants' subjective well-being or life satisfaction has received increasing attention in recent years, the contribution of family living arrangements to immigrants' satisfaction has been mostly overlooked. Family life and relationships with extended kin are considered key for determining life satisfaction. However, it is unclear whether the family members that immigrants live with are a source of support or stress in the first years after arrival, and how this impacts satisfaction with life in the destination country.

Specifically, this paper addresses a) how different living arrangements influence life satisfaction both initially upon arrival as well as four years later; b) how they influence changes in life satisfaction; and c) how changes in living arrangements influence changes in life satisfaction.

Finally, I study ethnic differences in interpartnering – an indicator and a mechanism for integration – among Latin American immigrants, a population that has increased considerably in recent years. Overall, intermarriage has been a neglected area of research in Canada. The dearth of research on marital exogamy among the foreign-born population is surprising given Canada's long history as an immigrant-receiving nation. Moreover, immigrant exogamy with a foreign born has mostly been overlooked as an outcome variable, in a context of increasing immigration and the diversification of the origins of the foreign-born population in Canada. The third paper compares interpartnering patterns among immigrants from Chile, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Mexico by examining their unions with conationals, non-conational foreign-born or non-conational Canadian-born. The main objective is to understand differences in interpartnering by country of birth in relation to theories of interpartnering and immigrant integration, and to evaluate to what extent the determinants of the two types of exogamous unions differ.

CHAPTER 2. DOES THE PROPENSITY TO DOUBLE-UP VARY BY IMMIGRANT CLASS OF ENTRY OVER THE FIRST FOUR YEARS AFTER ARRIVAL? EVIDENCE FROM THE LONGITUDINAL SURVEY OF IMMIGRANTS TO CANADA

ABSTRACT

Explanations for doubling-up – coresidence with extended kin and non-kin – among immigrants center on life-course events, culture, and economic need. Recent studies show the temporary nature of doubled-up households within the adaptation process, but empirical evidence on how entry status influences the duration of being doubled-up remains limited. Using data from the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada[2], results show different patterns for sponsored parents/grandparents shortly after arrival and over time; no differences between economic class principal applicants, sponsored spouses/fiancés/other relatives, and refugees in the odds of doubling-up shortly after arrival; and the odds of being doubled-up for economic class principal applicants are significantly lower than for others, both two and four years after arrival, as their households have greater turnover than other immigrant households. Findings suggest that using a linear effect of time since arrival to measure the migration process without considering variations by entry status is misleading.

[2] The results presented are based on analyses conducted in the Quebec Interuniversity Centre for Social Statistics (QICSS), which provides researchers access to the micro-detailed data collected by Statistics Canada. The opinions expressed here do not represent the view of Statistics Canada.

INTRODUCTION

The foreign-born Canadian population has grown in the last several decades and by 2006, the number of immigrant families reached almost one fifth of all Canadian families (Statistics Canada, 2007a). Data for this same year indicate that immigrants were much more likely to have low incomes and live in larger households that combine multiple families, when compared to non-immigrant populations (Lee & Edmonston, 2013). This pattern is not exclusive of the Canadian case (Flake, 2012; Glick, Bean, & Van Hook, 1997). Upon arrival, most immigrants need to find housing and employment, learn a new language, and establish new social networks. To ease overcoming these tasks they might turn to friends and family for support. In times of economic need, coresidence with extended kin or non-kin, doubling-up, may serve as a safety net as individuals pool economic and non-economic resources. Besides economic need, explanations of the formation of shared households center on socio-demographic constraints, life-course processes (Blank & Ramon, 1998), and the role of cultural values associated with ideas of "familism" and solidarity (Kamo, 2000).

But the migration process itself plays a key role as well (Glick, 2010). While recent immigrants are more likely to double-up as they settle and adapt to the host country in the first years upon arrival, coresidence with kin or non-kin tends to be a temporary arrangement (Glick & Van Hook, 2002) and does not always reflect patterns observed in origin countries (van Hook & Glick, 2007). In other words, immigrants' coresidence with kin or non-kin is conceived as a strategy for adaptation (Menjívar, 1997b; van Hook & Glick, 2007), but how long these arrangements last is an empirical question. The migration process is usually captured with variables of time since arrival that assume a linear pattern over time. Studies on the duration of shared living arrangements are scarce, but the little available evidence shows that durations depend on the relationship between the members of the household, and on the distribution of economic resources among family members. In other words, the length of these arrangements depends on how individuals contribute to the household, their potential for reciprocity, and the relationships between household members (Glick & Hook, 2011).

Immigration policy creates legal and bureaucratic channels that enable people to move, determines the definition of the family, who can migrate, and when (Triadafilopoulos, 2006), and classifies newcomers as refugees, economic or familial migrants. Canada has an explicit immigrant selection policy that screens and selects immigrants for their skills and potential for integration into the job market, while accepting immigrants under family reunification procedures and for humanitarian reasons. Behind the rationale for screening immigrants and selecting them for their skills and human capital is the notion that this process maximizes immigrants' chances of integrating into the economy (Borjas, 1993). For critics of family reunification, family class immigrants are conceived as dependents and burdens (Collacott, 2006). Scholars generally assume that these different immigrant categories (refugee, economic, and family class) reflect migrants' preexisting characteristics – motivations for migrating and levels of human and social capital – independent of selection policies.

However, whether these categories reflect motivations for migrating in a meaningful way, or are mere bureaucratic categories that are the result of legal procedures, is open to debate (Li, 2003). The role of the state and the influence of immigration policy on migrant outcomes have been conceptualized by two opposing approaches: the realist and nominalist perspectives. The latter considers that entry status reflects differences in motivations, and human and social capital, whereas the former considers entry status a social construction that does not necessarily reflect differences in motivations, nor pre-migration characteristics (Elrick & Lightman, 2014; Hein, 1993). State policies exist within broader contexts of reception that are known to matter for explaining different modes and pathways toward incorporation (Portes, 1995; Portes & Rumbaut, 2006). This context is influenced by state policies, labor markets, welfare-systems and the cultural domain (Freeman, 2004).

Evaluating how entry status impacts family patterns is complicated and little is known in terms of how entry status influences recent immigrants' living arrangements (Glick, 2010). This gap in the literature has been mainly driven by data limitations on

immigrants' entry status and on the lack of longitudinal data that allow studying the turnover of shared households. To fill this gap in the literature, the overarching question is whether or not there are differences in living arrangements by immigrant class of entry. Specifically, I address two main research questions: *1) Are there differences by entry status in the propensity to double-up shortly after arrival; and 2) are there differences by status in the propensity to double-up and the continuity of immigrants' living arrangements over the first four years after arrival?* By answering these questions, I aim to provide a better understanding of the change and continuity of living arrangements and their relationship to adaptation processes among recent immigrants. Moreover, I aim to better understand how immigration policy mediates adaptation processes, and the implications of using time since arrival to capture these processes. I use data from the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada (LSIC), a nationally representative survey that followed immigrants over the course of their first four years after arrival. LSIC is well suited to address these questions as it is one of the few longitudinal data sources including detailed information of the adaptation experience, immigrants' living arrangements, and entry status.

DOUBLING-UP: LIVING WITH EXTENDED KIN OR NON-KIN

Migration is related to family dynamics, kinship, and intergenerational ties at different levels. Most immigrants do not move alone but do so with other family members, or where relatives and friends have settled already (Massey et al., 1993). Once in the destination country, immigrant family dynamics are affected by cultural and social meanings and practices from the home country as well as social, economic and cultural factors in the destination country (Clark, Glick, & Bures, 2009; Foner, 1997). Therefore, immigrant family patterns are the result of pre-migration family, marriage and kinship beliefs and practices, as well as the demographic composition of the immigrant group, and external economic, structural and cultural conditions. The higher prevalence of extended family households among migrants than non-migrants observed in developed countries is evidence of these patterns (Flake, 2012; Glick et al., 1997; Lee & Edmonston, 2013).

It has long been established that the determinants of living in households with extended kin and non-kin are associated with demographic and economic structural aspects, as well as cultural factors (Angel & Tienda, 1982; Burr & Mutchler, 1993). Demographic factors like sex and age, and life-course transitions, such as changes in marital status or the birth of a child, may lead individuals to pool their resources and exchange different types of support (Blank & Ramon, 1998). In times of financial need due to unemployment, economic crises and recession, shared households act as a safety net. Sharing a household is also influenced by cultural factors associated with the norms and values of familism and kinship, collectivism, solidarity, and support. However, economic need and culture are mediated by the nature of the relationships within the household (particularly, the level of dependency between household members), and how members contribute to the household (Angel & Tienda, 1982), as well as the events that led to household extension. Extended households with younger or older generations attached to the original household – vertical extended households – tend to be associated more often with family and demographic events like health problems, separation, widowhood or single motherhood. On the other hand, the reasons why individuals from the same generation are attached to the original household – horizontal extended household – tend to be related more often to economic insufficiency (Kamo, 2000).

Ethno-racial minorities and immigrants are more likely than the White native-born population to reside in shared households. In addition to the explanations put forward for the overall population – demographic, structural, and cultural factors – recent immigration explains much of the racial and ethnic variation in living arrangements. Findings show that this is true for vertical extended households – parents' coresidence with adult children – (Glick & Van Hook, 2002), as well as for horizontal living arrangements (Leach, 2012). However, among recent immigrants, the continuity of extended households has been found to depend on age, changes in marital status, and immigrant class of entry (Khoo, 2008).

The distinction between types of extended households informs strategies implemented by recent immigrants while adapting to the challenges faced in the destination country. For

example, a larger presence of extended living arrangements in the U.S. was a consequence of an increase of horizontal extended households among Mexican, Guatemalan and Salvadoran immigrants due to increases in proportions of young, single adults living with relatives, as well as increasing poverty rates (Glick et al., 1997). A historical revision of patterns over time shows that family reunification policy – like the 1965 U.S. Immigration Act – encouraged the vertical extension of households (Gratton, Gutmann, & Skop, 2007). Similarly, a study comparing Ukrainian, Chinese, and Italian families in Canada finds that immigration policy and family reunification challenged ideas of familism often viewed as an intrinsic characteristic of some ethnic groups (Satzewich, 1993).

The argument that recent immigration influences individuals to live in shared households assumes that doubling-up is a temporary living arrangement that may last while immigrants adapt to the new country. Two perspectives have explained the continuity of shared living arrangements with kin and non-kin. The functionalist perspective pertains more often to multigenerational households where the elderly or children are more likely to depend on support from others, and asserts that unidirectional assistance from some members to others, as well as social norms of obligation, account for the continuity of living arrangements. In contrast, the contractual perspective applies more often to co-residential households shared by siblings or other extended kin, or non-kin, and assumes that all members of the household contribute to and benefit from this arrangement, and that a balanced and reciprocal exchange of resources occurs. Data from the U.S. show that most shared households change their living arrangements within one year after arrival, and very few remain constant after three years, with the duration of shared living arrangements depending on the relationships of those sharing the household, the distribution of economic resources, as well as ideas of reciprocity and exchange (Glick & Hook, 2011). Multigenerational households tend to stay together longer than other doubled-up households when one or two individuals provide a disproportionate share of the economic resources in the household, contrary to other shared households, which last longer when resources are more evenly distributed (Glick & Hook, 2011).

Co-residence with kin can provide support and act as a safety net, but also may produce conflict and strain relationships as family members negotiate roles and obligations (Swartz, 2009). This is particularly true in contexts where material and physical resources are limited. For example, Menjívar (1997b) shows that economic need influences the duration of kinship networks, both inside and outside the household, challenging the notion that support is an attribute from the immigrant group itself (1997a). In other words, economic need influences the likelihood of doubling-up, as well as the turnover rate of shared households.

THE MIGRATION PROCESS REVISITED: IMMIGRANT CLASS OF ENTRY

Immigrant class of entry in the Canadian case

Canada presents a suitable context for studying the role of entry status in the immigrant adaptation process. Canada is known to be a 'nation of immigrants' – with one in every five people being foreign born. Immigration has been central to nation building (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010; Li, 2003; Simmons, 2010) and is likely to continue since the country has the highest migration rate in the world today (Statistics Canada, 2007). The 1967 Immigration Act removed all explicitly racially discriminatory rules and implemented a points system to select immigrants in terms of their skills, work experience and demographic characteristics. This change in policy resulted in increased immigration from Latin America and Asia, substituting previous majority European flows. However, immigrants are not only accepted into Canada as permanent residents for economic motivations, but also for humanitarian and family reunification considerations.

Immigrants arrive to Canada as permanent residents under one of the statuses of entry as defined by Citizenship and Immigration Canada[3]: A) economic class (includes both principal applicants and their spouses and dependents); B) family class (spouses, dependent children, grandparents, and other sponsored eligible relatives); C) refugees (sponsored – selected from abroad and referred by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and other sponsorship groups – and refugee claimants and

[3] The main functions of Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) are to facilitate the arrival of immigrants (selecting permanent and temporary residents), provide protection to refugees and offer settlement programs for newcomers.

asylum seekers who applied and were granted status within Canada); and D) investors, entrepreneurs and self-employed business people. Since 2000, the annual average of new permanent residents has been 250,000. In the last ten years, around 26% of the new immigrants are family class, 60% are economic migrants, 11% are refugees and 3% are other immigrants (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2012).

Whether these categories reflect motivations for migration in a meaningful way or whether they are mere bureaucratic categories and the result of legal procedures is open to debate (Li, 2003). However, entry status reflects differences in selectivity processes that may translate into different pathways to social and economic integration, and that may influence living arrangements – whether or not new immigrants double-up – as well as the duration of these shared living arrangements. In the next section, I review evidence for these possible processes.

Entry status and living arrangements

Family class immigrants

Family class immigrants are those arriving under three broad categories: spouses and fiancés, parents and grandparents, and other relatives (children, siblings, aunts and uncles, nieces and nephews). Family class immigrants are not subject to the points system but have to be sponsored by a citizen or permanent resident of Canada. The sponsor is committed to providing food, clothing, lodging, care and maintenance, and financial assistance, preventing the sponsored relative to be dependent on federal or provincial programs (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2014). Sponsors are committed to providing this support,[4] but not all of the immigrants live under the same roof with the members who sponsored them (Thomas, 2001). Given the lack of mechanisms for enforcing this requirement (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010), there is no guarantee that the signed commitment will translate into financial assistance. If the sponsor fails to meet their obligations, then the sponsored immigrant is left unprotected with no access to public social programs. Potential sponsors cannot be receiving social assistance at the

[4] The duration of this commitment depends on the relationship between the immigrant and her/his sponsor, and age at arrival. It ranges from three years for spouses to twenty years for parents and grandparents.

time of sponsorship and their federal income needs to have been a minimum of 30% above the Low Income Cut-off for the three years prior to becoming a sponsor. By preventing low-income permanent residents or Canadian citizens from sponsoring relatives, access to family reunification is related to social class. Economic need among those arriving under family class procedures depends on the conditions of the sponsor, how the sponsor shares her/ his resources, and the savings and wealth that immigrants bring with them.

Immigrants arriving under the family class as parents and grandparents are more likely to live with extended kin given their age, sex, and marital status because demographic characteristics are key determinants of living with extended kin among the elderly, regardless of immigration status (Boyd, 1991; Gurak & Kritz, 2010; Kaida, Moyser, & Park, 2009). Studies indicate that among the elderly, the safety net provided by relatives is explained by cultural factors, rather than economic need (Gonzales, 2007). In addition, studies demonstrate that immigration policy (Wilmoth, De Jong, & Himes, 1997) or unmeasured structural constraints that may be related to immigration policy (Glick & Van Hook, 2002), may influence immigrants' decision to live with extended kin. The signed commitment of support may increase the social norms of family obligation that keep multigenerational households together, as explained by the functionalist perspective of shared households (Glick & Hook, 2011). Therefore, sponsored parents or grandparents are more likely to remain in extended family households for longer. Support for this, for example, is that household size among immigrants to Israel who arrived at an older age show little variation with time spent in the host country (Cohen-Goldner, 2010).

Permanent residents and citizens of Canada may also sponsor married or common law spouses and fiancés, as well as siblings, sons and daughters, nieces and nephews, aunts and uncles, and other eligible relatives. Among these adult immigrants – likely to be younger than parents and grandparents – life-course transitions such as changes in marital status and transitioning to adulthood (Jeong, Hamplová, & Le Bourdais, 2013), as well as factors associated with horizontal extended households (Kamo, 2000) are likely to explain being doubled-up, as well as frequent household turnover rates. In Australia, for

instance, family class parents and grandparents are more likely to live in extended households than are spouses and other sponsored relatives, six and three years after arrival (Khoo, 2008). In Canada, studies show that family class migrants tend to be more stable in the initial years after arrival, moving less from one province to another (Newbold, 2007), or between metropolitan areas and postal codes (Dion, 2010). This suggests that among younger adult family class immigrants being doubled-up is likely to have a temporary nature whereas the nature of being doubled-up among older family class immigrants is likely to be more permanent.

Economic class immigrants

Immigrants arriving to Canada under the economic class have either been selected under the points system for their skills or assets that are expected to contribute to the Canadian economy, or are arriving as investors, entrepreneurs, or provincial nominees. This category includes the principal applicant, along with her/ his spouses and dependent children. Two-thirds of economic migrants are family members of the principal applicant. As a consequence, only one in every four immigrants has been directly selected by the points system (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2012).

Economic migrants fare better than refugees in terms of employment, but differences between skilled workers and family class immigrants are small (Phythian, Walters, & Anisef, 2009). A number of studies indicate that in the long term, employment and earnings trajectories for economic and family class immigrants to Canada converge (Bevelander & Pendakur, 2013; Silva, 1997), similarly to what has been observed in the U.S. (Jasso & Rosenzweig, 1995). However, immigrant earnings have remained lower than natives' (Reitz, Curtis, & Elrick, 2014), and the challenges for economic integration associated with foreign-credential recognition and lack of Canadian experience are well known (Reitz, 2007a; Simmons, 2010). Spouses of principal applicants are grouped with their dependent children, but they may be highly skilled, enter the labor force, and contribute economically to the household, although their wages tend to be lower than those of the principal applicant (Elrick & Lightman, 2014).

In Australia, which has adopted a similar points system for admitting economic immigrants, economic immigrants are more likely than other immigrants to live with non-kin and less likely to live with extended kin, although this changes with time since arrival (Khoo, 2008). In Canada, studies on secondary migration show that economic immigrants are mobile and likely to move over the first four years of arrival. A 2010 study shows that 16% of recent economic immigrants had migrated internally, changing metropolitan area or census area, over this four-year period (Dion, 2010), and that they were more mobile than family class migrants.

Refugees

Refugee claimants and asylum seekers who apply and are granted status from within Canada transition from temporary to permanent residence status after having already lived in the country and establishing social networks. In contrast, sponsored refugees or those selected from abroad and referred by the UNHCR receive permanent residence upon arrival. For structural reasons, refugees are more likely than other migrants to arrive with other family members (Boyd, 1989; Glick, 2010). Although scholars debate whether or not such a sharp distinction exists between refugees and economic migrants, the main difference between the two categories lies in their relationship with the state. Specifically, the different statuses have different implications within the social welfare system in terms of access to public aid and social services, with refugees having greater access than other migrants, – resources that may serve as an alternative to either ethnic enclaves or the mainstream labor markets (Hein, 1993). The extent to which social programs for refugees provide them with a safety net will influence their choice to double-up as a strategy to cope with economic difficulty.

Most refugees from abroad do not choose their city of destination; immigration officials and a center in Ottawa managed by CIC determine this. Therefore, upon arrival, refugees tend to migrate a second time, moving out of smaller cities to larger metropolitan areas where co-ethnic networks are available (secondary migration). Internal migration rates

are highest among refugees, compared to economic and family class immigrants (Dion, 2010). Although they have access to temporary housing programs, the major barrier faced by both sponsored and internal refugee claimants for good-quality housing is affordability (Murdie, 2010), partially due to employment uncertainty (Johnson, 1989). Research on the U.S. shows that earnings and occupational attainment among refugees lags behind those of other immigrants, even after controlling for other explanatory factors such as language proficiency, education, family support, mental and physical health, and neighborhood characteristics (Connor, 2010).

THE CURRENT STUDY

Research has established that the determinants of being doubled-up are associated with demographic, economic and cultural factors. Among migrants, the role of the adaptation process, normally understood as time since arrival, has been found to be key to explaining why being doubled-up tends to be a temporary arrangement. However, the role that immigration policy, captured by immigrant class of entry, plays in this adaptation process has not been quantified. Therefore, in this study I aim to better understand whether or not there are differences in living arrangements by immigrant class of entry, net of demographic, socio-economic, and cultural factors. Specifically, I address two main research questions: *1) Are there differences by entry status on the propensity to double-up' shortly after arrival; and 2) are there differences by status in the propensity to double-up and the continuity of immigrants' living arrangements over the first four years after arrival?*

Based on the discussion presented above, I expect that overall, parents and grandparents arriving under family class will be more likely to double-up in vertical extended households, and less likely to change their living arrangements compared to immigrants arriving under other entry statuses due to demographic factors, the social norms of obligation, as well as the formal obligations created by immigration policy. Second, if immigrants who are not arriving as sponsored parents/grandparents ever double-up, they are more likely to live in horizontal extended households or with non-kin. Therefore, I expect the continuity of these shared households to be shorter, following the contractual

perspective of shared households. Moreover, I expect economic class migrants to be less likely to double-up than family class migrants and refugees, and I expect that if they double-up, this situation should tend to be momentary rather than structural, i.e. temporary and short-lived. Third, it is unclear whether or not spouses and other sponsored relatives will have different patterns of doubling-up than the spouses and dependents of economic class principal applicants. While the former are expected to have larger economic resources under the realist perspective, the latter are expected to have stronger social networks in the host society that may influence their tendency to double-up for family reasons, rather than economic need.

This article builds upon previous studies of immigrants' household living arrangements, but differs in several significant ways. The information on class of entry available in this study provides a better understanding of what influences the migration process during the first years of settlement, something that has been called for in previous studies (Clark et al., 2009; Glick, 2010; Gratton et al., 2007; Landale & Oropesa, 2007). Although immigration scholarship has been central to Canadian sociological and demographic literatures, there is scarce research on immigrant families and their living arrangements. Studies looking at immigrant housing conditions have examined living arrangements indirectly, with the main focus being housing quality, homeownership, rental markets, and neighborhood quality (Mendez, Hiebert, & Wyly, 2006; Teixeira, 2010), overcrowding over time (Haan, 2010), and the effect of overcrowding on housing satisfaction (Simone & Newbold, 2014). Others have looked at immigrant living arrangements among specific populations: in relation to Ukrainian, Chinese and Italian family formation (Satzewich, 1993), among elderly women immigrants (Boyd, 1991), or earlier immigrants arriving before 1995 (Thomas, 2001), to name a few. However, this is the first study I know of that focuses on shared living arrangements among recent immigrants in Canada.

DATA, MEASURES, AND METHODS

Data

I use the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada (LSIC), a nationally representative survey of immigrants arriving in Canada as permanent residents[5] between October 1, 2000 and September 30, 2001, who were interviewed at three stages after arrival[6]: about six months, two years, and four years after landing. The LSIC is a comprehensive survey specifically designed to study the process by which new immigrants adapt to Canadian society and covers a wide range of topics related to the settlement process (Statistics Canada, 2007b). The survey includes only those aged 15 and over at the time of landing who have applied for permanent status from abroad to Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC). LSIC excludes immigrants who applied and landed from within Canada, i.e. those who transitioned from temporary status – holding study or work permits, or as refugees claiming asylum to the Immigration and Refugee Board – to permanent status.

The population of interest is those immigrants of the LSIC cohort who still reside in Canada at the time of the third interview. From the 12,040 individuals surveyed the first time, only 7,716 were surveyed four years after arrival. I limit the analytic sample to immigrants arriving as adults, aged 25 and older, in order to reduce processes related to the transition to adulthood among younger immigrants, specifically, leaving the parental home, union formation, and school attendance. This age restriction excludes 1,350 individuals. I further exclude observations with missing values in the variables of interest (around 1.15%) such that the final working sample is comprised of n=6,300 immigrants. Statistical tests comparing all immigrants arriving aged 25 and older who were followed four years after arrival and those who were only interviewed once (t tests), show that the sample under-represents immigrants doubling-up at the baseline. Specifically, tests by immigrant class show a significant underestimation in the sample (0.9% difference;

[5] LSIC excludes non-permanent residents, i.e. foreign-born under a temporary status or without status.
[6] The survey is based on a complex sample stratified design; i.e., the random sampling was stratified by country of origin and visa category. The unit of analysis is the longitudinal respondent (LR) with a single longitudinal survey weight. Bootstrap weights (1,000 replications) provided by Statistics Canada were used to approximate the variance of estimates. Following their guidelines, the total number of cases has been rounded and I only present weighted descriptive statistics.

p=0.2) of refugees who were doubled-up shortly after arrival. From the working sample of 6,300 immigrants, living arrangements changed among 17% over the four years. Therefore, the final sample used for analyzing changes in doubling-up is comprised of n=1,005 individuals.

MEASURES

Dependent variables

The dependent variable is an indicator for being *doubled-up*, i.e. living in a shared household with relatives or non-kin (1) v.s. not being doubled-up, i.e. immigrant with/without partner and/or children (0). Immigrants who are not doubled-up live alone, or in nuclear households with or without a partner, and with or without children. That is, I do not distinguish between couples with and without children or lone parents because the main interest of the paper is living with extended kin or non-kin[7]. This variable is defined using a detailed categorical variable differentiating 18 different household structures in terms of presence/absence of spouses, children, relatives, and non-kin. Statistics Canada define this detailed variable using immigrant's position in the household and her/his relationship to other members. Unfortunately, LSIC users are only provided with the generated variable, and not the position or relationship matrix. Therefore, it is impossible to differentiate by type of kin – parents, siblings, or others – which would allow me to study horizontal and vertical households separately, and this constitutes a serious limitation of the study.

Key independent variables

The key independent variable is immigrant class of entry derived from the classification by Citizenship and Immigration Canada. The categorical variable is defined as follows: 1) sponsored parents and grandparents arriving under family class (reference); 2) sponsored spouses, fiancés and other relatives arriving under family class; 3) Economic

[7] With this I aim to exclude processes of step-migration within the same immigration unit when, as a strategy for adaptation, one of the members arrives earlier and is joined by others, usually a spouse and/or children.

class principal applicants; 4) Spouses and dependents of economic class principal applicants; and 5) Refugees. The definition of economic class includes federal skilled workers, as well as those arriving as investors, entrepreneurs, and provincial nominees. Refugees include government sponsored refugees, privately sponsored refugees, as well as other refugees from abroad.

Covariates

Models account for socio-demographic characteristics and self-rated health, which are known to be associated with household living arrangements. Sex is a dummy variable with females as the reference group. Age was grouped into five categories: 25-29, 30-39, 40-49, 50-64, 65 and over (reference). Self-rated health status is measured with a regrouped dummy variable for good/very good health (1), or poor health (very bad/bad/neither). I include a dummy variable to indicate the presence of young children aged 4 and younger in the household. Marital status is measured by a categorical variable with three groups: single never married, married/common law, and separated/widow/divorced[8]. To account for different provincial integration policies (Biles, 2008), as well as social, cultural, political, economic, and welfare contexts, I include a variable of province of residence coded into four groups: Ontario (reference), Quebec, British Columbia and the rest of Canada.

To account for pre-migration characteristics associated with ideas and norms from origin countries, as well as processes of discrimination in Canada that influence social and economic integration outcomes (Reitz et al., 2009), and that may influence immigrant living arrangements, I control for visible minority group and religion. Visible minorities in Canada are those who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in color and who do not report being Aboriginal. Visible minority is a combination of region/country of origin, race and ethnicity (Henry, Tator, Mattis, & Rees, 2000). I group it here in eleven categories: Whites (reference), Chinese, South Asian, Black, Filipino, Latin American,

[8] Due to collinearity, marital status was omitted in the cross-sectional analysis and it is included only in longitudinal fixed-effects models as a time-varying covariate to capture life-course transitions.

South East Asian, Arab, West Asian, Korean, and other. Religion is measured with a five-group categorical variable: secular (reference), Catholic, Protestant/Orthodox/ Jewish, Muslim, and Eastern.

Models account for social integration – the process by which immigrants become a part of the social institutions of the host community at the same time as they retain their own identity (Frideres, 2008). Social integration is measured with indicators of language proficiency, social and ethnic networks, and previous residence in Canada. The variable of official language proficiency uses the best score from either French or English to indicate good or very good proficiency, or having one of the official languages as mother tongue (1), and otherwise (0). Social and ethnic networks are measured using a categorical variable: the migrant has not made new friends, most of the new friends are not from the same ethnic or cultural group, and most of the new friends are from the same ethnic or cultural group (reference). To account for previous experience in Canada that may affect social networks and adaptability, I include an indicator variable of having resided in Canada before.

Finally, models also account for economic integration outcomes. The availability of economic resources is measured using employment status, and a logarithm of total personal income and contribution to household income.[9] Current employment status was divided as no employment (reference), part-time, and full-time employment. Total personal income was transformed logarithmically. Contribution to household income was calculated by dividing total personal income over total household income, and so it ranges from 0 to 1.

[9] The measurement of economic resources within a shared household presents problems of endogeneity. I tested different indicators of income: a) total household income divided by the square root of household size; b) natural logarithm of total household income; c) indicator variable of low income (total household income less than $20,000); and d) a subjective measure of income adequacy to meet basic needs. These two measures were chosen because they had a lower correlation than the others, higher explanatory power, and they correspond to the theoretical explanations of poverty and contribution to the household economy.

Methods

After presenting descriptive statistics, I estimate logistic regression models and logistic fixed-effects models – also known as conditional fixed-effects regression models – to address the research questions. The methodological strategy is divided into two main sections: a) being doubled-up shortly after arrival; b) change and continuity of being doubled-up over the first four years. To evaluate the factors associated with doubling-up at the baseline, I estimate a series of nested logistic regression models controlling for demographic characteristics, visible minority group status and religion, indicators of social integration, and economic resources. These factors are introduced sequentially to account for the possibility of confounding factors associated with immigrant class of entry. I use a series of nested fixed-effects models to study changes in shared living arrangements, controlling for characteristics that do not vary over time. I introduce the key independent variable of immigrant class of entry –which is time-invariant – in the fixed-effects models, interacted with the variable of time since arrival: six months, two years, and four years after landing in Canada. This allows studying if the association of being doubled-up and class of entry varies over time. Models are compared using the Akaike Information Criteria (AIC) to assess goodness-of-fit.[10]

Fixed-effects models have the advantage of controlling for unobserved heterogeneity that is constant over time and uncorrelated with independent variables (Allison, 2009). Therefore, this controls for personality, optimism, genetic make-up, and other individual-level factors that are stable over time, especially cultural values and norms associated with familism, solidarity and reciprocity, that may influence living arrangements, whether they are measured or not. However, one limitation of fixed-effects methods relates to discarding between-person variation, as only individuals for whom the dependent variable changes are included in the analysis. In this case, individuals who do

[10] Analyses were performed in Stata 13. Estimations of standard errors where obtained using the Stata procedures *bs4rw* and *svy* that take into account the survey sample design and 1,000 bootstrapped replications. Post estimation procedures to calculate predicted probabilities and logits, and assess estimated differences between groups where carried out using the *margins*, *pwcompare* and *contrast* commands in Stata.

not change type of living arrangement are excluded from the fixed-effects analysis and the working sample of 6,300 individuals is reduced to 1,005 immigrants.

RESULTS

Descriptive analysis: Baseline sample characteristics

Table 2.1 shows sample characteristics by type of immigrants' household, at the baseline, i.e. six months after arrival. Results from Pearson chi-squared tests show that differences in sex, having lived in Canada before, and employment status by doubled-up/not doubled/up household are not statistically significant. Otherwise, all the other characteristics shown in Table 2.1 differ by type of living arrangement. Nearly 80% of those who are not doubled-up are economic migrants, whereas 43% of those who are doubled-up are economic migrants. Close to 40% of those who are doubled-up is a sponsored parent or grandparent, and slightly more than one in every three are economic class principal applicants. The relative presence of sponsored spouses and other relatives who are doubled-up (15%) is greater than spouses and dependents of economic class immigrants (9%).

In terms of their demographic characteristics, those who are doubled-up tend to be from older and younger age groups, are unmarried, and have poorer self-rated health than those living in households of their own. In terms of place of residence, there are fewer immigrants living in doubled-up households in Quebec and more doing so in provinces other than the main three settlement provinces. In terms of visible minority group, there is a larger proportion of South Asians and Filipinos who are doubled-up shortly after arrival. Slightly more than one in every three doubled-up immigrants is South Asian, one in every five is Chinese, and one in every seven is Filipino. The main differences in indicators of social integration are that there is a larger presence of immigrants with non-coethnic social networks, and poor official language proficiency who are doubled-up. Those doubled-up have lower personal incomes, and tend to contribute less than those who are doubling-up.

Table 2.1 Selected sample characteristics by type of immigrants' household (shown as percentage of the total)

Variables		Nuclear	Doubled-up household	Total
Immigrant class of entry				
Family class	Parents/grandparents	5	36	11
	Spouses/fiances/other	12	15	13
Economic class	Principal applicants	47	34	44
	Spouses/dependents	32	9	27
Refugees		5	5	5
Demographic characteristics six months after arrival				
Sex*	Male	49	49	49
	Female	51	51	51
Age at arrival	25-29	19	25	20
	30-39	50	29	46
	40-49	23	12	21
	50-64	6	22	9
	65+	2	13	4
Marital status	Single never married	7	23	10
	Married/common-law	91	65	86
	Separated/divorced/widow	3	12	4
Young children (0-4) in HH	At least one	81	69	79
	None	19	31	21
Province of residence	Ontario	56	58	56
	Quebec	17	9	16
	BC	17	18	17
	Other	11	15	11
Self-rated health	Poor	21	30	23
	Good	79	70	77
Ethnicity/visible minority status				
Population group	White	23	11	21
	Chinese	24	20	23
	South Asian	22	36	25
	Black	4	4	4
	Filipino	6	14	8
	Latin American	3	2	3
	South East Asian	1	1	1
	Arab	6	4	6
	West Asian	4	4	4
	Korean	5	1	4
	Other	2	2	2
Religion	Secular	26	19	25
	Catholic	18	22	19
	Protestant/Orthodox/Jewish	22	15	21
	Muslim	19	14	18
	Eastern	14	29	17

continues…

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Variables		Nuclear	Doubled-up household	Total
Social integration indicators six months after arrival				
Social and ethnic networks	No new friends	57	52	56
	Different ethnic group	11	24	13
	Same ethnic group	33	24	31
Official language proficiency	Poor	36	51	39
	Good	64	49	61
Lived in Canada before*	No	90	92	91
	Yes	10	8	9
Economic resources six months after arrival				
Employment status*	Not employed	53	52	52
	Part-time	8	8	8
	Full-time	39	40	39
Natural logarithm of total personal income (Mean)		4.92	4.43	4.82
Contribution to household income (Mean)		0.44	0.37	0.43
n		5070	1230	6300

Source: Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada. See text for definition of variables.

* Chi-squared tests show that this characteristic does not vary significantly ($p > 0.05$) by condition of doubled-up

Doubling-up six months after arrival

Table 2.2 shows estimated odds-ratios of being doubled-up six months after landing among immigrants who were 25 and older at arrival, from a series of nested logit models. The unadjusted equation (Model 1) shows that at the baseline, sponsored parents/grandparents are more likely to be doubled-up than immigrants under other entry statuses ($p<0.001$). Spouses and dependents of economic class principal applicants are the least likely to be doubled-up, followed by economic class principal applicants, refugees, and spouses and other relatives under family class. Significant differences ($p<0.001$) to parents/grandparents under family class are observed when socio-demographic characteristics are accounted for, and persist when I control for visible minority group and religion, indicators of social integration, and economic resources, although the order of those who are the most/least likely to double-up changes.

Table 2.2. Estimated odds-ratios from a series of Logistic regression models of being doubled-up among immigrants, six months after arrival

Variables		Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Immigrant class of entry							
Family class	(Parents/grandparents)						
	Spouses/fiances/other	0.17***	0.14***	0.16***	0.18***	0.17***	0.17***
Economic class	Principal applicants	0.10***	0.10***	0.13***	0.17***	0.16***	0.16***
	Spouses/dependents	0.04***	0.04***	0.05***	0.06***	0.06***	0.05***
Refugees		0.13***	0.13***	0.19***	0.19***	0.20***	0.19***
Demographic characteristics six months after arrival							
Sex	Male		1.03	1.02	1.06	1.01	1.01
	(Female)						
Age at arrival	25-29		1.73*	1.24	1.24	1.12	1.12
	30-39		0.83	0.61	0.60*	0.55*	0.54*
	40-49		0.59*	0.42***	0.41***	0.38***	0.37***
	50-64		0.79	0.67*	0.65*	0.62*	0.61*
	(65+)						
Young children (0-4) in HH	At least one		1.83***	1.71***	1.68***	1.72***	1.71***
	(None)						
Province of residence	(Ontario)						
	Quebec		0.53***	0.67**	0.67**	0.69*	0.67**
	BC		0.91	0.89	0.86	0.87	0.85
	Other		1.36**	1.34**	1.30*	1.27*	1.26*
Self-rated health	(Poor)						
	Good		0.85	0.81*	0.82*	0.82*	0.83*
Ethnicity/visible minority status							
Visible minority	(White)						
	Chinese			2.01***	1.97***	1.99***	1.99***
	South Asian			2.27***	2.28***	2.24***	2.25***
	Black			2.29***	2.42***	2.41***	2.45***
	Filipino			4.23***	4.62***	4.39***	4.32***
	Latin American			1.65	1.57	1.6	1.61
	South East Asian			2.61*	2.45*	2.44*	2.48*
	Arab			1.6	1.54	1.58	1.6
	West Asian			1.61	1.51	1.52	1.51
	Korean			0.97	0.86	0.92	0.94
	Other			3.44***	3.55***	3.50***	3.54***
Religion	(Secular)						
	Catholic			1.21	1.25	1.23	1.23
	Protestant/Orthodox/Jewish			1.03	1.07	1.05	1.05
	Muslim			1.06	1.04	1.06	1.06
	Eastern			1.39	1.35	1.33	1.32
Social integration indicators six months after arrival							
Social and ethnic networks	(No new friends)						
	Different ethnic group				1.61***	1.62***	1.63***
	Same ethnic group				1.14	1.12	1.11
Official language proficiency	(Poor)						
	Good				0.71***	0.70***	0.70***
Lived in Canada before	(No)						
	Yes				0.95	0.93	0.93
Economic resources six months after arrival							
Employment status	(Not employed)						
	Part-time					1.46*	1.35
	Full-time					1.31**	1.22
Natural logarithm of total personal income							1.02
Contribution to household income							0.84
Intercept		1.93***	2.17***	1.1	1.02	1.02	1.05
n		6300	6300	6300	6300	6300	6300
AIC (unweighted model)		5300.02	5101.37	4984.3	4966.65	4958.7	4959.32
pseudo R2 (unweighted model)		0.1494	0.1846	0.2079	0.212	0.2139	0.2145

Source: Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada.
Notes: Reference categories in parentheses. Models use survey and bootstrap weights provided by Statistics Canada.
* for p< .05, ** for p<.01, and *** for p<0.001 (two tailed tests)

First, including indicators of demographic characteristics (Model 2) increases the difference between family class immigrants – parents/grandparents and spouses/fiancés/others – but the estimated odds-ratios of all other classes of entry remain unchanged. Second, when visible minority group and religion are accounted for (Model 3) the differences between all migrants and parents/grandparents are reduced, but the relative reduction is larger for refugees (suggesting that the composition in terms of country/region of origin, race/ethnicity and religion of refugees is different to the rest). Third, the inclusion of ethnic networks, language proficiency and previous residence in Canada changes the estimated odds-ratios for class of entry reducing differences between parents/grandparents with economic migrants, and other family class migrants, but not with refugees. This also increases differences between Black and Filipino immigrants with Whites, suggesting different social capital among these groups upon arrival. Finally, the indicators of economic resources are not statistically significant, but their inclusion increases the differences between sponsored parents/grandparents and immigrants under other classes of entry (consistent with the idea that parents/grandparents contribute economically and have different formal employment patterns than others). In summary, the relationship between being doubled-up and immigrant class of entry is partially mediated by the explanatory variables. For economic class immigrants and refugees, the estimated odds-ratios of doubling-up remain relatively stable once I account for visible minority group and religion. For sponsored spouses/fiancés and other relatives, the estimated odds-ratios from the unadjusted model are the same as the fully adjusted (Model 6).

Model 6 presents the best fit, when assessed using the Akaike Information Criteria. Estimates from the final model (Table 2.2; Model 6) show that, when other variables in the model are held constant, immigrating to Canada as refugees, sponsored spouses/fiancés and other relatives, principal applicants under economic class, and spouses and dependents of economic migrants reduces the odds of living in a doubled-up household shortly after arrival (by 81%, 83%, 84%, and 95%, respectively) compared to sponsored parents/grandparents. However, only spouses and dependents of economic class migrants have significantly different propensities to double-up than family class

spouses/fiancés, and other sponsored relatives, economic class principal applicants, and refugees. Another way of looking at these differences is by calculating average predicted probabilities by immigrant class of entry from Model 6. While the average predicted probability of being doubled-up upon arrival is 0.53 for parents and grandparents arriving under family class, it is 0.21 for refugees, 0.19 for other family class immigrants, 0.18 for economic class principal applicants, and 0.076 for economic spouses and dependents (data not shown).

Results from the full model (Model 6) show that when all the other factors are held constant, doubling-up is positively associated with having young children in the household, non co-ethnic networks, and living in a province other than Ontario, Quebec, and Vancouver – the main provinces of immigrant settlement. On the other hand, doubling-up is negatively associated with being aged 30-50, residing in Quebec, reporting poor self-rated health, and poor official language proficiency. Doubling up is more likely to happen among visible minorities than among Whites; but the odds vary by group. Estimates show that among Filipinos, the odds of being doubled-up are slightly higher than 4 times those among Whites, and the odds for South East Asians, Blacks, South Asians, Chinese, and others are around 2 times higher than for Whites. The likelihood of being doubled-up for Latin Americans, Arabs, West Asians, and Koreans is not statistically significantly different from that of Whites, when all the other factors are held constant. Indicators of social integration and economic resources have a mediating effect on population group, especially among Filipinos, reducing association with doubling-up, and suggesting an association between country/region of origin and social and economic integration. Notably, none of the indicators of economic resources are statistically significantly associated with being doubled-up six months after arrival when all other factors are held constant.

Remaining in the same type of living arrangement or experiencing change

Before presenting results from multivariate analysis studying change in living arrangements over the first four years of arrival, I provide a descriptive overview of this change by immigrant class of entry. Table 2.3 shows the proportion of those experiencing

change and remaining in the same living arrangements, given their doubled-up status shortly after arrival and over the following years, by immigrant class of entry. Results from chi-squared tests show that living arrangements over time vary by immigrant class of entry. First, from the whole sample of immigrants, only 17% changed their status as 73% were not doubled-up and 10% were living in a doubled-up household over the course of the three interviews. There is a slightly larger proportion (10% vs. 7%) of immigrants who were doubled-up shortly after arrival and not doubled-up at a subsequent interview, than those who transitioned into a doubled-up household.

Second, the largest relative presence of those who always doubled-up is among family class parents and grandparents – with slightly more than half– contrasting sharply with only 4% of economic class principal applicants and 2% of economic class spouses and dependents. The smallest relative presence of immigrants who never doubled-up is among family class parents/grandparents and other sponsored immigrants (21% and 67%, respectively). Third, among those who experienced change in doubled-up status, I note that there is a similar proportion of parents/grandparents experiencing turnover in their initial non doubled-up or doubled-up living arrangement (13% and 14%, respectively). However, for immigrants arriving under other classes of entry, the relative presence of transitions from doubled-up shortly after arrival to non doubled-up households later is larger than the transition into doubled-up households.

Doubling-up over the first four years after arrival

Table 2.4 shows estimated odds-ratios for being doubled-up during the first four years after arrival from a series of nested fixed-effects logistic bootstrapped models. These models control for time-constant characteristics while studying variation in being doubled-up within individuals. In all models, the overall association of being doubled-up with immigrant class of entry varies over time: the interaction effect of immigrant class of entry and time since arrival is statistically significant ($p<0.001$)[11]. In other words, the trajectory of immigrants' living arrangements over the first four years varies by entry status, and this persists when changes in demographic characteristics, and social and

[11] The interaction effects are relative to the first interview (six months after arrival) and the main effect of class of entry is omitted because it is time invariant.

economic integration indicators are controlled for. However, estimated odds-ratios show that not all immigrants are statistically significantly different to family class parents/grandparents. Only spouses/fiancés and other sponsored relatives, and principal applicants from economic class, have statistically significantly lower odds of being doubled-up compared to sponsored parents/grandparents, two years ($p<0.05$ and $p<0.001$, respectively) and four years after arrival ($p<0.01$ and $p<0.001$, respectively). Comparing between nested models I see that the sequential addition of covariates increases the estimated odds-ratios of entry status two years after arrival, but decreases the odds-ratios four years after. In other words, differences by type of entry over time are mediated by other time-variant factors.

Table 2.3. Type of immigrants' living arrangement over the first four years upon arrival by immigrant class of entry

Type of living arrangement over time		Family class		Economic class		Refugees	Total	Included in sample for Fixed-effects models
Six month after arrival	Two/four years after arrival	Parents or grand-parents	Spouses, fiances or other	Principal applicants	Spouses or dependents			
Not doubled-up	Never doubled-up	21	67	79	88	74	73	No
	Experienced being doubled-up	13	8	6	5	6	7	Yes
Doubled-up	Remained doubled-up	52	12	4	2	12	10	No
	Experienced not being doubled-up	14	12	12	5	9	10	Yes
Total		100	100	100	100	100	100	

Source: Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada.

Results from nested fixed-effects logit models show consistent significant associations between being doubled-up and marital status, and presence of young children 4 years old and younger. In other words, life-course transitions associated with changes in marital status and having children are associated with changes in shared living arrangements. For example, the odds of doubling-up were twice as high in the interviews when there were young children as compared to interviews in which there were no children aged 4 or

younger. None of the indicators of social integration or employment status where significantly associated with being doubled-up in any of the models. The estimated odds-ratios from the fully adjusted model (Model 5; Table 2.4) show a positive association between being doubled-up and the natural logarithm of personal income (OR=1.06, $p<0.001$), but a negative association with the contribution of personal income to household income (OR=0.4, $p<0.001$)[12].

To better understand how the probability of being doubled-up varies by immigrant class of entry over time, Graph 1.1 shows adjusted average predicted probabilities from the full fixed-effects logit model (Model 5). That is, the average of individual predicted probabilities with observed time-varying covariates and controlling for all time-constant characteristics. The probability of being doubled-up is the same for all immigrants at the baseline, six months after arrival. However, it declines over time for all types of entry except for sponsored parents and grandparents arriving under the family class, for which the probability increases but is not statistically significantly different two and four years later. Among family class spouses/fiancés, and other sponsored relatives, the probability of being doubled-up four years after arrival is significantly different at $p<0.05$ from the probability six months after arrival. The same is true for spouses and dependents of economic class principal applicants, and for refugees. However, the probability of being doubled-up four years after arrival between these three types of immigrants is not statistically significantly different. On the other hand, the probability of being doubled-up for economic class principal applicants is significantly different than for their spouses and dependents, four years after arrival.

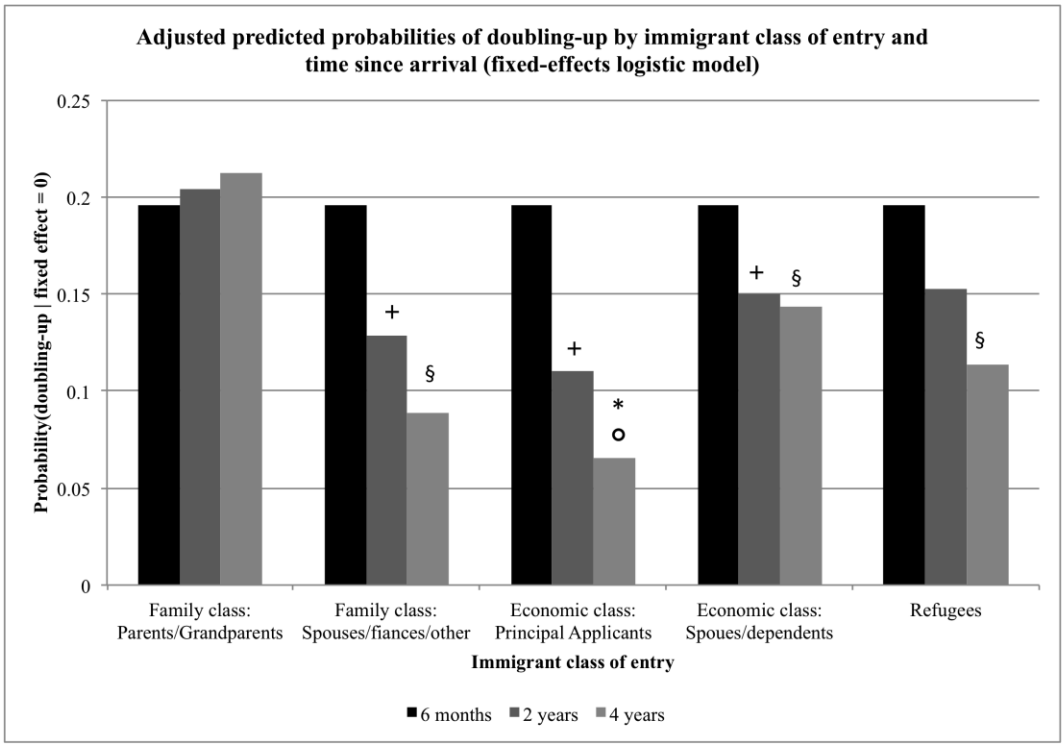
[12] To study the potential effect of co-linearity I estimated models with different definitions of economic resources. Neither employment status nor the natural logarithm of personal income is statistically significant when they are the only indicators of economic resources included. Contribution to household income is negatively associated with being doubled-up (OR=0.583, $p<0.01$) when it is the only indicator of income included in the model. If the natural logarithm of total personal income is also accounted for, the odds-ratio of the contribution to household income decrease but remains statistically significant.

Table 2.4. Estimated odds-ratios from a series of nested fixed-effects logistic regression models of being doubled-up among immigrants over the first four years after arrival

Variables		Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Main effect: Time since arrival						
	(Six months)					
	Two years	0.95	1	1.05	1.06	1.06
	Four years	1.06	1.04	1.05	1.07	1.12
Interaction:						
Immigrant class of entry and time since arrival						
Two years since arrival*						
Family	(Parents/grandparents)					
	Spouses/fiances/other	0.76	0.59	0.58*	0.59	0.55*
Economic	Principal applicants	0.46***	0.50***	0.48***	0.49***	0.46***
	Spouses/dependents	0.84	0.76	0.74	0.77	0.67
Refugees		0.66	0.64	0.65	0.67	0.68
Four years since arrival*						
Family	(Parents/grandparents)					
	Spouses/fiances and other	0.49*	0.36**	0.36**	0.37**	0.34**
Economic	Principal applicants	0.25***	0.28***	0.28***	0.28***	0.24***
	Spouses/dependents	0.71	0.68	0.68	0.71	0.6
Refugees		0.42*	0.44*	0.45	0.48	0.45
Time-varying covariates						
Demographic characteristics						
Marital status	Single never married		4.35***	4.35***	4.33***	5.06***
	(Married/common-law)					
	Separated/divorced/widow		2.35	2.29	2.34	2.92*
Young children (0-4) in HH	At least one		2.45***	2.44***	2.42***	2.37***
	(None)					
Self-rated health	(Poor)					
	Good		0.76*	0.76*	0.76*	0.76*
Social integration						
Social and ethnic networks	(No new friends)					
	Different ethnic group			1.25	1.23	1.27
	Same ethnic group			1.13	1.13	1.13
Official language proficiency	(Poor)					
	Good			0.83	0.82	0.83
Economic resources						
Employment status	(Not employed)					
	Part-time				1.1	0.97
	Full-time				0.78	0.77
Natural logarithm of total personal income						1.06**
Contribution to household income						0.40***
n		1005	1005	1005	1005	1005
Akaike Information Criteria		2091.078	2001.184	2000.746	1991.932	1967.978
pseudo R2		0.0612	0.1055	0.1078	0.1107	0.1234

Source: Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada.
Notes: Reference categories in parentheses. Models use survey and bootstrap weights provided by Statistics Canada.
* for p< .05, ** for p<.01, and *** for p<0.001 (two tailed tests)

Graph 1.1. Adjusted predicted probabilities of being doubled-up six months, two years, and four years after arrival



Source: Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada

Notes: Adjusted predicted probabilities based on Model 5, Table 1.4.

+ Statistically significantly different at p< 0.05 from parents and grandparents (Family), but not significantly different to each other

* Statistically significantly different at p< 0.05 from parents and grandparents (Family) and spouses and dependents (Economic)

§ Statistically significantly different at p<0.05 from six months after arrival, but not significantly different to each other

o Statistically significantly different at p<0.05 from six months after arrival and two years after arrival

DISCUSSION

The main objective of this study was to test whether or not being doubled-up shortly after arrival and the continuity of initial living arrangements over the first four years, differed by immigrants' entry status. Although a majority of immigrants never doubled-up over the first four years, slightly more than one in every four (27%) of recent immigrants did, and if they did, they were more likely do it shortly after arrival. Almost one in every five (17%) immigrants experienced a turnover in their initial living arrangement over the first four years. *Are there differences by entry status on the propensity to double-up shortly after arrival?* As expected, I found differences in being doubled-up by immigrant class of entry shortly after arrival, with sponsored parents/grandparents significantly more likely to double-up than the rest, when all the other factors are held constant. However, economic class principal applicants and sponsored spouses/fiancés/other relatives did not have significantly different odds of being doubled-up than refugees. The odds of being doubled-up for spouses and dependents of economic class migrants were significantly different than those of immigrants arriving under all other entry statuses.

Are there differences by entry status in the propensity to double-up and the continuity of immigrants' living arrangements over the first four years after arrival? Once I control for time-constant characteristic, life-course events, and time-varying indicators of social integration and economic resources, results from fixed-effects models show that the trajectories of doubled-up households differ by immigrant class of entry. In this case, I find that sponsored parents and grandparents are always different from other immigrants, and that economic class principal applicants are less likely to double-up than others, both two and four years after arrival. However, for refugees, economic class spouses and dependents, and sponsored spouses/fiancés and other relatives, the likelihood of doubling-up is only different four years after arrival. In summary, households of economic class principal applicants have greater turnover than other immigrant households, such that duration of doubled-up households tends to be shorter.

The fact that shortly after arrival, economic class migrants arriving with spouses and dependents are less likely to be doubled-up than the rest, is consistent with the fact that spouses/dependents arrived in a nuclear household to begin with, whereas the group of economic class principal applicants includes those arriving alone who are likely to share the household with non-kin or relatives. However, the lack of significant difference between sponsored spouses and relatives, economic class principal applicants, and refugees, may be due to a number of reasons. First, it is possible that these doubled-up households differ in composition. Unfortunately, due to limitations of the data, I do not know the relationships between all members of the household. Descriptive analyses showed a larger relative presence of shared households with non-kin among economic class principal applicants and refugees, compared to family class migrants. Second, the sample misses the experience of 9% of refugees who were doubling-up in the first interview because of lack of follow-up four years after arrival. This is consistent with results showing higher rates of secondary migration among refugees who are likely to move where co-ethnic networks are available. Whether refugees are more or less likely to double-up in this new settlement area once they have stronger social networks, or if housing programs available for refugees prevent them from doubling-up is uncertain.

Many studies consider recent immigrants those who arrived within the last ten years. Given that the period of observation is only four years, the analysis may be underestimating change in living arrangements with immigrants moving out of shared households at later stages. Immigrants interviewed for LSIC may sponsor relatives later on. In fact, in Australia results show that immigrants, especially economic migrants who intend to settle permanently in the country, sponsor relatives (Khoo, 2003). Therefore, it is possible that some of those who did not double-up during the first four years do so afterwards – either with relatives who arrive later, who are already in the country, or with non-kin.

Overall, I found that socio-demographic factors, visible minority status, religion, social integration, and the availability of economic resources mediated the association of being doubled-up with immigrant class of entry, shortly after arrival. In terms of changes in

living arrangements, results show that life course transitions, personal income and contribution to household income are associated with being doubled-up and that they mediate the differences in entry status over time. Results are consistent with findings from an Australian study (Khoo, 2008) showing that living in extended households is more likely to happen soon after arrival, but change in household structure is related to age, immigrant visa category and change of marital status.

Although economic need is a major theoretical determinant for doubling-up, measuring this dimension is problematic due to endogeneity. Still, results are robust to measurements of employment status, personal income, and contribution to household income. However, findings in this regard deserve further consideration. The cross-sectional analysis shows that none of the indicators of availability of economic resources is significantly associated with being doubled-up shortly after arrival, when all the other factors are accounted for. The main explanation is the relatively low variation of income between immigrants in the first months. However, the longitudinal analysis shows that personal income is positively associated with being doubled-up, and contribution to household is negatively associated with being doubled-up. The finding that immigrants who contribute larger shares are less likely to double-up is consistent with what is known from the literature in terms of the continuity of shared households – under the contractual perspective – and distribution of economic resources (Glick & Hook, 2011). The fact that immigrants with higher personal income are more likely to live in a shared household is counterintuitive with the notion that doubling-up is associated with economic need. However, this could be explained by a) that by coresiding with extended kin or non-kin, immigrants are able to increase their income while others take care of the children or provide other kinds of support, while entering into the labor force, or b) that doubling-up is associated with higher socio-economic status, particularly among those who were sponsored.

I found differences in doubling-up by visible minority group, but the mechanisms of family solidarity and support within these groups are unclear. Visible minority is used as an indicator of race and ethnicity. However, as it is measured by Statistics Canada, it

refers to a combination of region/country of origin, race, and ethnicity with different levels of heterogeneity (e.g. Latin American, Filipino, Black, or Arab). To account for possible differences in religion within these categories, I included a grouped variable that was not statistically significantly associated, when visible minority was also included in the equation. Results show that the odds of doubling-up among Filipinos were twice as large as those for South East Asians, Blacks, South Asians, and Chinese, compared to Whites. What are these regional groupings really capturing? I could speculate a number of possible explanations. First, the similarity between South East Asians and Chinese could be attributed to cultural similarities in terms of Confucianism and filial piety. Second, they might capture demographic characteristics of the emigrant flows. For example, Filipinos have had a tendency to migrate to Canada alone as live-in caregivers or nurses, and then sponsor family members once they are eligible, which could explain their higher rate of doubling-up. Third, these regional categories capture differences in settlement patterns in Canada that affect kin and co-national non-kin availability for doubling-up. For example, long-standing migration flows from China contrast more recent flows from Latin America.

It is well known that measuring cultural values, norms and ideas is difficult in nationally representative quantitative studies. Is it better to use fixed-effects models that control for time-constant cultural factors rather than using visible minority group and religion as proxies? On the one hand, using pan-ethnic labels to measure 'culture' has been criticized extensively for assuming homogeneity within groups. On the other hand, fixed-effects models control for time-constant factors associated with culture, as well as other factors like sex, personality, and country of birth. However, are cultural values and ideas, or gender roles time-invariant? Acculturation research has found that cultural practices are subject to change. Specifically, in terms of immigrants' living arrangements and culture related factors, research has shown assimilation with time since arrival; for example, among Chinese-Canadians (Lai, 2005), South-Asians (Ng & Northcott, 2013), and older immigrants (Basavarajappa, 1998). However, four years, the period of observation by LSIC, may be too short for major changes to happen and fixed-effects models may be appropriate to account for these factors. Preliminary analysis showed that the interaction

effect of visible minority group and time since arrival was not statistically significant in fixed-effects models for being doubled-up. If the observation period were longer, then I would expect, similarly to what has been found for young adults (Jeong et al., 2013), that the effect of ethnicity in predicting living arrangements would decline over time spent in Canada.

I argue that the use of longitudinal data and fixed-effects models to inform changes over the first years upon arrival provides an effective way of understanding the migrant adaptation process. Results show that the effect of time since arrival varies by entry status. In other words, modes of incorporation have an influence on the association of living arrangements with time spent in the host country. This finding has important implications for empirical research using a linear effect of time since arrival to measure the migration process. Specifically, this old approach misrepresents a) the experience of immigrants for whom being doubled-up tends to be a permanent arrangement (sponsored parents/grandparents); and b) different rates of turnover in doubled-up households between immigrants.

Along with its longitudinal nature, the availability of information on type of immigrant class of entry at LSIC is another advantage of this data. However, this study is not free of limitations. First, as discussed earlier, the lack of information on the relationships between household members does not allow distinguishing between horizontal and vertical extended households. Second, given attrition from the survey, those who change living arrangements are likely to be underestimated in the working sample. Third, not knowing the date of the change in type of living arrangement does not allow for a finer measure of time, like months. Fourth, because LSIC was not continued or the pool refreshed, it is impossible to understand how changes in immigrant selection policy influence doubling-up patterns over time. Immigrants interviewed by LSIC arrived to Canada before the 2002 Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (IRPA). Among other changes, economic class applicants were now granted points for having relatives living in the country, with the rationale that immigrants with relatives in Canada adapt more easily and are more likely to settle permanently. These relatives include a parent, grandparent,

child, grandchild, sibling, aunt/uncle, or niece/nephew. In other words, after the 2002 IRPA, CIC selected skilled workers with a larger potential to double-up or receive support from already established relatives. Before the 2002 IRPA, data from LSIC showed that 11.7% of economic class migrants had relatives in Canada by their time of arrival, and as expected, a larger relative presence of those with relatives in Canada (15.8%) were doubling-up shortly after arrival, compared to those without relatives (10.7%). What was the influence of providing points to high skilled immigrants for having relatives in Canada? Whether or not post-IRPA economic class immigrants were more likely to double-up is an open question. This project provides a baseline for future studies on the influences of entry status in relation to family dynamics pre-IRPA.

What is the role of selection policy on immigrants living arrangements? Overall, the findings show differences by immigrant type of entry. This means that, besides the usual explanations for doubling-up, which focus on demographic factors, culture and economic need, I need to consider how recent immigrants immigrated, as well as who was already in the country to provide support in times of adjustment, whether or not they committed to provide this support, and whether or not immigrants had access to social services. This general idea is not new. The role of family and social networks in immigrant adaptation processes has long been acknowledged (Massey et al., 1993; Pessar, 1999). Even if Canada emphasizes selecting immigrants for their human capital, skills, and work experience, immigration policy has implicitly influenced these family and social networks. The fact that IRPA assigns points to potential economic class immigrants with established relatives in Canada suggests that the realist perspective of immigration policy was partially relaxed to consider the protective role of family networks available for those arriving under the family class.

The debate between realist and nominalist perspectives has historically presented contrasting views on refugee flows, drawing sharp distinctions between refugees as political migrants and economic migrants (Hein, 1993), or of "forced" political migration vs. (freely chosen) "economic" migration (Petersen, 1958). Although these perspectives were not developed to explain differences in doubling-up by immigrant entry status, they

shed light on the possible influence of immigration policy on living arrangements. The findings of small differences in economic outcomes by immigrant class have been explained by the fact that the social capital of family class migrants offsets economic migrants' human capital advantage (Fuller & Martin, 2012; Phythian et al., 2009). This is consistent with arguments that different forms of social, financial, and human-cultural capital of immigrant families explain different integration trajectories (Nee & Sanders, 2001). However, how social capital from family class migrants would influence being doubled-up is unclear. On the one hand, settled relatives may provide new immigrants with informational and material support that enable them to live on their own. On the other hand, family availability may increase the chances of being doubled-up compared to others whose social networks are small upon arrival. Similarly, it is unclear how economic migrants' greater human capital would influence being doubled-up. Instead of doubling-up for economic need, they might double-up to provide support to recent immigrants, or others in their social network.

Future comparative research could study differences within Canada in relation to different provincial family policies and social welfare systems, or to other contexts such as the United States, where immigration policy's emphasis on family reunification has also influenced living arrangements (Glick & Van Hook, 2002; Gratton et al., 2007; Wilmoth et al., 1997), or to contexts with different family policies (Robila, 2014). However, the Canadian welfare system may reduce the need of kinship support when compared to other contexts with different welfare regimes, or with a larger undocumented population that lack access to social programs and institutional support. Finally, this study excludes temporary migrants with work and study permits or claiming refugee and asylum, an increasing population in Canada that is likely to double-up at higher rates than immigrants arriving with permanent residence from abroad. For some migrants with work permits, especially those in the live-in caregiver program, or temporary agricultural workers, living in a shared household with non-kin is the norm. However, the change and continuity in the living arrangements of other temporary migrants remains an open question.

PREAMBLE TO CHAPTER 3

The overarching question addressed in Chapter 2 was whether or not there are differences on living arrangements by immigrant class of entry. Specifically, I studied being doubled-up to provide a better understanding of the change and continuity of living arrangements and their relationship with adaptation processes among recent immigrants. I used data from the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada (LSIC), a nationally representative survey that followed immigrants over the course of their first four years after arrival, and found differences by entry status in doubling-up, both short after arrival and over the first four years, even accounting for demographic factors, visible minority status and religion, indicators of social integration, and economic resources.

In Chapter 3, I turn to study the implications of living arrangements. Extended kin can provide a safety net in terms of economic resources, but also by providing non-economic social support, especially in the first years upon arrival. However, just as it can provide a safety net, it can also put family members into a position of stress as they juggle different family roles. Family life and relationships with extended kin are considered key for determining life satisfaction. However, the contribution of family living arrangements to immigrants' satisfaction has been mostly overlooked. Therefore, I examine if family members that immigrants live with are a source of support or stress and how this impacts satisfaction with life in the destination country.

CHAPTER 3. DOES FAMILY MATTER FOR RECENT IMMIGRANTS' LIFE SATISFACTION?

ABSTRACT

Family is central to many aspects of the migration experience, but just as it can be an important source of support, it can be a source of stress. Using the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada[13], a nationally representative survey of recent immigrants, this paper explores the influence of co-residents on satisfaction with life in Canada. Results of cross-sectional logistic regression models indicate no significant associations of co-residents and life satisfaction once controlling for economic integration, at both six months and four years after arrival. To study how living arrangements influence changes in life satisfaction over time, I estimate fixed- and random-effects logistic regression models. Random-effects models estimate a negative association between changes in satisfaction and living with children, and a positive association with living with relatives. However, these coefficients are systematically biased and co-residents in the household are not significantly associated with changes in satisfaction once time-constant factors are accounted for. This indicates that time-constant characteristics including personality, a key factor influencing satisfaction, may be selecting individuals into types of living arrangements. Overall, findings show large and significant influences of indicators of economic integration on satisfaction in the destination country, while co-residents and living arrangements have a small influence.

[13] The results presented are based on analyses conducted in the Quebec Interuniversity Centre for Social Statistics (QICSS), which provides researchers access to the micro-detailed data collected by Statistics Canada. The opinions expressed here do not represent the view of Statistics Canada.

INTRODUCTION

People move with the motivation of having a better life. Although scholars increasingly consider social integration as relevant for understanding the experience of immigrants and their descendants, most research to date concentrates on economic integration – on whether or not migrants achieve a better life in economic terms. More is known about objective measures such as educational attainment, income, or naturalization rates, than subjective measures of well-being and how migrants assess their life in the destination country (De Jong et al., 2002; Easterlin, 2006; Suh et al., 1996). However, although immigrants' subjective well-being or life satisfaction (hereafter, satisfaction) has received increasing attention in recent years (Amit, 2009; Bartram, 2010, 2011; Dion, Dion, & Banerjee, 2009; Houle & Schellenberg, 2010), the contribution of family living arrangements to immigrants' satisfaction has been mostly overlooked.

The family is undoubtedly central to the migration experience; it impacts people's decisions about migrating and influences how migrants adapt and integrate into the receiving society (Boyd, 1989; Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007; Mincer, 1978; Pessar, 1999; Portes & Rumbaut, 2006). Most immigrants do not move alone but do so with other family members, or move where relatives and friends have already settled (Massey, 1999; Massey et al., 1993). Upon arrival, immigrants have to juggle different tasks, such as finding housing and employment, learning a new language, and establishing new social networks.

To overcome these tasks, immigrants may turn to family and friends for different types of support. Migrants are more likely than non-migrants to live in extended family households. This has been observed in different countries such as Canada (Lee & Edmonston, 2013), Germany (Flake, 2012), and the United States (Glick et al., 1997). Explanations of this phenomenon have typically centered on culture and economic need (Glick et al., 1997; Kamo, 2000), but recent research argues for the need to consider the key role that the migrant adaptation process itself plays in determining living arrangements (van Hook & Glick, 2007). Extended kin can provide a safety net in terms

of economic resources, but also by providing non-economic social support (Glick, 2010; Leach, 2012), especially in the first years upon arrival (van Hook & Glick, 2007). However, just as it can provide a safety net, it can also put family members into a position of stress as they juggle different family roles (Barker, 1991; Swartz, 2009; Thoits, 1986).

Family life and relationships with extended kin are considered key for determining life satisfaction (Dolan, Peasgood, & White, 2008; Layard, 2005; Sirgy, 2012). However, it is unclear whether the family members that immigrants live with are a source of support or stress and how this impacts satisfaction with life in the destination country. The main objective of this paper is to understand how satisfaction with life in the destination country relates to living arrangements as new immigrants go through processes of adaptation and integration that unfold over time. Specifically, this paper addresses 1) how different living arrangements influence life satisfaction both initially upon arrival as well as four years later; 2) how they influence changes in life satisfaction; and 3) how changes in living arrangements influence changes in life satisfaction. Using the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada, I estimate cross-sectional logistic regression models of satisfaction to study the role of living arrangements six months and four years after arrival. Next, using fixed-effects logistic regression models I estimate the influence of co-residents on changes in satisfaction over time, accounting for personality and other time constant individual characteristics.

Life satisfaction and how immigrants assess their experience will impact emigration and settlement patterns, future immigration (De Jong & Gardner, 1981; Mara & Landesmann, 2013; Massey & Akresh, 2006), and ultimately, social cohesion and national identity (Frideres, 2008; Reitz, 2009). It is expected that immigration's key contribution to population growth and ethnic diversity will persist in future years all over the world. Within this context, understanding the determinants of immigrant satisfaction is of primary importance. Canada presents a suitable context for studying immigrant integration. Canada has one of the highest immigration rates in the world, and around one in every five people is foreign born (Statistics Canada, 2007a). The relative presence of

immigrants is predicted to increase and will bring with it increased ethno-cultural diversity in terms of visible minority status, language and religion (Statistics Canada, 2010).

The following section presents an overview of the literature on the relationship between life satisfaction, living arrangements, family support and stress, and immigrants' adaptation processes. Section 3 presents the data, measures, and methods used. Section 4 presents the results from cross-sectional and longitudinal analyses, and is followed by a discussion section.

BACKGROUND

Satisfaction with life and its relation to family and household structures

Life satisfaction, or self-reported happiness, is defined as the overall assessment of an individual's quality of life according to their personal judgment and criteria (Diener, 1984; Easterlin, 2001). Subjective well-being is formed by affective and emotional aspects, along with life satisfaction, its cognitive component (Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985). In common with many researchers, I use life satisfaction –or satisfaction– and subjective well-being interchangeably. Contemporary perspectives consider that satisfaction with life is not the result of personality or events alone, but rather an interaction between them (Suh et al., 1996). This creates a complex interdependence between events and objective circumstances, and how individuals react to these over time (Kim-Prieto, Diener, Tamir, Christie, & Diener, 2013). For the current research problem, this means that the influence of migration –as an event– on life satisfaction will be contingent on personality, as different events involved in the process of adapting into a new country unfold over time.

An approach that has been useful to study this overall assessment of life has been to conceptualize it as the result of satisfaction with various life domains (Cummins, 1996). Most contemporary views agree that health, income, family, and work are important

determinants of life satisfaction (Easterlin, 2006). Others add to this list community and friends, personal freedom, and values (Dolan et al., 2008; Layard, 2005). Within these domains, family relationships have been considered the major factor in determining happiness, followed by financial situation, work, community and friends, and health (Ball & Chernova, 2008; Layard, 2005). However, others have found the relative importance of the family to be small compared to these other life domains. For example, Margolis & Myrskylä's cross-sectional, cross-national comparison shows that the contribution of the family domain (measured via partnership status and number of children) throughout the life cycle is small compared to income, job and health (Margolis & Myrskylä, 2013).

Studies on the influence of marital status and childbearing on life satisfaction have found mixed results (Mara & Landesmann, 2013; Margolis & Myrskylä, 2011; Musick & Bumpass, 2012; Umberson, Pudrovska, & Reczek, 2010), partially due to contextual and demographic factors. Having a partner and intimate relationships are positively associated with satisfaction (Blanchflower & Oswald, 2005; Zimmermann & Easterlin, 2006), although the effect of marriage varies by the country's level of income and development (Bonini, 2008). Family transitions like becoming a parent and entering a union have been found to have positive effects on life satisfaction, with personality buffering the negative effects of union dissolution (Soons & Liefbroer, 2009). However, the effects of partnerships and fertility, and of having a first and subsequent children, differ for males and females (Kohler, Behrman, & Skytthe, 2005; Umberson et al., 2010). These differences are not limited to young children, but hold for adult children as mothers' and fathers' satisfaction depends on the level of self-sufficiency and stage in the transition to adulthood of the adult children (Aquilino & Supple, 1991).

Data show that those who maintain frequent contact with extended family members have higher subjective well-being (Helliwell & Putnam, 2004). This is usually explained by the positive effects of social relationships, and the negative consequences of social isolation (Diener & Seligman, 2004). Contact with friends and family may also have a negative association with satisfaction, for example, when this contact involves caring for others (Pichler, 2006), or due to conflict between them. A major issue in understanding

the association between social relationships and subjective well-being is that cause and effect are unclear (Diener & Seligman, 2004; Dolan et al., 2008).

This literature has several shortcomings that need to be taken into account when examining immigrant populations. The influence of extended kin on satisfaction is usually not studied in the context of co-residence, but in terms of contact and socialization (Dolan et al., 2008). Most studies of satisfaction limit the conceptualization of the family to union status and presence of children while paying little attention to extended family households or non-kin living arrangements, with some exceptions like Pittman & Loyd (Pittman & Lloyd, 1988). One possible explanation for this may be the lower presence of non-family households among the overall population than among the immigrant population. However, the literature on immigrant life satisfaction and living arrangements has focused mainly on the elderly (An, An, O'Connor, & Wexler, 2008; Angel & Angel, 1992; Lowenstein & Katz, 2005).

Family: a safety net and a source of stress for immigrants

The literature on social support and the mechanisms linking social ties to physical and mental health provides insights on how family and living arrangements may relate to immigrant life satisfaction. Overall, this literature finds that psychological resources reinforce subsequent psychological and social resources, as support has a buffering effect on undesirable life events (Noh & Avison, 1996). Social support and social ties, both perceived and received, play a key role in well-being and mental health (see (Turner & Turner, 2013) for a review), although the importance of health and financial needs is larger than the importance of support provided by co-residents (Kim & Chen, 2011; Wilmoth & Chen, 2003).

Social support refers to emotional, informational, and instrumental functions performed by social ties, both from primary (family, relatives, and friends) and secondary groups (work, group or religious organizations) (Barrera Jr, 1986). Some researchers find that family members such as siblings, children and spouses, are more important than friends in providing social support, while others argue the opposite (for a review, see (Shor,

Roelfs, & Yogev, 2013), depending on the particular situation. Overall, scholars agree that social ties have beneficial effects on health and serves as a buffer for the negative effects of stress (K. P. Smith & Christakis, 2008; Thoits, 1995; Umberson & Montez, 2010), even if less is known about the mechanisms behind these positive impacts.

The effectiveness of support as a stress buffer depends on its source and type, especially primary and significant others compared to secondary and experientially similar others (Thoits, 2011). In this sense, Thoits argues that in situations where family members are either experiencing the same stressful situation, or are themselves the source of stress, friends and secondary groups constitute more significant sources of support (2011). Of course, the role of significant others is dependent on family functioning and interaction (Franks, Campbell, & Shields, 1992), and the quality of these ties. In the context of immigrant integration, relatives and friends may be strong sources of informational and instrumental support, especially if they have already settled in the country as earlier immigrants, or if they were born in there. Therefore, we expect this to translate into positive effects of living with non-relatives, and with extended kin who arrived earlier, or were born in the destination country.

Living with spouse and children

The majority of immigrants live in nuclear family households. If all members of the household are recent immigrants, and all are going through the adaptation experience, support from siblings, children and spouses is likely to take the form of emotional support rather than informational and instrumental support. However, immigrants with children may face stress shortly after arriving due to needing to find school or daycare as well as housing and employment. After a few years, tensions related to parenting may arise when pre-migration cultural values and norms differ to those from the host society (Foner, 1997). These tensions may also originate on how children and adolescents deal with the immigration experience (Burton & Phipps, 2010; Wu, Schimmele, & Hou, 2012).

These processes are likely to influence life satisfaction. One study of satisfaction among Chinese immigrants in San Francisco demonstrates that the only demographic characteristic that influenced satisfaction directly was marriage since "married immigrants experienced a greater urgency to adjust and survive in the new setting, especially if they were raising children" (Ying, 1996, p. 12). Therefore, although many immigrants' primary concern is with the long term effect of migration on their children's life chances and well-being, and not necessarily their own economic benefits (Weinfeld, 2009), arriving with children may provide additional stress for adaptation. The presence of dependents, both children and elderly over age 65 in the household, has been associated with decreased satisfaction (De Jong et al., 2002) among internal migrants, as an indicator of adjustment stress. On the other hand, children may have a positive influence on satisfaction, as they can provide "bridging social capital," connecting parents to extended kin, school, religious organizations and community life (Portes, 2000). However, this may vary according to ethnicity, class, age, and gender (Furstenberg, 2005) as family-based social capital is associated with the structure of the immigrant community (Portes & Rumbaut, 2006). Overall, given the additional stress, we expect immigrants with a partner and children to present lower levels of satisfaction than those without them.

Living alone, with extended kin, or non-kin

Although most immigrants live in nuclear households, with or without children, immigrants are more likely than their native counterparts to live with extended kin (Haan, 2010; Khoo, 2008; Statistics Canada, 2007a; Thomas, 2001). The supporting role of extended family living arrangements is usually conceived in relation to the pooling of economic and non-economic resources, and the provision of instrumental support. This has been particularly true for immigrants who are likely to live in extended households due to economic need as they go through adaptation processes (Glick, 2010; van Hook & Glick, 2007). In general, the factors influencing household extension may be economic, demographic, or cultural. However, extended households with younger or older generations attached to the original household tend to be associated more often with

family and demographic events like health problems, separation, widowhood or single motherhood. On the other hand, the reasons why individuals from the same generation are attached to the original household tend to more often be related to economic insufficiency (Kamo, 2000). Although less is known about the reasons why extended-family households remain, these differ depending on the relationships between family members and resource distribution (Glick & Hook, 2011).

The needs, resources and roles of individuals, and types of support, differ according to the age, sex, and relationship between family members, or the position they have in the household. For example, depending on the level of independence and roles within the household, receiving or providing different types of care and support impacts middle-aged and older adults differently (Wilmoth & Chen, 2003). We can expect that the influence of extended family household living arrangements on satisfaction will be contingent on the position of each individual within the household in similar ways as it is with depression. In other words, just as extended family households can provide a safety net, it can also put family members into a position of stress as they juggle different family roles (Swartz, 2009; Thoits, 1986), especially if individuals lack privacy at home (Pittman & Lloyd, 1988). Allegiance to kin may first buffer stress but then revert to creating stress as it becomes time consuming and burdensome (Gingrich, 2013; Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2001).

Immigrants arriving alone may live more flexible lives and encounter fewer stressors than those arriving with a partner and children. Although they may benefit from independence, loneliness negatively affects life satisfaction (Burr, Mutchler, & Gerst-Emerson, 2013). However, some argue that those living alone have more connections outside of the household, more autonomy and greater support from social networks (Alwin, Converse, & Martin, 1985). How long recent immigrants live alone is associated with life stages like entering a union, while duration of coresidence with non-kin depends on the stage in the life course and varies by sex.

"Feeling at home takes time": the dynamics of immigrants' adaptation, living arrangements, and satisfaction

Adaptation and changes in life satisfaction

Few sociological and demographic studies have examined immigrants' changes in life satisfaction using longitudinal data, with the exception of studies on internal migration (for example, (De Jong et al., 2002; Martin & Lichter, 1983). Lack of data capturing individuals before and after moving across international borders prevents us from determining if happier persons are more likely to emigrate or if migration leads to increases in happiness (Bartram, 2011). Although the promise of a better life, or an increase in life satisfaction, is a strong motivator for migration (De Jong & Fawcett, 1981; De Jong & Gardner, 1981), the actual experience of geographical mobility does not necessarily translate into increases in life and job satisfaction (De Jong et al., 2002; Martin & Lichter, 1983).

Among internal migrants in the United Kingdom, Nowok and colleagues (2013) show that just before migrating, individuals experience a decline in happiness but migration causes a boost in happiness, bringing people back to their initial levels. This could be explained by the mechanism of hedonic adaptation in life satisfaction, meaning that after a positive or negative shock, satisfaction tends to go back to pre-shock levels. This perspective is endorsed by researchers on life satisfaction that consider happiness within a homeostatic or regulated mechanism that results from processes of adaptation and coping that maintain a relatively stable level of life satisfaction (Cummins, 1996; Suh et al., 1996). Although the pattern of overall life satisfaction over the life course is consistent with this set point model of hedonic adaptation, the patterns for satisfaction by life domains are much less stable (Easterlin, 2006).

This short-term positive effect of migration observed among internal migrants could also be explained by the process of adaptation as described among social psychologists, and may be related to the stage of fascination and excitement with the new place in the first months after arrival, which tends to be followed by a period of disillusion and frustration

to cope with everyday tasks (culture shock)[14], and later by a learning stage of adaptation or adjustment, and a stage where the individual is able to function effectively in the new setting (Black & Mendenhall, 1991; Pedersen, 1995; Ward et al., 2001). The literature on social psychology has studied the adjustment process, or culture shock process, to new situations by which individuals are forced to adjust to an unfamiliar social system in relation to the emotional, psychological, behavioral, cognitive, and physiological impact on individuals (Pedersen, 1995). The process of overcoming culture shock is known to be an intrapersonal phenomenon that unfolds over time within an individual (Pedersen, 1995). This literature agrees that adjustment is strongly influenced by life changes, personality, and social support (Berry, 1997; Black & Mendenhall, 1991; Pedersen, 1995).

In the case of international migration, this process unfolds within the first years upon arrival, and assumes greater adjustment than in the case of internal migrants. The processes differ for sojourners, immigrants, refugees, and business professionals as motivations and expectations differ (Ward et al., 2001). Stress associated with forced migration and the experiences that many refugees go through before settling in a host country influence their adaptation process and life satisfaction (Houle & Schellenberg, 2010; Noh, Morton, Kaspar, Hou, & Rummens, 1999; Young, 2001). A cross-sectional analysis of life satisfaction finds differences in life satisfaction by permanent resident entry status in Canada (Houle & Schellenberg, 2010), and results from the 2002 Ethnic Diversity Survey show substantial differences in life satisfaction by visible minority status (Reitz, 2009) and ethnic background (Dion et al., 2009; Wu et al., 2012).

Immigrant social and economic integration over time

Within the first years after arrival, most immigrants need to integrate into the labor market, improve their knowledge of the host language, make new friends, and participate in new institutions or organizations. Therefore, their financial situation, social status, and

[14] Although the process of culture shock involves a relearning process and usually related to acculturative stress, it is not necessarily a negative experience as it may be a positive force to ease adaptation in the long term (Pedersen, 1995).

networks are likely to change, and these changes are expected to influence changes in satisfaction. Three related processes might explain how changes in financial situation and social status may lead to disappointment: adaptation, aspiration, and social comparison. First, consistent with the perspective of hedonic adaptation, increases in income or social status may erode as people adapt to this new stage. Second, satisfaction depends on whether or not attainments match aspirations and unrealistic expectations. Aspirations increase with income –possibly as a consequence of adaptation to earlier gains– and with the aspirations and attainments of others in the community (Bartram, 2010). Although the relationship between money and life satisfaction is open to debate, income and happiness are related, not only in absolute but in relative terms: it does not only matter how poor or rich you are, but how you compare to others (Ball & Chernova, 2008). Social comparison, the third process, is particularly influential among immigrants. Immigrants have several reference groups that influence their satisfaction: their community in the sending country, their ethnic community, other ethnic groups, and for visible minority immigrants to Western/ North American countries, the White majority in the destination country (Vohra & Adair, 2000).

Employment offers the financial resources for immigrants to fulfill their various needs. Employment status not only provides income, but also non-pecuniary factors such as social status, self-esteem, and social life. Therefore, unemployment has been shown to have a negative effect on life satisfaction (Dolan et al., 2008) although this effect is largely attributable to the associated non-pecuniary factors rather than simply loss of income (L. Winkelmann & Winkelmann, 1998). As immigrants' economic statuses change, their life satisfaction is expected to change. A study using life satisfaction as one of the indicators in an index of attachment to Canada shows that this is the case (Kazemipur & Nakhaie, 2013). Therefore, I expect that changes in life satisfaction among immigrants will depend on changes in social and economic indicators.

Dynamics of immigrant living arrangements

Contrary to the influence of changes in economic indicators on life satisfaction, the association between changes in satisfaction and changes in living arrangements is less clear in the current literature. Step-migration may occur among families as a strategy for adaptation, or given immigration policy procedures of reunification. Therefore, household structure may change because children are born or leave the parental home, individuals enter or leave a union, or immigrants move in or out of an extended family household, or because spouse, children, or relatives arrived from abroad.

Two perspectives have explained the continuity of shared living arrangements with kin and non-kin. The functionalist perspective assumes unidirectional assistance from some members to others, with members staying in this arrangement due to social norms of obligation. This explains why mostly multigenerational households continue living together when the elderly or children depend on support from others. The contractual perspective assumes that all members of the household, assuming balanced and reciprocal exchanges of resources, contribute to and benefit from this arrangement. The duration of these arrangements depends on whether or not the resources are distributed evenly, and thus applies more often to co-residential households shared by siblings or other extended kin, or non-kin.

Data from the U.S. show that a majority of shared households change living arrangements within one year, and very few remain constant after three years, with the duration of shared living arrangements depending on the relationships of those sharing the household, the distribution of economic resources, as well as ideas of reciprocity and exchange (Glick & Hook, 2011). Multigenerational households tend to have longer durations than other shared living arrangements by kin or non-kin, and experience greater continuity when one or two individuals provide a disproportionate share of the economic resources in the household, contrary to other shared households that experience greater continuity when resources are more evenly distributed (Glick & Hook, 2011).

THE CURRENT STUDY

Within the life course, socio-demographic characteristics and living arrangements are subject to change due to possible changes in family structure related to having children, union formation or dissolution, or sharing the household with kin or non-kin. The process of immigrant adaptation unfolds over time, but is strongly influenced by personality and other individual-level factors that are more resistant to change, especially personality and other psychological mechanisms like optimism/pessimism, gregariousness, or neuroticism.

In order to evaluate how living arrangements influence immigrants' subjective well-being, measured as life satisfaction, I address the following research questions: *How do different living arrangements influence life satisfaction initially upon arrival and four years later? How do different living arrangements influence changes in satisfaction over time? How do changes in living arrangements influence changes in life satisfaction?* Following the discussion presented above, I expect that the characteristics of household living arrangements will have different associations with life satisfaction at different times after arrival, mainly because the adaptation process entails different challenges over time, implying different types and roles of support and stress from co-residents. Similarly, I expect this influence on satisfaction to differ depending on the type of co-residents –children, spouse, relatives, or non-kin. Finally, I expect that changes in living arrangements will have a smaller influence on satisfaction than other indicators, mainly those of economic integration.

This article builds up on previous studies of migration and subjective well-being but differs in several significant ways. First, the characteristics of household living arrangements are considered the key variables of interest, not merely controls. The aim is to understand the relationship of family and satisfaction when taking into account social and economic indicators. Most studies measure family via marital status and presence of children without considering kin and non-kin living in the household. In this paper, both the characteristics of living arrangements and satisfaction are considered dynamic and subject to change. Note, however, that we need to be cautious with the use of causal

language due to the possibility of selection effects, reverse causation and adaptation effects.

Second, I use a nationally representative survey to complement previous work studying the determinants of life satisfaction for specific immigrant populations in Canada: for example; Koreans (Kim & Noh, 2014), Indian immigrants in the city of Winnipeg (Vohra & Adair, 2000), refugees from El Salvador living in London, Ontario (Young, 2001), and Hong-Kong adolescent immigrants in Toronto (Chow, 2007). More broadly, this paper contributes to the growing literature on migration and happiness (Bartram, 2010, 2011, 2013; De Jong et al., 2002; Mara & Landesmann, 2013). The use of longitudinal panel data allows looking at changes of satisfaction over time among recent immigrants, controlling for unmeasured stable individual characteristics, like personality, that have been proven to affect satisfaction, i.e. controls for unobserved heterogeneity. The cross-sectional and longitudinal analyses complement one another to provide a better picture of the dynamics of the migration adaptation process and its implications for life satisfaction.

DATA, MEASURES, AND METHODS

Data

I use the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada (LSIC), a nationally representative survey of immigrants arriving in Canada between October 1, 2000 and September 30, 2001, who were interviewed at three stages upon arrival[15]: about six months (wave 1), about two years (wave 2) and about four years (wave 3) after landing. However, given changes in the question capturing life satisfaction in the second interview, only waves 1 and 3 are used in this analysis. The LSIC is a comprehensive survey specifically designed to study the process by which new immigrants adapt to Canadian society and covers a wide range of topics related to the settlement process (Statistics Canada, 2007b). The survey includes only those aged 15 and over at time of

[15] The survey is based on a complex stratified sample design; i.e., the random sampling was stratified by country of origin and visa category. The unit of analysis is the longitudinal respondent (LR) with a single longitudinal survey weight. Bootstrap weights (1,000 replications) provided by Statistics Canada were used to approximate the variance of estimates.

landing who have applied to Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) for permanent status from abroad. LSIC excludes immigrants who landed and applied from within Canada, i.e. those who transitioned from temporary to permanent status[16].

The population of interest is those immigrants of the LSIC cohort who still reside in Canada at the time of the third interview. From the 12,040 individuals surveyed the first time, only 7,716 were surveyed four years after arrival[17]. I will limit the sample to working age immigrants; i.e., the analysis includes only immigrants who arrived between ages 18 to 59 –under 65 by the third interview–[18], and who have reported satisfaction with life in Canada for the two time periods used. Once these restrictions were applied to individuals with non-missing values on the variables of interest, the final working sample[19] is comprised of n=6,350 immigrants, which corresponds to a weighted population of N= 129,600 individuals. Statistical tests (t tests) performed to evaluate the effects of attrition show that those immigrants who were re-interviewed four years after arrival are not selected on life satisfaction compared to those who were only interviewed six months after arrival (available upon request). This is consistent with the argument made by (Houle & Schellenberg, 2010) that attrition does not pose a problem of selection on satisfaction on LSIC. However, tests of selection by level of satisfaction and type of living arrangement in the first wave show biases for individuals in an extended household with a spouse, children and relatives: the proportion of satisfied migrants is larger and

[16] LSIC excludes those who obtained permanent residence while residing in Canada with study or work permits, or as refugees claiming asylum to the Immigration and Refugee Board (IRB). This provides a good benchmark for understanding the effect of time since arrival on immigrant adaptation processes. For example, how duration of residence is measured in U.S. census data using the question of "y*ear of arrival"* has raised several concerns (Massey & Akresh, 2006), but LSIC data minimizes associated biases by excluding those who transition from temporary to permanent status.

[17] Based on the weighted estimate, this corresponds to an attrition rate of 37% of the whole LSIC sample, and 35.5% if we restrict the sample to those aged 18-59 at arrival.

[18] The exclusion of elderly immigrants may overestimate positive assessments of life in Canada by reducing the number of individuals with lower self-rated health. Additionally, the exclusion of elderly immigrants underestimates the presence of extended households given the big likelihood of immigrants aged sixty or older to be living in this type of arrangement (Wilmoth et al., 1997). Positive age effects on life satisfaction have been found, net of cohort and period effects (Yang, 2008), with others finding that satisfaction peaks around 51 years old, and then declines (e.g. (Easterlin, 2006).

[19] This supports the idea that individuals in this living arrangement were satisfied with their experience in Canada but were not found for a follow-up interview, possibly as they moved to their own household. This provides no evidence of outmigration among unsatisfied individuals. These tests were robust to assumptions of equal or unequal variances, and to classification of living arrangements, both for the complete sample of LSIC, and the final working sample of immigrants aged 18-59 at arrival.

statistically significant ($p<0.05$) among those who were only interviewed in the first wave than those re-contacted for the third wave. Thus, we expect slight overestimations of satisfaction for the models for six months after arrival.

MEASURES

Dependent variable

The outcome variable measuring satisfaction with the experience in Canada is dichotomous and was defined collapsing the five-categorical variable based on the question "*Using a scale of 1 to 5 where 1 means "Very dissatisfied" and 5 means "Very satisfied", how would you rate your level of satisfaction with your life in Canada?*" I used the five-category variable available at LSIC to code the dependent variable as 1 for those who assessed their experience as satisfactory or very satisfactory, and 0 for those who assessed their experience as neutral, dissatisfactory or very dissatisfactory[20]. This dichotomization has been previously used for LSIC by (Houle & Schellenberg, 2010). This definition does not assume cardinality, i.e. that the difference between a satisfaction of, say, 1 and 2 is the same as the difference between 3 and 4. For a discussion on the methodological assumptions and implications of this definition, see (Ferrer-i-Carbonell & Fritjers, 2004).

Key independent variables

The key independent variables of interest refer to the characteristics of the living arrangement and are captured by three dummy variables indicating immigrants' coresidents. These are defined from the perspective of the immigrant respondent as follows: living with *spouse* (common law or married), *children*[21], and *relatives*. The

[20] The ordinal five-category variable was not used due to issues associated with sample size and because the assumption of proportional odds was violated estimating ordinal logistic regression models.
[21] I treat this as dichotomous without distinguishing differential effects by number of children. However, no significant differences have been found on having one or two children, for the general population (Dolan et al., 2008).

reference group is immigrants living *alone, or with non-kin*. These variables are defined regrouping a detailed categorical variable differentiating 18 different types of household structures in terms of presence/absence of spouses, children, relatives, and non-kin. Statistics Canada defined this detailed variable using immigrant's position in the household and its relationship to other members. Unfortunately, LSIC users are only provided with the generated variable, and not the position or relationship matrix. Therefore, it is impossible to differentiate by type of kin, i.e. parents, siblings, or other kin, and this constitutes a serious limitation of the study.

With the combination of these four types of co-residents, I distinguish eight types of households: 1) immigrant with spouse (couple) and children; 2) couple (with spouse only); 3) lone parents (with children and no spouse, regardless of marital status); 4) couple with children and relatives; 5) couple with relatives; 6) immigrant alone with relatives; 7) alone; and 8) with non-relatives only. These types of household are used for post-estimation analyses as described in the methods section.

Covariates

Models are controlled for socio-demographic characteristics known to be related to life satisfaction (sex, age, educational attainment, visible minority, refugee status, and province of residence) as well as self-rated health, and indicators of social and economic integration. Sex is a dummy variable with females as the reference group. Age was grouped into four categories: 18-30, 31-40, 41-50, 50 and over. The continuous variable age squared accounts for a possible quadratic relationship found in previous studies (e.g., (Blanchflower & Oswald, 2005). Education is measured by years of schooling at arrival but does not take into account changes in the level of education during immigrants' stay in Canada.[22] Self-rated health status is measured with a regrouped dummy variable for good/very good health (1) and otherwise (very bad/bad/neither). Visible minority status is a binary variable with Caucasian and whites as the reference group. To control for pre-migration processes associated with forced migration I include an indicator variable for

[22] Note that this is likely to affect primarily those in the age group of 18-30.

refugee status. Different provincial integration policies (Biles, 2008), as well as social, cultural, political and economic contexts that have created differences in entry earnings (Boudarbat & Boulet, 2007) may relate to different patterns of immigrant satisfaction. Province of residence is coded into four groups: Ontario (reference), Quebec, British Columbia and the rest of Canada.

Models also account for social integration –the process by which immigrants become a part of the social institutions of the host community at the same time as they retain their own identity (Frideres, 2008)– and the influence it may have on satisfaction (Helliwell & Putnam, 2004; Reitz et al., 2009). Social integration is measured with five indicators: ethnic networks, ethnic identification, organizational participation, religious participation, and language. Social and ethnic networks are measured with a categorical variable: the migrant has not made new friends, most of the new friends are not from the same ethnic or cultural group, and most of the new friends are from the same ethnic or cultural group (reference). Ethnic identification is measured with a binary variable representing those who feel close or very close to their ethnic group. To assess participation I used two binary variables indicating those who participate in group activities or organizations, and in church or other religious groups. Finally, language proficiency is measured, following the definitions by Bastien (2011), as a categorical variable using the best score from either French or English as follows: mother tongue (reference), good or very good, and not good.

Economic integration is measured through subjective and absolute income, and employment status. The perception of having adequate income to satisfy household basic needs –subjective income– was classified as a categorical variable with three groups: less than enough money (reference), just enough money, and more than enough money. Absolute income is measured using the natural logarithm of total annual household income. Current employment status was divided as no employment (reference), part-time and full-time employment.

METHODS

Two analytical strategies are used to examine the association between satisfaction and family living arrangements in relation to the other life domains that are known to influence life satisfaction. I first estimate odds ratios of satisfaction with life in Canada, six months and four years after arrival, using a series of nested cross-sectional logistic regression models. To study how the explanatory variables for other life domains help explain the influence of co-residents, each set of independent variables is introduced sequentially as follows: [23] key variables of interest (co-residents in the households) and controls for socio-demographic characteristics (Model 1), adding self-rated health status and social integration indicators (Model 2), and indicators of economic integration (Model 3). Estimated average predicted probabilities of satisfaction with life in Canada are calculated by type of household for Model 3.

Second, to understand how life satisfaction relates to living arrangements as new immigrants go through processes of adaptation and integration that unfold over time, I focus on changes in levels of satisfaction. Before presenting results from longitudinal multivariate analysis I estimate average differences in life satisfaction four years after arrival minus life satisfaction six months after arrival. For each individual, life satisfaction may remain stable (difference=0), decline (difference=-1), or increase (difference=1). Mean average differences are estimated for those who changed life satisfaction only, as well as for the whole sample. Next, I estimate a series of nested fixed-effects regression models –also known as conditional fixed-effects– and random-effects logistic regression models. This allows estimating the association between satisfaction and different co-residents within individuals, when accounting for the varying influence of the other life domains. Model 1 includes only key variables of interest, Model 2 incorporates time-varying covariates of health status and social integration, and Model 3 adds economic integration indicators.[24] To understand how

[23] Results from preliminary models adding variables sequentially in different orders are available upon request.
[24] Preliminary analysis using pooled data justified the use of a longitudinal framework.

changes in living arrangements influence changes in satisfaction I estimate marginal effects for each type of co-resident.

Fixed-effects models have the advantage of controlling for unobserved heterogeneity when heterogeneity is constant over time and correlated with independent variables (Allison, 2009). Therefore, this controls for personality, optimism, genetic make-up, and other individual-level factors that are stable over time and known to affect life satisfaction, whether they are measured or not. For example, people with more optimistic personalities would be more prone to report better health, as well as obtaining better-paid jobs and establishing friendships that provide more resources for support. For this reason, the use of fixed effects logistic models eliminates potentially large sources of bias.

However, one limitation of fixed-effects methods relates to discarding between-person variation, as only individuals for whom the dependent variable changes are included in the analysis. In this case, individuals who do not change level of satisfaction are excluded from the fixed-effects analysis and our working sample of 6,350 individuals is reduced to 1,980 immigrants. This produces standard errors that are higher than those that consider both within- and between-person variation, i.e. random effects models (Allison, 2005, 2009). Measurement errors associated with this loss of data may become a source of residual variation (Ferrer-i-Carbonell & Fritjers, 2004). I use Hausman tests to evaluate whether random effects model estimates are systematically biased. Given that random-effects models include individuals whose level of satisfaction changes and those whose level remains stable, the full working sample of 6,350 individuals is used. I also estimate three measures of intra-class correlation -odds ratio, Pearson's *r*, and Yule's *Q*- from our full random-effects model, using the post-estimation command in Stata *xtrho*, to compare latent and manifest intra-class correlation (Rodrıguez & Elo, 2003).

Following the guidelines from Statistics Canada, the estimations of standard errors presented here are those using bootstrap weights. These were obtained using the Stata procedures *bs4rw* and *svy* that take into account the survey sample design. However,

unweighted and weighted models (survey weights only) were estimated to perform sensitivity analysis and check robustness for methodological considerations.[25]

RESULTS

Descriptive statistics

Table 3.1 provides weighted descriptive statistics on the sample characteristics by immigrants' coresidents, six months and four years upon arrival. Chi-squared tests show that characteristics vary by immigrants' coresidents overall. Shortly after arrival, three out of four immigrants are living with a spouse, more than half have children, one in every five lives with other relatives, and around one in ten is alone or with non-kin. After four years, the distribution is similar, except that there is a 5% increase in immigrants living with a spouse, 16% increase of immigrants living with children, a 4% decrease in immigrants living with relatives, and a 4% decrease of immigrants living alone or with non-kin. Life satisfaction varies by immigrants' coresidents. First, six months and four years later, the largest relative presence of satisfied immigrants is among those living with relatives –around 80%– whereas the smallest is among those living with children –almost 70%–. Second, the distribution of satisfaction with life is similar six months after arrival among those living with a spouse, living with children, and living alone or with non-relatives. There is only a slight increase in the percentage of satisfied immigrants with a spouse and children.

[25] Other models estimated for sensitivity analysis include logistic models with pooled data, with and without interactions of time and living arrangements, as well as time interactions with living arrangements in longitudinal fixed-effects logistic models (results available upon request).

Table 3.1 Selected characteristics of immigrants by type of living arrangement, six months and four years after arrival

Characteristic	Six months after arrival					Four years after arrival				
	Living with a partner	Living with children	Living with other relatives	Alone or with non-relatives	Total	Living with a partner	Living with children	Living with other relatives	Alone or with non-relatives	Total
%	77	56	20	12	100	82	72	16	8	100
Satisfaction with life in Canada										
Satisfied or very satisfied (%)	69	68	80	69	71	71	71	78	77	72
Socio-demographic characteristics										
Female (%)	52	52	51	31	50	50	53	53	38	50
Median age	34	37	26	31	33	37	38	29	34	37
Median years of schooling	16	16	13	16	15	16	16	13	16	15
Social and economic integration										
Good self-rated health (%)	79	77	80	84	80	61	58	61	70	62
Not good official language proficiency (%)	39	43	48	16	37	28	30	35	18	27
Less than enough money to meet basic needs (%)	36	40	29	36	36	18	20	19	19	19
Median Logarithm of total household income	9.1	9.1	9.5	8.6	9.1	10.8	10.8	10.9	10.2	10.7
Employed full-time (%)	40	37	40	51	41	63	60	55	68	62

Source: Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada (Statistics Canada). Notes: Sample (n = 6,350 observations) includes only individuals aged 18-59 years old at arrival. Weighted estimates using survey weights provided by Statistics Canada. See text for full description of variables.

Our sample is distributed evenly in terms of presence of men and women by type of co-resident, except among those living alone or with non-relatives, where there is an underrepresentation of women (31 and 38% six months and four years after arrival, respectively). The median age of recent immigrants differs depending on whom they live with–because living arrangements vary over the life course. For example, six months after arriving, the median age of those with children (37 years old) is higher than those living with a partner or living in a non-family household. On the other hand, immigrants living with other relatives tend to be younger than the rest (26 years old). Thus, they also tend to have a lower median number of years of schooling upon arrival: 13 years among those living with relatives and 16 years among those without. Language proficiency also varies by coresidents with those living with relatives being among those with poor language proficiency (almost half of them). Subjective income adequacy also varies: the largest relative presence of those reporting to have less than enough money are among those with children (40%), and the smallest among those with other relatives (29%). Four years after arrival, the relative presence decreases for all types of co-residents, but the largest presence in subjective economic need is among those with children (20%).

Cross-sectional analyses: results by wave

Table 3.2 shows estimated odds-ratios from logistic regression models of satisfaction with life in Canada six months (Models A) and four years after arrival (Models B). Results of a series of nested models show that health, social integration, and economic integration account for part of the differences in life satisfaction by immigrants' living arrangements and whom they live with. First, immigrants living with a spouse are not significantly more or less likely to be satisfied than those who do not have a partner, shortly after arrival and four years later. This is true at the baseline (Models 1) and when the explanatory variables are included (Models 3)[26]. Second, living with children has a negative association with satisfaction shortly after arrival. Immigrants with children are 22% less likely to be satisfied than those without ($p<0.01$; Model 1A), when

[26] I tested the role of living with a spouse interacted with sex to explore possible variations of being in a union by gender and found no significant interaction effects.

demographic characteristics are taken into account. However, the negative association is reduced when accounting for health and social integration ($p<0.05$) but stops being significant once economic indicators are controlled (Model 3A). Four years after arrival, living with children is not significantly associated with satisfaction neither at the baseline nor at the full model (Models B).

Third, when all the factors are controlled for, immigrants living with relatives shortly after arrival are 29% more likely to be satisfied ($p<0.05$; Model 3A) than those without relatives, an 8% reduction in the likelihood of satisfaction from the baseline model ($p<0.01$: Model 1A). Finally, satisfaction among immigrants living with relatives four years after arrival is not statistically significant when compared to satisfaction among those without relatives, when all indicators are held constant (Model 3B). Similarly to what is observed six months after arrival, controlling for economic indicators reduces the positive influence of living with relatives on satisfaction; but four years later, the association is no longer statistically significant. This provides slight evidence that the positive effect of relatives is stronger for recent immigrants than for those who have spent more time in the country. In other words, four years after arrival, the positive association of satisfaction and coresiding with relatives may be spurious, and mostly related to economic factors.

Results for both time periods provide evidence of the smaller importance of the family life domain, measured in terms of the characteristics of living arrangements, relatively to the other domains captured by health, and social and economic integration (Models 3). Those reporting good self-rated health status are around 70% more likely to be satisfied than those with poor health. Whereas indicators of ethnic social networks and participation in organizations are positively significantly associated with satisfaction shortly after arrival, they are not significant four years later. Instead, language proficiency –not significant in the initial period– is negatively associated ($p<0.01$) with satisfaction four years later. Subjective adequacy of income to make ends meet is associated with life satisfaction at both time periods ($p < 0.001$) and is by far the largest estimated odds-ratio both six months (Model 3A) and four years after landing (Model

3B). For example, four years after arrival, the odds of satisfaction among those with just enough or more than enough money to make ends meet are around 2.6 times and almost 6 times higher, respectively, from those with subjective economic need. The indicators of absolute income (OR=1.08, $p<0.05$), and full-time employment (OR=1.28, $p<0.001$) are only significant four years upon arrival and they are both positively associated with satisfaction. In summary: 1) participation in organizations and ethnic networks matter shortly after arrival; 2) language proficiency, employment status, and total household income influence satisfaction after four years; and 3) health and being able to meet basic needs are significant at any time.

One possible explanation for the almost null effect of co-residents on life satisfaction may be gender differences canceling each other out. This is not the case. Results from full models estimated for men and women separately show fairly similar results for both sexes (see Appendix, Table A1). However, gender differences appear only at null models six months after arrival (Model 1AM): men living with relatives are about 40% more likely ($p<0.05$) to be satisfied with life in Canada than those who are not living with relatives, and women with children are about 36% less likely ($p<0.001$) to be satisfied than those without (Model 1AF). Otherwise, after controlling for health status and indicators of social and economic integration, there are no significant associations between co-residents and satisfaction in models estimated by sex at both interviews (Models 3A).

Table 3.2. Estimated odds-ratios for nested Logistic regression models of satisfaction with life in Canada, six months and four years after arrival

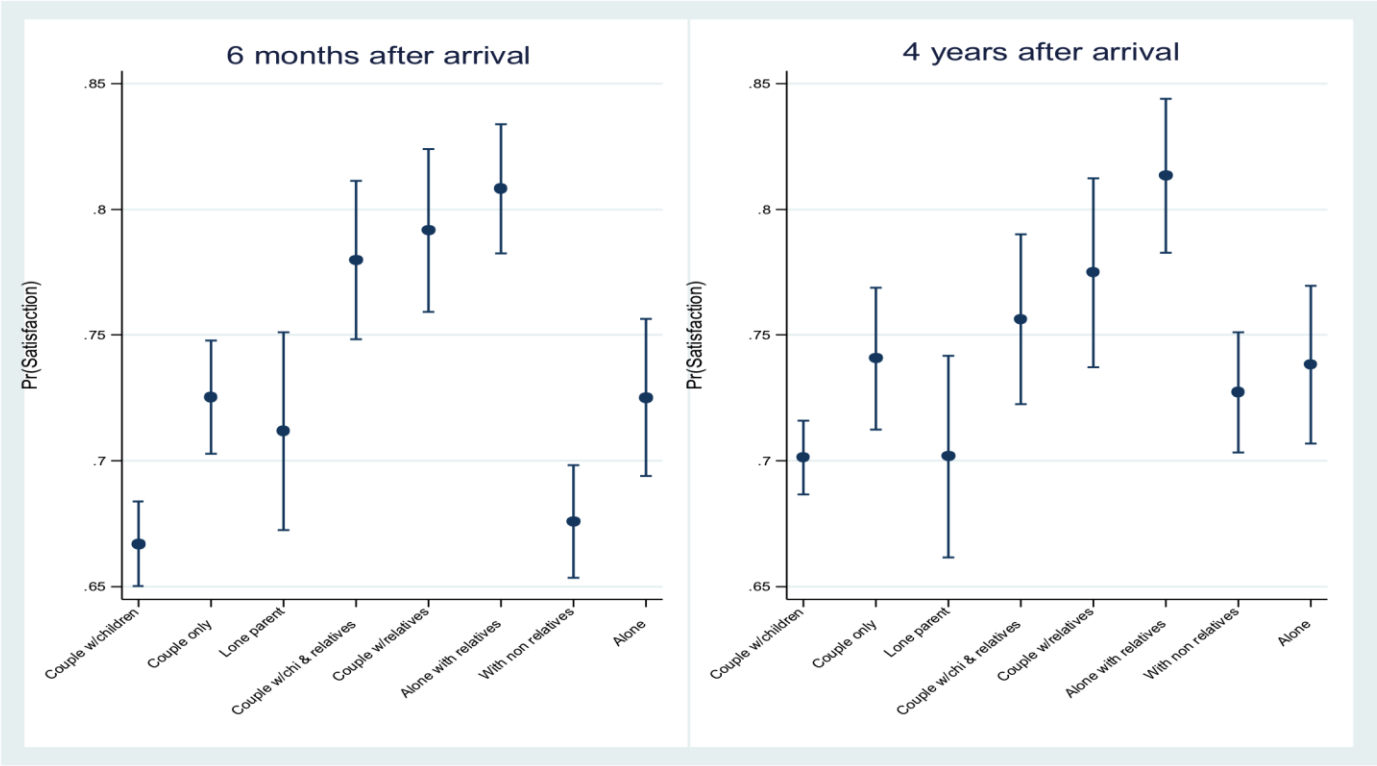
Variable	Six months after arrival			Four years after arrival		
	Model 1A	Model 2A	Model 3A	Model 1B	Model 2B	Model 3B
Living with						
Spouse (ref: no spouse)	0.99	1.05	0.97	1.04	1.05	0.89
Own children (ref: no children)	0.78 **	0.81 *	0.90	0.92	0.98	1.08
Relatives (ref: no relatives)	1.37 **	1.37 **	1.29 *	1.27 *	1.31 *	1.23
Health						
(Poor self-rated health)						
Good self-rated health		1.91 ***	1.73 ***		1.83 ***	1.65 ***
Social integration						
Social and ethnic networks						
(Most new friends: same ethnic group)						
Has not made new friends		1.18	1.19		0.89	0.95
Most new friends: different ethnic group		1.45 ***	1.40 ***		1.11	1.15
Feels close to ethnic group		1.08	1.10		1.06	1.06
Participates in group activities or organizations		1.41 **	1.39 *		0.99	1.01
Participates on church or other religious group		0.74 *	0.79		1.07	1.10
Official language proficiency						
(Mother tongue)						
Good or very good		0.70 **	0.90		0.77 *	0.89
Not good		0.69 **	0.89		0.57 ***	0.69 **
Economic integration						
Subjective income adequacy to meet basic needs						
(Less than enough money)						
Just enough money			3.18 ***			2.15 ***
More than enough money			8.21 ***			4.44 ***
Absolute income						
Log of total household income			1.01			1.08 *
Employment status						
(Not working)						
Part-time employment			0.89			1.09
Full-time employment			1.11			1.28 ***
Intercept	9.41 ***	5.93 ***	2.73 **	6.75 ***	6.40 ***	1.07
Sample size (n)	6,350	6,350	6,350	6,350	6,350	6,350
Area under ROC curve	0.64	0.64	0.74	0.60	0.64	0.68

Source: Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada (Statistics Canada).
Notes: Sample includes only individuals aged 18-59 years old at arrival. Estimations use 1,000 bootstrap weight replications and survey weights provided. Dependent variable is satisfaction with life in Canada: 1 (very satisfied, satisfied) and 0 (very insatisfied, insatified, neither). Models include control variables for sociodemographic characteristics: sex, age, age squared, education at time of arrival, refugee and visible minority status, and province of residence. Reference groups for categorical variables are shown in parentheses.
* for p< .05, ** for p<.01, and *** for p<0.001 (two tailed tests)

In order to better understand the influence of co-residents in contexts when others are present or absent, and how these relate to life satisfaction at different times since arrival, I calculate predicted probabilities for life satisfaction by type of household from the full models (Model 3A and 3B; Table 3.2). Note that living arrangements are dynamic and therefore, the households under each category during the first survey are not necessarily the same when they are re-interviewed four years later. Graph 3.1 shows average predicted probabilities –average of individual predicted probabilities– of reporting satisfaction with life in Canada, along with 95% confidence intervals. Immigrants living with a spouse and children (nuclear families) have the lowest predicted probability of being satisfied six months after arrival. The average predicted probability is significantly lower for immigrants with spouse and children than for immigrants living with other relatives –regardless of the presence of spouse or children. But we see a gradient: those living alone with relatives have a greater probability of satisfaction than those with spouse and relatives, and also greater than those with spouse, children, and relatives[27]. This pattern is not significantly different six months and four years after arrival. Those living alone have greater –but not significantly different– predicted probabilities of satisfaction than those living with non-relatives only. Therefore, this provides evidence that the protective role of relatives, rather than non-kin, has a greater impact on life satisfaction, and that living with children can lead to decreased levels of satisfaction.

[27] Households with immigrants living with spouse with/without children are extended family households. However, given that the relationship between the members of the household is unknown, immigrants alone with other relatives may be living in a nuclear household if the other relatives are siblings and parents.

Graph 3.1 Average predicted probabilities of satisfaction with life in Canada, with 95% CIs, by type of living arrangement and time since arrival



Source: Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada (Statistics Canada). Estimations calculated by the author. Estimations use 1,000 bootstrap weight replications and survey weights provided.Notes: Sample (n=6,350) includes only individuals aged 18-59 years old at arrival. Estimations use 1,000 bootstrap weight replications and survey weights provided. Dependent variable is satisfaction with life in Canada: 1 (very satisfied, satisfied) and 0 (very insatisfied, insatified, neither). Graph shows average predicted probabilities of satisfaction (average of individual probabilities) by living arrangement, estimated from Models 3A and 3B.

Longitudinal analysis: changes between six and four years after arrival

In this section we turn to analyzing changes of satisfaction over time. Around two-thirds of the immigrants in the full sample did not change in their level of satisfaction in the first four years in Canada: 55.5% were satisfied and 12.5% were unsatisfied in both interviews. However, 16.6% became satisfied, and 15.4% became unsatisfied four years after arrival.

Before presenting results from fixed- and random-effects logistic models, I explore changes in satisfaction in relation to changes in immigrants' co-residents. Table 3.3 shows estimated average differences of life satisfaction four years after arrival minus life satisfaction six months after arrival. Mean differences of life satisfaction between interviews are estimated for those who changed in their level of satisfaction only (n=1,980), and for the whole sample (n=6,350). Estimated means of differences are smaller in the second case as individuals who did not experience a change in satisfaction are included in the calculation. First, those who remained with a spouse had, on average, an increase in satisfaction ($p<0.01$) in both samples. But there is no statistically significant change among those whose spouse arrived or left the household. Among those immigrants who experienced a change in satisfaction, those who had children in the first but not in the third interview experienced a decline in their average satisfaction ($p<0.05$). For those who never shared a household with relatives, average satisfaction increased ($p<0.01$) whereas there is an average decrease among those who lived with relatives in both times periods ($p<0.05$). None of the differences for living alone or with non-kin are statistically significant. However, these estimated average differences may be biased, as the association with coresidents and changes in life satisfaction may be spurious. Thus, we now turn to multivariate analyses with longitudinal data in order to further understand this relationship.

Table 3.3. Mean differences of life satisfaction between six months and four years upon arrival by characteristic of living arrangement for those who changed level of satisfaction and the whole sample.

Six months after arrival		Four years after arrival	Changed life satisfaction (n = 1,980)	Did not change life satisfaction (n=6,350)
No spouse	→	No spouse	-0.04	-0.01
No spouse	→	Spouse	-0.08	-0.02
Spouse	→	No spouse	0.00	0.00
Spouse	→	Spouse	0.07**	0.02**
No children	→	No children	0.06	0.02
No children	→	Children	0.02	0.01
Children	→	No children	-0.3*	-0.10
Children	→	Children	0.05	0.02
No relatives	→	No relatives	0.07**	0.02**
No relatives	→	Relatives	-0.12	-0.04
Relatives	→	No relatives	0.01	0.00
Relatives	→	Relatives	-0.13*	-0.04*
Not alone/non-kin	→	Not alone/non-kin	0.04	0.01
Not alone/non-kin	→	Alone/non-kin	0.05	0.01
Alone/non-kin	→	Not alone/non-kin	-0.02	-0.01
Alone/non-kin	→	Alone/non-kin	0.18	0.05

Source: Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada (Statistics Canada).
Difference in life satisfaction is defined as (satisfaction four years upon arrival - satisfaction six months after arrival). Estimations of mean differences and standard errors (parentheses) use 1,000 bootstrap weights and survey weights provided. Sample includes only individuals aged 18-59 years old at arrival.

* for $p< .05$, ** for $p<.01$, and *** for $p<0.001$ (two tailed tests)

Table 3.4 shows estimated odds-ratios from fixed- and random-effects logistic regression models of life satisfaction between two time-periods: six months and four years after arrival. Results from Hausman tests show that fixed-effects models (Models 2 and 3)[28] are preferred to random-effects models as the differences in the coefficients are systematic ($p<0.001$), biasing random-effects estimates. Fixed-effects models allow studying the causes of change in life satisfaction in Canada within individuals between six months and four years after arrival, while random-effects models study change within and between individuals over time.

The estimated intra-class correlation (rho) for random-effects models varies from 0.31 in Model 1R, to 0.28 (Model 2R), and 0.26 (Model 3R). That is, unobserved individual characteristics in the full model account for about 26% of the propensity to be satisfied with life in Canada. In other words, there is a relatively low correlation between an immigrants' propensity to be satisfied with life in Canada in different years after arrival, once controlling for immigrants' coresidents, self-rated health, and indicators of social and economic integration. The odds of being satisfied with life in a given year for an immigrant who has an unobserved propensity one standard deviation above the mean are about 3 times the corresponding odds for someone with average unobserved propensity and the same observed characteristics (exp(sigma_u)=exp(1.085) = 2.96). The three estimated measures of intra-class association for Model 3R to compare latent and manifest intra-class correlation are: odds ratio = 2.28, Pearson's r = 0.17, and Yule's Q = 0.39. For an immigrant whose observed propensity is at the sample median, the marginal probability of reporting being satisfied with life in Canada in any year is 0.75, whereas the joint probability in the two interviews is 0.59. Pearson's correlation coefficient is 0.17. Thus, the manifest association (0.17) is lower than the latent association (0.26) and satisfaction shortly after arrival explains only about 3% of the variation in satisfaction four years after arrival ($0.028 = 0.17^2$). In contrast, persistent unobserved characteristics explain 26% of the latent propensity to be satisfied.

[28] Hausman test on Models 1 were performed but could not be estimated since the estimated coefficients for the fixed-effects model (Model 1) were not statistically significant.

Table 3.4. Estimated odds-ratios for fixed- and random-effects logistic regression models for change in satisfaction with life in Canada (6 months/4 years after arrival)

Variable	Fixed Effects			Random Effects		
	Model 1F	Model 2F	Model 3F	Model 1R	Model 2R	Model 3R
Living with						
Spouse (ref: no spouse)	0.84	0.86	0.82	0.94	0.99	0.83 *
Own children (ref: no children)	1.06	1.07	1.18	0.77 ***	0.85 *	0.98
Relatives (ref: no relatives)	0.92	0.94	0.88	1.58 ***	1.70 ***	1.57 ***
Time since arrival						
(Six months)						
Four years	1.08	1.15 *	0.83 *	1.15 **	1.23 ***	0.81 ***
Health						
(Poor self-rated health)						
Good self-rated health		1.50 ***	1.45 ***		1.94 ***	1.74 ***
Social integration						
Social and ethnic networks						
(Most new friends: same ethnic group)						
Has not made new friends		0.84	0.82		1.10	1.16
Most new friends: different ethnic group		1.03	0.98		1.39 ***	1.40 ***
Feels close to ethnic group		1.08	1.08		1.06	1.08
Participates in group activities or organizations		1.02	0.99		1.14	1.13
Participates on church or other religious group		1.27	1.30		0.94	0.99
Official language proficiency						
(Mother tongue)						
Good or very good		0.46	0.49		0.54 ***	0.69 **
Not good		0.43	0.45		0.54 ***	0.73 **
Economic integration						
Subjective income adequacy to meet basic needs						
(Less than enough money)						
Just enough money			2.61 ***			3.20 ***
More than enough money			5.81 ***			7.84 ***
Absolute income						
Log of total household income			0.99			1.03 **
Employment status						
(Not working)						
Part-time employment			1.13			0.94
Full-time employment			1.36 **			1.11
Intercept				3.50 ***	2.68 ***	0.85
Log of the panel-level variance (lnsig2u), (*st. error*)				0.38 (*0.101*)	0.25 (*0.109*)	0.16 (*0.117*)
Standard error of random effect (sigma_u) (*st. error*)				1.21 (*0.061*)	1.13 (*0.062*)	1.08 (*0.063*)
Intra-class correlation (*st. error*)				0.31 (*0.022*)	0.28 (*0.022*)	0.26 (*0.023*)
Sample size (n)	1,980	1,980	1,980	6,350	6,350	6,350
Akaike Information Criteria	57470.2	56621.5	51964.9	302306.3	296941.5	282768.3
Log likelihood	-28731.1	-28298.8	-25965.4	-151147.2	-148456.7	-141365.1

Source: Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada (Statistics Canada).
Notes: Sample includes only individuals aged 18-59 years old at arrival. Estimations use 1,000 bootstrap weight replications and survey weights provided. Dependent variable is satisfaction with life in Canada: 1 (very satisfied, satisfied) and 0 (very insatisfied, insatified, neither). Reference groups for categorical variables are shown in parentheses. * for p< .05, ** for p<.01, and *** for p<0.001 (two tailed tests)

Results from fixed-effects models show that the characteristics of living arrangements, measured by the presence of a partner, children or relatives in the household, have no statistically significant association with changes in life satisfaction for recent immigrants in Canada (Model 3F; Table 3.4). This contrasts with random-effects estimates (Model 3R; Table 3.4) showing that those living with a spouse were 17% less likely ($p< 0.05$) to be satisfied compared to those without a spouse, and those living with relatives were 57% ($p<0.001$) more likely to be satisfied with life than those without relatives in the household. A potential explanation may be that the difference in sample sizes impacts the standard errors of the estimates. However, a comparison of estimated odds-ratios of fixed and random-effects models shows a different direction of association with having children, though mainly for those with those living with relatives ($p<0.001$ in random-effects models). This provides some evidence of selectivity into living with relatives, which may explain why random-effects estimates may be biased. Different results from fixed- and random-effects models may be explained by the variation captured by each model. Fixed-effects models study variation within an individual, and household composition may be relatively more stable than other indicators of immigrant adaptation. In this sense, the non-significant association of immigrants' coresidents with changes in life satisfaction provides information about the mechanisms influencing both living arrangements and satisfaction.

Fixed-effects models show that the main statistically significant determinants affecting change in life satisfaction are improvement in the perception of having adequate income to satisfy household economic needs, being full-time employed, and good self-rated health status. Both fixed- and random-effects models show that time has a significant detrimental effect, once we control for economic integration (Model 3). The inclusion of economic integration indicators reduces the odds of satisfaction by more than 30% (compared to Models 2) four years after arrival for fixed-effects ($OR= 0.83$, $p<0.05$) and random-effects models ($OR= 0.81$, $p<001$). Results from random-effects models show that perception of having adequate income and self-rated health status have similar significant effects. However, for the full random-effects model, the indicators of social

integration that are statistically significant are non-ethnic social networks and language proficiency. In the random-effects model, employment status is not significant, but absolute income is ($p<0.05$). Random-effects models are probably capturing the pecuniary effects of employment, via absolute income, explaining more variation between individuals, while fixed-effects may be capturing non-pecuniary effects at the individual level related to variation within individual immigrants. Although the methods do not allow comparing estimated odds ratios from fixed-and random-effects models, results in Table 3.4 show a similar direction and levels of significance.

In order to evaluate how changes in coresidents influence changes in satisfaction we calculate marginal effects –effects of a discrete change of covariates– in the probability and log-odds metrics. Table 3.5 shows marginal effects from Model 3 for fixed- and random-effects logistic regression models. For the fixed-effects model, marginal effects in the probability metric refer to the effect of discrete change in the probability of satisfaction given that the fixed-effect is zero, whereas for random-effects model, it refers to the effect in the probability given that the random-effect is zero. Again, none of the changes in co-residents in the immigrants' household have an effect in the probability of satisfaction given a null fixed-effect. Assuming a null random effect, the discrete change associated with living with a spouse has a significant ($p<0.05$) small negative effect ($dy/dx = -0.03$) on changes in satisfaction while the effect of a discrete change of living with relatives is statistically significant ($p<0.001$) and positive ($dy/dx = 0.08$).

As in the cross-sectional analysis, we reject the possibility that our results are driven by gender differences. Longitudinal models estimated for men and women separately (see Appendix A2) confirm that this is not the case, and results using a pooled sample and samples by sex do not differ significantly, except for the burden of children among female immigrants. Studying gender differences further is beyond the scope of this article. However, lack of gender differences is worth noting.

Table 3.5 Estimated average marginal effects in the probability and logit metrics, for fixed- and random-effects logistic regression models for change in satisfaction with life in Canada (between six months and four years after arrival)

Variable	Fixed Effects Model 3F		Random Effects Model 3R	
	P(Satisfaction| random effect = 0)	Linear prediction, p(xb)	P(Satisfaction| random effect = 0)	Linear prediction, p(xb)
	Probability dy/dx	Log-odds dy/dx	Probability dy/dx	Log-odds dy/dx
Living with				
Spouse	-0.04	-0.20	-0.03 *	-0.18 *
Own children	0.04	0.17	0.00	-0.02
Relatives	-0.03	-0.13	0.08 ***	0.45 ***
Time since arrival				
Four years	-0.04	-0.18 **	-0.03 **	-0.21 **
Sample size (n)	1,980		6,350	

Source: Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada (Statistics Canada). Estimations calculated by the author. Estimations use 1,000 bootstrap weight replications and survey weights provided. Dependent variable is satisfaction with life in Canada: 1 (very satisfied, satisfied) and 0 (very insatisfied, insatified, neither). Models include covariates for self-rated health, and indicators of social and economic integration (Models 3; Table 4).
* for p< .05, ** for p<.01, and *** for p<0.001 (two tailed tests)

DISCUSSION

Migrants undergo complex processes of adaptation and integration in receiving societies, facing different challenges at each stage of these processes. In this study, the main objective was to understand how immigrants' living arrangements influence life satisfaction in relation to the influence of other life domains during the first years of adapting to a new country.

How do different living arrangements influence life satisfaction initially upon arrival and four years later? Overall, results provide evidence that co-residents in the household have a different influence on life satisfaction among immigrants depending on time since arrival. Shortly after arrival, living with children is negatively associated with life satisfaction although this seems to be partially explained by the associated economic burden of arriving with dependents. On the other hand, during the first months, living with relatives is positively associated with life satisfaction. Results are consistent with previous studies showing that having dependents, both spouses and children, produces stress in immigrant adaptation (Martin & Lichter, 1983), especially in the first period after arrival, and with studies providing mixed evidence for the effect of being a parent or in a union. A possible explanation for the mixed results of living with a spouse and living with children may be related to the association of one's own satisfaction with the satisfaction of other household members. Winkelmann (2005) shows that the estimated correlation coefficient of the underlying long-term well-being of individuals within the same family is 0.44. It remains unclear how this adaptation stress impacts immigrants' parent-child relationships in the long term, and marital instability, compared to those effects found on parental, marital, and life satisfaction for the general population (Pittman & Lloyd, 1988). Future studies on immigrant adaptation will inform those that highlight the importance of exploring contexts in which parent-child relationships may affect parental well-being (Umberson et al., 2010).

The relationship between satisfaction and living with relatives is better understood considering results from cross-sectional and longitudinal analyses jointly, as the influence

of living with relatives is statistically significant and positively associated with satisfaction six months after arrival but not four years later. A possible explanation for this is that during the early stages of the migration process, relatives may provide information and support but as time goes by they may become a burden, as immigrants require less informational and material support, seek privacy and independence, or are burdened with providing care for relatives. However, results from fixed-effects models that control for time-constant characteristics account for optimism and personality factors associated with both life satisfaction and living arrangements – that is, for selectivity into living arrangements. For example, that more optimistic immigrants may be more likely to coreside with extended kin or non-kin. Overall, results show that living with relatives has a positive effect, consistent with the view that extended family provides a safety net. These results have implications for discussions on changes to immigration policy and family reunification procedures that are currently under consideration in Canada.

How do different living arrangements influence changes in satisfaction over time? How do these changes influence changes in life satisfaction? Results from longitudinal analyses show that coresidents and changes in coresidents have a small effect on changes in life satisfaction. There is a non-significant association between living arrangements and changes in life satisfaction within individuals, once health, social and economic factors are taken into account. In other words, characteristics of family living arrangements may be significant for *inter*personal comparisons of satisfaction, but not for *intra*personal comparisons. A possible explanation for the non-significant estimators in fixed-effects models may be that they are less precise because the smaller sample size (n=1,980) compared to random-effects models (n=6,350) produces higher standard errors. However, theoretical considerations of the influence of time-constant individual factors, such as personality, or time-invariant cultural factors associated with solidarity, family, and community values, on life satisfaction, justify the use of fixed-effects models as more appropriate to study changes in life satisfaction. Additionally, results from the comparison of manifest and latent intra-class correlation may be evidence of the role of the adaptation process on explaining satisfaction from one period to another.

Fixed-effects models provide evidence that by taking into account the individual-level mechanisms that select people into being satisfied with life and live in a certain type of household, the association of characteristics of living arrangements with satisfaction disappears. Although the role of selectivity into particular living arrangements is clearer in the case of co-residence with relatives, results for living with a spouse for fixed- and random-effects show slight evidence that time constant characteristics have a similar effect. More optimistic people and those who are in a union have higher levels of satisfaction attributable to both material and personality resources (Soons & Liefbroer, 2009).

Longitudinal results from fixed- and random-effects models show that time has an overall negative effect. This could be related to mechanisms of hedonic adaptation that bring satisfaction levels back to pre-migration levels. The U-curve pattern describing the series of stages in overcoming culture shock is consistent with what the literature on migration has found: that just before migrating individuals experience a decline in happiness but migration causes a boost in happiness bringing people back to their initial levels (Nowok et al., 2013)). This idea is consistent with perspectives of hedonic adaptation and the role of personality and individual-level factors. However, other explanations include not having solved the challenges of the adaptation process, or to experiences of discrimination that were not observed only a few months after arrival. After four years, immigrants may have experienced discrimination, negatively impacting their perception of Canada and life satisfaction, similarly to how discrimination affects depression (Noh et al., 1999).

The results on the key role of health, employment and income are consistent with the framework of life satisfaction in terms of life domains. By using objective indicators of health, and social and economic integration in relation to family and living arrangements, results here suggest that the family domain has a minor influence on satisfaction, supporting findings from (Margolis & Myrskylä, 2013), for example. The larger effect of standard of living and economic position over social indicators such as ethnic networks, or participation in organizations, is consistent with other studies of life satisfaction (e.g.

for immigrants (Amit, 2009), and the overall population). Subjective economic well-being is strongly related to the perception of having adequate income to satisfy household needs, or financial stress, and this is not exclusive for immigrants (Cracolici, Giambona, & Cuffaro, 2013; Pittman & Lloyd, 1988). We expected to find different effects of economic indicators over time, consistent with previous evidence that economic situation affects satisfaction levels within earlier and recent immigrants and second generation immigrants (Dion et al., 2009).

Results showing a strong positive association between health and satisfaction is consistent with previous studies and different methodological assumptions (Ferrer-i-Carbonell & Fritjers, 2004). However, the use of self-rated health status can be criticized on the basis that a third factor, such as personality, may be related to both life satisfaction and health. Thus, using fixed effects models may exacerbate the problem of not controlling for time variant unobservable variables, such as current mood (Dolan et al., 2008). Preliminary models and tests justified the inclusion of self-rated health status in the models presented here. However, the study is not free of the omission of time-variant unobserved measures.

Canadian immigration policy has put emphasis on selecting highly skilled immigrants. However, immigrant earnings have remained lower than natives' and the gap has not closed with a higher level of skills among immigrants (Reitz et al., 2014). The challenges for economic integration associated with foreign-credential recognition and lack of Canadian experience are well known (Reitz, 2007b; Simmons, 2010). This impacts career satisfaction (Yap, Holmes, Hannan, & Cukier, 2013), as well as satisfaction with pay and benefits (Chowhan, Zeytinoglu, & Cooke, 2012), which influence overall life satisfaction. The large effect of economic indicators may be explained by created, and sometimes unrealistic, expectations of success. This long-term disillusion, partially created by immigration policy, may be a potential explanation for the negative effect of time.

The predominant role of economic factors, or the mixed results of the mechanisms related to social integration, may account for the non-significant association between social integration indicators and changes in satisfaction. For example, although the existence of friends is considered to be positively associated with satisfaction, the influence of ethnic social networks on life satisfaction is ambiguous. Ethnic networks may have similar effects to those of ethnic enclaves: they can provide a sense of support and a set of coping strategies and resources for adaptation, but can also hinder economic integration by creating barriers to social mobility (Tilly, 1998; Wiley, 1967) that may perpetuate a sense of social isolation from the mainstream host society. Although social support is viewed as a major resource for psychological adjustments and physical health, when adapting to a new country the relative importance of support from co-nationals versus support from the host society is controversial as it depends on the supporters, group dynamics, and the group's social capital (Ward et al., 2001). Similarly, even if participation is likely to have positive externalities for well-being overall, the mechanisms are complex (Helliwell & Putnam, 2004).

LSIC is the only currently available data source providing substantial longitudinal information on new immigrants in Canada and it provides a good baseline for estimating the relationship between living arrangements and satisfaction. However, the use of LSIC does come with limitations. A major shortcoming is that data provided do not include information on other co-residents or the household relationship matrix, which are necessary in order to establish the identity of the head of the household and the position of the longitudinal respondent relative to other household members. This survey does not allow comparing immigrants with the Canadian population, or drawing inferences on pre-migration issues. The time-span is limited to four years after arrival as the survey was interrupted. Changes in the questionnaire do not allow using data from the second interview, and lack of data on the time when changes occurred does not allow studying the duration of living arrangements. This is particularly problematic given that few extended-family households tend to maintain the same composition beyond three years (Glick & Hook, 2011), and it is recent events that matter for subjective well-being (Suh et al., 1996). Therefore, it is possible that the influence of changes in living arrangements on

life satisfaction is underestimated as the change may have occurred long time prior to the third time immigrants were interviewed in the survey.

The dependent variable, as captured in LSIC, is *satisfaction with life in Canada*. This definition of the subjective assessment presents the advantage of referring to the post-migration experience. However, it is possible that the question six months and four years after arrival have different meanings as migrants' groups of social comparison –co-nationals in their home and destination countries, other migrants, and natives– change with time spent in Canada (Mara & Landesmann, 2013). Other limitations relate to attrition bias, especially for individuals living in extended family households in the first interview who did not take part in subsequent interviews. The present study is not free of problems of reverse causality (when the pre-existent levels of satisfaction affect family living arrangements, as well as social ties, and economic indicators) or spuriousness (if personality factors might explain the effects of living arrangements and satisfaction). However, the use of longitudinal data and fixed-effects models help reduce these problems as measurable and non-measurable constant characteristics are accounted for. The operationalization of culture in large-scale national representative surveys is problematic and LSIC is no exception. Studies show that the duration of immigrants' shared living arrangements is likely to vary by group as kinship networks, exchange resources, and practices of reciprocity differ (Menjívar, 1997b). Future studies looking at how the dynamic role of culture upon immigration relates to life satisfaction and living arrangements are needed.

Much has been debated about the trajectories and outcomes of the foreign born and their descendants, but scholars from across the spectrum agree that time plays a significant role (Alba & Nee, 2003; Gordon, 1964; Portes & Rumbaut, 1990; Portes & Zhou, 1993; Waters & Jiménez, 2005). Although this literature has made enormous advances, it has overlooked how subjective processes, such as assessments of the migration experience and satisfaction with life in the destination country, may influence and interact with these outcomes. To date, the influence of subjective well-being on immigrant integration has been neglected as a possible mechanism leading to different types of assimilation models.

We may hypothesize that immigrants' life satisfaction in the destination country may be a mediating factor in the assimilation process, but further research is needed in this regard. This paper contributes to the literature on immigrant integration by looking at the influences of living arrangements on satisfaction with life in the destination country –a possible indirect mechanism related to other dimensions of integration. Future studies expanding the short-term time frame of four years may provide insights on how satisfaction in the first years upon arrival has long-term impacts on different pathways of integration.

Understanding the mechanisms behind life satisfaction is of primary importance for fostering social cohesion, as immigration persists and ethnic diversity increases. Pooled data from the Canada Community Health Survey (2002-2008) show that both immigrant children and parents have lower self-reported life satisfaction than their Canadian-born counterparts, and there is no apparent improvement in life satisfaction for immigrants who have lived longer in the country (Burton & Phipps, 2010). *Why?* Findings here provide evidence that social and economic integration make a significant contribution to immigrant life satisfaction. Although family members influence the adaptation process, types of co-residents and living arrangements may not be the answer.

PREAMBLE TO CHAPTER 4

In the next chapter I tie the cycle that fits the puzzle of the overarching question that drives this research project – *How do family dynamics, migration adaptation processes, and policy mediate the immigrant integration process?* . Chapter 2 studied living arrangements as an outcome influenced by immigration policy. Chapter 3 studied the influence of living arrangements in life satisfaction, an indicator of social integration. Thus, the last two chapters focused on the relationship between family dynamics and the adaptation process among recent immigrants who arrived as adults. Now, I turn to study family creation and integration processes among adult immigrants aged 20-39, who arrived to Canada as children.

Specifically, I study ethnic differences in interpartnering – an indicator and a mechanism for integration – among Latin American immigrants, a population that has increased considerably in recent years. I tie the increase in the Latin American population to changes in immigration policy in Canada, as well as to the historical context of the Americas. This allows us to locate family dynamics, migrant adaptation, and integration processes and broader contexts of emigration and reception.

Overall, intermarriage has been a neglected area of research in Canada. The dearth of research on marital exogamy among the foreign-born population is surprising given Canada's long history as an immigrant-receiving nation. Moreover, immigrant exogamy with a foreign born has mostly been overlooked as an outcome variable, in a context of increasing immigration and the diversification of the origins of the foreign-born population in Canada.

CHAPTER 4. MARRYING OUT AND BEYOND: EXPLAINING NATIONAL AND IMMIGRANT BOUNDARIES AMONG LATIN AMERICAN CHILDREN IMMIGRANTS IN CANADA

ABSTRACT

In a context of increasing immigration and the diversification of the origins of the foreign-born population in Canada, I study exogamy among Latin American immigrants by examining their unions with conationals, non-conational foreign-born, or non-conational Canadian-born. The main objective is to understand differences in interpartnering by country of birth in relation to social exchange theory, demographical and structural factors, socialization processes and modes of incorporation, and to evaluate to what extent the determinants of the two types of exogamous unions differ. This paper compares intermarriage patterns among immigrants from Chile, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Mexico. I focus on individuals born in these four countries, aged 20 to 39, who immigrated as permanent residents to Canada as children. I use data from the 2006 Canadian Census [29] and multinomial logit regressions. Results show that country differences are more prominent among men than women for both types of interpartnering, although differences are more noticeable in interpartnering with non-conational foreign-born than interpartnering with non-conational Canadian-born. Findings have two main implications for studying immigrant exogamy: 1) that socialization processes and modes of incorporation – key components of immigrant assimilation theories – do not explain interpartnering with non-conational foreign-born, and 2) the need a better understanding of gender differences.

[29] The results presented are based on analyses conducted in the Quebec Interuniversity Centre for Social Statistics (QICSS), which provides researchers access to the micro-detailed data collected by Statistics Canada. The opinions expressed here do not represent the view of Statistics Canada.

INTRODUCTION

Canada has one of the highest immigration rates in the world. Around one in every five people is foreign born, and projections suggest that this will increase to one in four within the next twenty years (Statistics Canada, 2007a). The 1967 Canadian Immigration Act removed all explicitly racially discriminatory rules and implemented a points system to select immigrants in terms of their skills, experience and demographic characteristics. One of the consequences of this Immigration Act was an increase of Latin American and Asian immigrants, substituting previously majority European inflows. However, other factors influenced the increase of arrivals from the Americas as well.

Canada has not historically been a major destination country for Latin American immigrants. It was not until the late 1980s, with the strengthening of transnational ties through diplomatic and economic relations, that Canada's Latin American population increased considerably (Hewitt, 2011; Mata, 1985; Simmons, 1993). The historical and political circumstances of the region after the 1960s – dictatorships, civil wars and conflict – had a strong effect on this process. While U.S. foreign policies and their devastating economic implications influenced the departure of many immigrants, it was to a great extent restrictions in U.S. immigration policies that often influenced the settlement of Latin Americans in Canada (García, 2006; Trovato & Barranco, 2013). By 2006, Latin Americans were the third largest group of recent immigrants in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2007a), and in 2011, Spanish was the third most common foreign language spoken at home, following Punjabi and Chinese (Statistics Canada, 2012).

Intermarriage [30] has long been considered the ultimate indicator of immigrant assimilation [31] (Gordon, 1964). However, intermarriage as an indicator of social integration can be conceptualized both a mechanism for reducing social distance and an outcome of diminished boundaries between groups (Feliciano, Lee, & Robnett, 2011;

[30] The literature usually refers to 'intermarriage' because of the low prevalence of cohabitation when assimilation theory was developed. However, I study being in a union, both through legal marriage and cohabitation or common-law status. Therefore, I use the broader term of 'interpartnering'. I use 'intermarriage' when referring to past literature.

[31] I use assimilation and integration interchangeably.

Lichter, 2013; Lichter, Brown, Qian, & Carmalt, 2007; Qian & Lichter, 2001). For instance, Alba (1990) demonstrates how intermarriage among white ethnics in the U.S. created a Euro-American identity that eventually incorporated Eastern Europeans into the 'white' category. On the other hand, intermarriage is also a mechanism for producing ethnic diversity as the result of childbearing from interracial couples. While sustained immigration increases population diversity, intermarriage can regulate boundaries and social distance within diverse contexts.

Overall, intermarriage has been a neglected area of research in Canada. The dearth of research on marital exogamy among the foreign-born population is surprising given Canada's long history as an immigrant-receiving nation. Few studies on ethnic intermarriage were carried out before 1991 and most focused on pre-1967 immigrant groups (Kalbach, 2002). Recent studies on intermarriage have accounted for ethnic diversity from post-1967 immigration patterns, which is characterized by an increase of visible minority immigrants (Hamplová & Le Bourdais, 2010; Lee & Boyd, 2008; Maheux, 2014; Milan, Maheux, & Chui, 2010). Still, many questions remain regarding variation of intermarriage between immigrant groups and the extent to which immigrants establish unions with other foreign-born instead of native-born Canadians.

This paper compares interpartnering patterns among immigrants born in four Latin American countries: Chile, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Mexico. I study immigrants arriving over the period when the overall foreign-born population in general, and the Latin American population specifically, increased considerably. The population of interest includes immigrants from these countries who arrived to Canada as permanent residents as children, and where aged 20 to 39 in 2006. These age restrictions minimize the number of individuals who had formed a union abroad, before immigrating to Canada, and reduce biases associated with union dissolution and repartnering. I study interpartnering differences, characterizing three alternative paths of union formation as indicators of differing inter-group boundaries, defined by country of birth and immigrant status: a) unions with co-nationals (irrespective of nativity status); b) unions with non-conational immigrants (irrespective of race, ethnicity, or nationality); and c) unions with

non-conational Canadian-born (irrespective of race or ethnicity). I address the following research questions: *Are there differences by country of birth in interpartnering? What explains those differences? Do the determinants explaining exogamous unions with Canadian-born and non-conational foreign-born differ?*

BACKGROUND: EXPLANATIONS OF INTERMARRIAGE AMONG IMMIGRANTS

Previous literature has shown that people have a tendency to marry partners from within their social group –endogamy– or who are close to them in status –homogamy– (Kalmijn, 1998; Qian & Lichter, 2007), and with other similar social, physical, and psychological characteristics (Burgess & Wallin, 1943). Marital exogamy, also known as intermarriage or heterogamy, refers to marrying someone from a different group or status. The degree of differences between spouses, also referred to as assortative mating, is usually seen as an indicator of social distance reflecting broader stratification systems and social boundaries. These differences have been studied in terms of age, race and ethnicity, language, religion, education and social class (Atkinson & Glass, 1985; Mare, 1991; Qian & Lichter, 2007; Schwartz & Mare, 2005). Overall, this vast body of research has established that assortative mating is shaped by individual preferences and social exchange, the interference of third-parties via group identification and group sanctions, and the constraints of marriage markets defined by group size, geographical distribution, and the social segregation of local marriage markets (Kalmijn, 1998). Below, I review evidence for how intermarriage theories apply to immigrants. A review of social exchange theory is followed by an overview of demographic and structural factors specific to immigrant populations. Next, I discuss how theories of immigrant assimilation provide additional insights, particularly via socialization processes and modes of incorporation, for understanding intermarriage among immigrants.

Changing patterns of union formation

Since the 1960s, marriage has become increasingly secular and deinstitutionalized as it has been transformed from a familial and community institution to an individualized achievement (Cherlin, 2004). In Europe and North America, marriage decline has been

associated with increased education levels among women (Bumpass & Raley, 1995; Kiernan, 2002; Le Bourdais & Lapierre-Adamcyk, 2004; Smock & Gupta, 2002; Waite & Bachrach, 2000). However, in Latin America cohabitation is not a new phenomenon (Quilodrán & Cortina Trilla, 2012), and is becoming increasingly common for women regardless of education level (Esteve, Lesthaeghe, & López-Gay, 2012). The predominant pattern in the region of traditional cohabitation of unmarried couples in conditions of poverty coexists with modern views of cohabitation associated with higher levels of education (Quilodrán, 2008). Thus, the increase in cohabitation in Latin America since the 1970s in most social strata and in countries with traditional and new modes of cohabitation is not only explained by structural factors (Esteve et al., 2012).

In North America, cohabitation is positively associated with exogamous unions: a larger proportion of interracial or interethnic relationships is found among cohabiting than married couples (Blackwell & Lichter, 2000; Qian & Lichter, 2007). The main explanation advanced is that, seen as a trial for marriage, cohabitation helps to avoid potential family conflicts. However, this might vary by immigrant group and destination country. In the United States, for example, the prevalence of cohabitation varies significantly by ethnic group (Qian, Glick, & Batson, 2012), although successive generations of immigrants tend to assimilate into mainstream cohabitation patterns (Brown, Van Hook, & Glick, 2008). In other countries, such as Spain, differences in cohabitation between immigrant groups disappear when individual and couple characteristics are accounted for (Cortina Trilla, Esteve, & Domingo, 2008).

Social exchange theory

The roles of socio-economic and cultural resources are key for shaping individual preferences. From a utility maximization perspective, social exchange theory establishes how individuals evaluate potential spouses according to their resources, and compete with others in terms of what they have to offer in return (Kalmijn, 1998). Although preferences are influenced by cultural norms, patriarchy, and ideas associated with family and gender roles, the result of this competition process is homogamy – i.e. couples made

up of similar individuals. While educational homogamy is seen as an indicator of social closeness, age homogamy is considered an indicator of gender equality and social openness (Casterline, Williams, & McDonald, 1986). Age hypergamy – unions between older men and younger women – maintains the pattern of unions between men of higher economic status and women of lower economic status (Mu & Xie, 2014). A reduction of the age gap between men and women is therefore related to cultural shifts associated with less instrumental and more egalitarian views on marriage and partner selection (van de Putte et al., 2009). Studies demonstrate that the mechanisms for intermarriage varies by gender and ethnicity (Jacobs & Labov, 2002; Sassler, 2005). As a result, some ethnic groups have a larger proportion of women in homogamous unions than others (Milan et al., 2010).

Social exchange theory has been crucial for explaining why racial and ethnic minorities from high socio-economic status tend to marry lower socio-economic status whites in the United States (Qian & Lichter, 2007). However, evidence for the social exchange hypothesis has been mixed. For instance, patterns tend to differ among immigrant populations, as well as in Canada, where the ethnic and racial systems are different from the black-white U.S. divide (Hou & Myles, 2011). The explanations of why social exchange fails to explain intermarriage among immigrants are twofold. At the lower end, immigrants from lower socio-economic status have been increasingly isolated from higher socio-economic groups, both co-ethnics and whites, such that if they out-marry, they often do so with the lower-class white population (Qian & Lichter, 2007). At the upper end, the processes of marital exogamy and educational homogamy may be interrelated: individuals with higher educational levels may be more open to marrying someone from a different racial or ethnic group because they are more open to differences, while local marriage market constraints promote educational homogamy (Kalmijn, 1998, 2012).

Demographic and structural constraints

Patterns of immigrant intermarriage have also been explained within the broader theoretical framework of assortative mating analyzed in relation to individual preferences, third-party influences and marriage market constraints. In addition to social exchange theory, theoretical perspectives for explaining immigrant intermarriage include demographical and structural constraints, and explanations centred on attitudes and opinions (Qian & Lichter, 2001, 2007; Rodríguez-García, 2012; Therrien & Le Gall, 2012). Among foreign-born populations, demographic factors like group size, immigrant replenishment, the group's level of education, and sex ratios (Okamoto, 2007; Qian & Lichter, 2001, 2007) have consistently been found to be related to differences in intermarriage patterns.

Besides group size, increasing immigration can influence intermarriage patterns by increasing the heterogeneity and diversity of the immigrant population (Batson, Qian, & Lichter, 2006). Immigrant replenishment has a strong effect on sharpening interethnic boundaries, as it influences ideas of nativism, ethnic identity and ethnic authenticity (Jiménez, 2008), and thus, encourages immigrant endogamy. For instance, Mexican intermarriage in the United States decreased significantly between 1990 and 2000, as Mexican immigration increased (Lichter et al., 2007); and research has consistently found that Mexicans in the United States are an endogamous group (Qian et al., 2012). Scholars argue that this is the result of immigrant replenishment, the size of the immigrant community, and due to the existence of a large Hispanic group, which provides other Spanish-speaking individuals as possible partners (Qian et al., 2012). The effect of immigrant replenishment is not exclusive to the Mexican case. Lee and Boyd (2008) find that endogamous unions among Asians in the United States and Canada are more likely with immigrant replenishment, which provides a continuous flow of potential partners of the same ethnic group. Additionally, ongoing immigrant replenishment increases the contact between children of immigrants and recent immigrants, decreasing their social distance to the country of origin of their parents, making it easier to find partners from the same ethnic group, and changing the notion of immigrant generation (Waters & Jiménez, 2005).

In most cases, influence from third-parties and the demographic and structural constraints of marriage markets, are hard to disentangle "partly because increase of group size promotes in-group contact and interaction while reinforcing cultural and ethnic solidarity and marital endogamy" (Qian & Lichter, 2007, p. 90). Geographical distribution and spatial segregation delimit interactions and socialization in local spheres, and shape social networks (del Rey Poveda & de Vilhena, 2014; Lichter et al., 2007). Residential segregation and economic inequality not only decreases interactions between immigrants and non-immigrants, but may increase ethnic identification, as has been the case for Hispanics in U.S. metropolitan areas (Lichter et al., 2007).

Insights from immigrant assimilation theory: Socialization and modes of incorporation

Intermarriage is considered both an indicator and a mechanism for immigrant integration, i.e. the process through which boundaries between groups are diminished, into the host society (Kalbach, 2002; Qian & Lichter, 2001, 2007). The seminal work by Gordon considered intermarriage the ultimate indicator of integration, resulting from the large scale entry of immigrants and their descendants into the primary institutions of the host society (Gordon, 1964). Thus, classic assimilation theory establishes that immigrants are increasingly integrated into mainstream society over time, with each successive generation. Critics of the classic assimilation model argue that it is ethnocentric as it was based on the experience of European-origin immigrants and therefore neglects the role of skin color in a society with a long history of racial boundaries. Research on post-1965 non-European immigrants has shown alternative paths to assimilation: some groups experienced upward mobility without integrating into mainstream society, while others experienced downward mobility and were integrated into the underclass (Portes & Zhou, 1993). Segmented assimilation theory explains differences in rates of entry intro the primary institutions as a result of distinct modes of incorporation characterized by entry status, context of reception, and family and community resources (Portes & Rumbaut, 2006; Portes & Zhou, 1993). In other words, these modes of incorporation depend on three different levels of reception: the government's policy toward different immigrant

groups, civil society and public opinion, and characteristics of the ethnic community itself (Portes, 1995).

Contemporary perspectives add to these factors the salience and flexibility of social boundaries (Alba & Nee, 1997, 2003), changes in racialization processes and notions of diversity (Lee & Bean, 2010), and immigration patterns (Waters & Jiménez, 2005). Beyond the theoretical divide, classic and segmented assimilation may be considered complementary processes (Waters et al., 2010). In terms of intermarriage, scholars have found support for segmented assimilation due to substantial differences between groups, partially fuelled by new immigrants interpartnering with lower educated natives (Qian & Lichter, 2007). But even if immigrant groups take multiple routes toward integration, patterns from both theories may coexist (Qian et al., 2012). The main explanation reconciling theoretical debates is the affiliative ethnic identity hypothesis: not all interethnic relationships reflect assimilation as people may pursue these relationships in search of a multicultural or bicultural identity. That is, interpartnered couples were attracted by the ethnic differences themselves (Jiménez, 2010).

Along with socio-economic status, usually measured via educational attainment, age at arrival and duration of residence in the destination country are important aspects of the assimilation process (Alba & Nee, 2003). Overall, results show strong associations between educational attainment and age at arrival with intermarriage with whites in the United States (Qian et al., 2012), or natives in Spain (Cortina Trilla et al., 2008), for example. Immigrant children, usually referred to as the "1.5 generation"[32], are likely to have arrived with family and were exposed to life in the host country through educational institutions, but lived between two worlds: that of the country of origin and that of the destination. The effect of age at arrival is not necessarily explained in terms of duration of residence, but in terms of the important role played by the education system in socializing children. More specifically, having received elementary education in the host country provides an opportunity for language proficiency, exposure to mainstream norms

[32] For a discussion on different nomenclatures like 1.25 generation (those who arrived as adolescents), and 1.75 generation (those who arrived during early childhood), see (Rumbaut, 2004).

and values, and greater interaction with the native born population than those who arrived at older ages (Rumbaut, 2004). Therefore, immigrants arriving as children have different assimilation patterns compared to those arriving as adolescents (Rumbaut, 1994). The relationship between age at arrival and intermarriage has been found to differ by gender. In the case of Spain, for instance, (del Rey Poveda & de Vilhena, 2014) found that age at arrival is a more significant factor for men in endogamous marriages, and for women in exogamous marriages.

While the influence of educational attainment relates to social exchange theory and applies to the population in general, age at arrival pertains exclusively to immigrants, and is closely linked to the notion of socialization. In addition, how immigrant children relate to the parental homeland once in the destination country depends on the nature of their transnational activity. Transnationalism practices are influenced by social class and ethnicity (Goldring, 2006; Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007; Thomson & Crul, 2007) as well as immigration policy and mode of entry (Menjívar, 2002). Thus, these would influence individual preferences, ethnic identity, and cultural practices that are known to influence mate selection. The nature of personal and social networks at the time of arrival influence marital outcomes: the presence of relatives or friends from the home country at the time of arrival increases the probability of marriage to a co-national (Cortina Trilla et al., 2008; del Rey Poveda & de Vilhena, 2014).

FOUR LATIN AMERICAN IMMIGRANT GROUPS IN CANADA

Latin Americans were the third largest group of recent immigrants in Canada arriving between 2001 and 2006[33], following those from Asia and Eastern Europe – the main source regions of immigration (Statistics Canada, 2007a). Estimates from the 2006 Census show 410 thousand permanent resident immigrants born in Latin, Central and South America living in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2007a). Additionally, scholars

[33] Data available from the 2011 Canadian census are not comparable due to changes in target population and because the mandatory long-form questionnaire of the 2006 Census was replaced with the voluntary National Household Survey which has a larger non-response error.

estimate that approximately 700 thousand foreign-born Latin Americans live in Canada under temporary, unauthorized and permanent statuses (Schugurensky & Ginieniewicz, 2006). The following section provides an overview of Latin American immigration to Canada over time focusing on a review of the different determinants of modes of incorporation of the four selected countries.

Latin American immigration to Canada over time

Historically, Latin American immigration to Canada is the result of labor and refugee migration occurring over four major waves of immigration (Mata, 1985; Simmons, 1993) that include what can be referred to as political, economic, and socio-cultural refugees (Armony, 2006). The *lead wave* (1956-1965) consisted of a highly educated group of skilled and unskilled workers from Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, Uruguay, and Venezuela (Whittaker, 1988). The *Andean wave* comprised skilled and unskilled workers who migrated during the 1960s, motivated by upward social mobility. The 1973 Canadian amnesty provided access to permanent residence to thousands of Latin Americans, mainly Ecuadorians and Colombians, who migrated during this wave and arrived as visitors before November 30th 1972 (Mata, 1985). The *"Coup" wave* included mainly Chileans who escaped Pinochet's regime, as well as Argentineans and Uruguayans escaping military dictatorships during the late 1970s and early 1980s. The *Central American wave* included urban poor, rural middle class and peasants from Nicaragua, Guatemala, and El Salvador who escaped political violence in the 1980s[34]. For many Central Americans, the journey to Canada was long, and many paid coyotes to be smuggled through Mexico to the United States (Menjívar, 2000) while others waited in UNHCR refugee camps to be relocated (García, 2006; Riaño-Alcalá, Colorado, Díaz, & Osorio, 2007).

Since the mid 1990s, as a result of Canadian policies aiming to attract highly skilled immigrants and the crisis of the neoliberal model in Latin America, a *fifth*, more heterogeneous wave has emerged. This wave is characterized by the diversification of origins, modes of entry, and motivations for departure. First, it includes a *technological*

[34] These conflicts lasted into the 1990s and while civil war in El Salvador lasted 12 years (1979-1992), Guatemala suffered armed conflict over three decades (1960-1996).

and professional flow of highly educated and skilled workers, or entrepreneurs arriving under the points system. Second, it includes a *"refugee-like"*[35] *flow* of Peruvians, Colombians, and Mexicans who arrived since the 1990s escaping the context of drug-related violence, terrorism, paramilitarism, and insecurity. These arrived to Canada either as refugee claimants, through family sponsorship, or applying for permanent residence from their home country as economic migrants, but motivated by the social climate in their home countries. Others arrived in Canada after spending time in the U.S., where regularizing their legal status was not a possibility, or where they were affected by economic recession (Trovato & Barranco, 2013). Third, this wave includes an early flow of Mexican gays, lesbians and women fleeing domestic violence who received refugee status (Escalante, 2004), as well Mexican-born descendents of Canadian Mennonites living primarily in the northern state of Chihuahua[36]. Motivated by economic hardship and political conditions in Mexico that threatened their privileges (Castro, 2004), Mennonite migration to Canada has been facilitated by the Canadian government since the early 1990s, and has further contributed to the increase of the Mexican-born population in Canada (Mueller, 2005)[37]. Finally, this fifth wave includes an increasing flow of migrants under temporary status from all over Latin America arriving under tourist visas, study or work permits, or claiming asylum. Some migrants of this last flow have obtained permanent residency while others remain non-permanent residents (Goldring, Berinstein, & Bernhard, 2009). Others, especially Mexicans and Central Americans, migrate back-and-forth for many years through temporary worker programs without settling in Canada permanently (Basok, 2000; Verduzco, 2008).

[35] Simmons (1993) refers to the wave of migrants from Peru who emigrated due to the climate of violence and insecurity as "refugee-like" migrants, but similar processes have been observed in Colombia and Mexico.

[36] Mexican Mennonite migration patterns over time have been related to their desire to maintain traditional values (Castro, 2004). Many left Canada due to its assimilationist policies – those who left were associated with the Old Colony, the most conservative colony in Latin America – and rejected inclusion and integration (Gingrich, 2013). Family is central to Mennonite life: marriage is seen as a spiritual union with God, they have high fertility rates and large families, and are a patriarchal society that values kinship. Religious endogamy is strong and applied within denominations (Redekop, 1986). Most practice home schooling and live in segregated communities with limited interactions with non-Mennonites.

[37] Although this population is primarily Mexican-born, it has been described as a flow comprised not of immigrants, but of returnees (Jazen, 2004). Apart from their legal status as Mexican citizens, Mexican Mennonites tend not to identify as Mexican, but rather, as Canadian, Mennonite, or German (Castro, 2004).

In this paper I focus on Latin American foreign-born populations in Canada in 2006 – the most recent year for which we data is available – from four countries of origin: Chile, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Mexico. These are the four top countries with Latin American population who immigrated to Canada as children and were aged 20-39 in 2006. These four countries differ in immigration patterns, as discussed above. Chileans represent the early arrivals of the *Coup* wave. Because the subsequent arrival of immigrants was limited, in 2006 the size of the Chilean population was 27,000 (Statistics Canada, 2007a). The largest inflow of Salvadorans and Guatemalans occurred over the *Central American* wave, but their streams differ in significant ways. Salvadorans and Guatemalans had notably lower educational levels than those in the previous wave, but Salvadoran immigrants included a larger share of single men from urban areas that were higher educated than their Guatemalan counterparts which included a larger share of peasants and indigenous immigrants originating from rural areas –mostly Mayas with limited Spanish. In 2006, the Salvadoran population in Canada was 43,000 –constitutes the second largest Latin American group– and is bigger than the Guatemalan (16,000), because of immigrant replenishment via family reunification procedures. Finally, Mexicans arrived throughout the five main waves of immigration constituting the largest group with a total population of 50,000 in 2006.

The context of reception, modes of entry, and ethnic communities

As a result of these different waves of immigration, policies aimed at Latin American immigrants have varied over time, resulting in changes to Canadians' perceptions and attitudes toward them. In other words, Latin American immigrants from each successive wave have encountered different contexts of reception. I identify three major periods with different contexts of reception since the 1967 Canadian Immigration Act: 1) a welcoming period (1967-1986); 2) a period of increasing restrictions (1987-1993), and; 3) a period of selective restriction and growing Latin American pan-ethnicity (1994 and later). Given the key role of the United States in influencing Latin American immigration to Canada, the context is better understood if considered within a regional, North American context (García, 2006; Simmons, 1993; Trovato & Barranco, 2013).

Canadian legislation opened the way for refugees from Chile in 1974-5 and from other countries through the revised Immigration Act of 1976 (Simmons, 1993), and during the mid 1980s Canadian consulates in the U.S. issued visas to Guatemalans and Salvadorans facing deportation (García, 2006). For refugees from Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, and Central America who migrated in the 1970s and early 1980s, Canada was a "next best North American destination" (Simmons, 1993, p. 287), in a Cold War context where political refugees against U.S. intervention policies were not welcomed. This welcoming period contrasts with the subsequent years. Although the 1988 Multiculturalism Act promoted diversity and encouraged immigrants to retain their cultural and linguistic heritage, the steady increase of arrivals from Latin America was accompanied by restrictive measures to control the entry of co-nationals. Since 1981, a report "recommended the imposition of a visa requirement on citizens of countries responsible for a 'significant volume of frivolous refugee claims'" (Kelley & Trebilcock, 1998, p. 413). The 1986 U.S. Immigration Reform and Control Act allowed some undocumented migrants already in the U.S. to regularize their status, but it also provided strong enforcement measures to control new entries. The Canadian press referred to Central Americans arriving to Canada from the U.S. claiming asylum as the 'bus people' (García, 2006). Between 1987 and 1992, the Canadian government imposed a series of restrictions for asylum claimants, introduced transit visas, as well as further tougher criteria for asylum and resettlement (García, 2006). During these years, the media and some government officials portrayed Canada as going through a "refugee crisis" (Simmons, 2010).

The post-1994 period is characterized by differential treatment and selective policies in a context of settlement of a growing Latin American community. Diplomatic and economic relations between Mexico, Canada and the United States increased due to the North American Free Trade Agreement. After the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996, deportations from the United States increased dramatically, and immigration enforcement and border control tightened. The consequences of IIRIRA affected not only Mexicans in the United States, but Central Americans as well. However, although Canada provided a more open context than the United States, there

have been increasing restrictive policies in terms of access to citizenship, as well as changes in the points system introduced under the 2002 Canadian Immigration Act. In July 2009, the Canadian government announced that Mexicans were required to have a visa to enter the country (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2009), arguing that a large number of 'bogus' refugees were asking for asylum and refugee status under false claims[38]. Mexico was the last country from Latin America for whom nationals did not need a visa to enter Canada.

The arrival of subsequent waves of Latin American immigrants increased the Spanish-speaking community. This is reflected in an increase of cultural, artistic, political, business, and professional activities, institutions, and organizations. For example, in Toronto, Latin American organizations have been built within a pan-ethnic, or multi-national membership, or as *umbrella* multiservice organizations, although others remain ethno-national (Goldring, Landolt, Bernhard, & Barriga, 2006; Landolt & Goldring, 2009). However, common modes of entry have created a complex and non-homogenous "refugeeship" identity among Latin American groups (Goldring & Landolt, 2014). Although many Latin American youth share experiences as children of victims of political persecution and torture (Allodi, 1989), Latin American immigrants negotiate discourses and representations of ethnic identity (Espinoza-Magana, 2013; Pozniak, 2009). This is partially driven by experiences of discrimination, and awareness of negative stereotypes of Latin Americans in both the United States (Huntington, 2004) and Canada (Matute, 2010; Poteet, 2001; Simmons, Ramos, & Bielmeier, 2000). However, this differs by social class (Hernandez-Ramirez, 2012) and place of residence. For example, in Waterloo, a smaller city with a smaller Latin American community, a greater acceptance of Latino identity has been observed among youth (Grigg, 2011).

[38] Beginning in the mid-2000s, government texts and media stories began to portray Mexican refugee claimants as cheating and over flooding the refugee system, providing the basis for imposing the visa requirement on Mexican nationals (Villegas, 2012).

THE CURRENT STUDY

Although the literature on immigrant assimilation has advanced our understanding on the process through which boundaries between immigrants and natives are diminished, studies of intermarriage between immigrants have been limited. Immigrant exogamy with a foreign born, also referred to as 'mixing' (Kalmijn & Tubergen, 2010), has mostly been overlooked as an outcome variable. This is surprising given that recent theories of race and ethnicity acknowledge that, within a context of increased diversity, the black/white and minority/majority dichotomies have become increasingly complex (Lee & Bean, 2010). In fact, the use of intermarriage as an indicator of assimilation has been criticized in contexts with increased diversity across and within ethnic groups fuelled by immigration (Song, 2009).

In response to this diversity, recent studies of immigrant intermarriage have gone beyond the native/foreign born dichotomy to consider intermarriage between the foreign-born in different countries (Kalmijn & Tubergen, 2010), intermarriage within the pan-ethnic group (Qian & Cobas, 2004; Qian et al., 2012) – distinguishing between interracial and interethnic unions among Hispanics (Morgan, 2012) and Asians (Okamoto, 2007) – or studying the role of immigrant status in interracial marriage (Hamplová & Le Bourdais, 2010). Earlier studies have already noted the influence of layered boundaries where the racial boundary is stronger than the one defined by nativity; that is, that immigrants were more likely to marry same-race natives than natives of other races (Qian & Lichter, 2001). I aim to contribute to this literature by examining immigrants' interpartnering with co-nationals (irrespective of nativity status), immigrant non-conationals (irrespective of race, ethnicity, nationality), and native-born non-conationals.

It is in this context that I study interpartnering among Latin American immigrants from Chile, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Mexico who arrived to Canada as children. To take into account the context of increasing immigration, I study interpartnering differences, characterizing three alternative paths of union formation in terms of boundaries defined by country of birth and immigrant status: a) unions with co-nationals (irrespective of nativity status); b) unions with immigrant non-conationals (irrespective of race, ethnicity,

or nationality); and c) unions with Canadian-born non-conationals. I address the following research questions: *Are there differences by country of birth in interpartnering? What explains those differences? Do the determinants explaining exogamous unions with non-conational Canadian-born and foreign-born differ?*

In light of the ideas from the previous sections, I expect differences by country of birth in union formation patterns. Specifically, I expect greater interpartnering with non-conational Canadian-born among Chileans than the other countries given their higher socio-economic status as earlier arrivals during a welcoming period. Given structural and demographic constraints, I expect greater endogamy among Salvadorans than Guatemalans. I expect mixed patterns of union formation among Mexicans, given their mixed origins in terms of socio-economic status, modes of entry, contexts of arrival, and because they constituted the largest Latin American immigrant group in Canada in 2006. Second, I expect the influence of social exchange and socio-economic status to be mediated by structural characteristics of the group, as well as by differences in socialization processes, modes of entry and the context that immigrants encountered upon arrival. Third, it is uncertain from the current literature whether or not similar patterns will be observed for unions with non-conational foreign-born, and non-conational Canadian-born. Although it is unclear how socialization and modes of incorporation would influence these types of union, I expect theories of social exchange and demographic/structural factors to apply similarly to unions with native-born.

This paper builds up on previous literature but differs on significant ways. First of all, it examines different levels of boundary crossing defined by nativity and immigrant status. Most of the studies discard unions between immigrants from different countries, with a few exceptions (Cortina Trilla et al., 2008; Kalmijn & Tubergen, 2010). However, in a context of high immigration like contemporary Canada, this is likely to bias results and estimates of marital exogamy. Second, it focuses on understanding heterogeneity within an understudied group in Canada – Latin Americans – who are increasingly gaining interest among researchers, but about whom our knowledge is still limited. By no means do I aim to emphasize the socio-cultural commonalities among Latin American

immigrants, assuming homogeneity among labels such as "Spanish-speaking", "Latinos", or "Hispanics", as noted by (Mata, 1985). On the contrary, I aim to explore the heterogeneity within Latin American populations, fleshing out similarities and variations in integration patterns by country.

DATA, MEASURES, AND METHODS

Data and measures

To address the research questions I use nationally representative data from the 20 percent analytic sample from the 2006 Canadian Census. Data from the 2006 Census is the most recent data available in Research Data Centres (RDC) that allows analysis at this level of disaggregation. The population of interest is formed by permanent residents aged 20-39 in 2006, born in the countries of interest (Chile, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Mexico), who immigrated as permanent residents to Canada as children (aged 18 and younger), and who are legally married or cohabiting with an opposite-sex spouse present in the household. Foreign-born individuals residing with a temporary status holding student visas, work permits, or as refugee claimants and asylum seekers are thus excluded from the analyses[39], as well as immigrants in same-sex unions.

In order to minimize the number of individuals who had formed a union abroad before immigrating to Canada, I restrict the population to those who immigrated at 18 or younger, and to reduce biases associated with union dissolution and repartnering, I limit the population to individuals younger than 40 years old. Additionally, the definition of immigrants in Canadian censuses excludes persons born abroad to Canadian parents. I restrict the population to immigrants residing in Census Metropolitan Areas (CMAs) and Census Areas (CAs) in the four main provinces of settlement for these groups: Ontario, Quebec, British Columbia and Alberta. The majority of foreign-born arrivals are concentrated in these provinces. I exclude Mennonites born in Mexico because they form

[39] Age and year of arrival are only available for immigrants with permanent residence in Canada.

an endogamous closed group[40]. After these considerations, the working sample consists of 960 women and 1010 men, i.e. 1970 immigrants, of which 490 are Chilean, 915 are Salvadoran, 275 are Guatemalan, and 290 are Mexican.

Dependent variable: type of union

Using couple-level data I define the type of union for each individual of the population of interest. The dependent variable is a categorical variable distinguishing between three types of union: 1) endogamous unions with conationals (irrespective of nativity); 2) exogamous unions with foreign-born non-conationals (irrespective of race, ethnicity or nationality); and 3) exogamous unions with Canadian-born non-conationals (irrespective of race or ethnicity). A conational is defined as a partner born in the same country, or a partner born in Canada from at least one parent[41] born in the country of reference. In the case when the two partners of endogamous unions are in the population of interest, i.e. born in one of the four countries and included in the analytic sample, they are counted twice: one in the male, and the other in the female populations of interest.

Independent variables

My key independent variable is country of birth and I distinguish between Chile, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Mexico. In order to evaluate the determinants associated with marital exogamy, I group covariates in five broad categories: marital status, socio-economic status and social-exchange theory, demographic and structural factors, socialization, and modes of incorporation.

[40] The 2006 Canadian census does not contain information on religion. I created a profile of the population born in Mexico who declared Mennonite religion using the 2001 Canadian census, based on ethnic origin and place of residence. I excluded individuals born in Mexico whose first ethnic origin was German or Russian, and who lived in census subdivisions detected in 2001 as having large concentration of Mennonite population.

[41] The second generation of Latin American immigrants in this age group is fairly small given that arrivals to Canada have occurred mainly since 1967.

Marital status

The indicator variable of marital status differentiates legally married unions (reference group) from cohabiting or common-law status unions.

Socio-economic status and social-exchange

Socio-economic status is measured as educational attainement defined using a categorical variable: 1) less than high-school; 2) completed high-school; 3) College/CEGEP degree, or trades certificate and registered apprenticeship diplomas; and 4) university and graduate degrees (reference category). I use individual-level data to create data at the couple level to define age and educational gaps. Educational homogamous unions are couples wherein both partners have the same level of education (reference category), and I distinguish between male hypergamous (man with higher level of education than woman) and male hypogamous unions (man with lower level of education than woman). Age gap is calculated as male age minus female age. I define unions as age homogamous (reference group) if the age gap is within a two-year range, and distinguish between couples with men two years older or younger than women.

Demographic and structural constraints

To account for local marriage markets (Hamplová & Le Bourdais, 2010), I include controls for place of residence. I distinguish between Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver, and to further control for population size, I distinguish between other Census Metropolitan Areas (CMA), and urban areas with at least 10,000 people (reference category), referred to as Census Agglomerations (CA)[42].

Indicators of group size and immigrant replenishment are defined using data from the 20 percent analytic samples of the 1991, 1996, 2001, and 2006 Canadian Censuses. Group

[42] CMAs have a total population of at least 100,000 of which 50,000 or more live in the core, whereas a CA must have a core population of at least 10,000.

size is measured with the total population born in the same country per 1000 people in the province of current residence. Immigrant replenishment is measured as the percentage of the foreign-born population of that country in the current province, who arrived within the last five years.[43] To account for the different age composition of the target population I calculate these indicators at age 20-24[44], a period of high union formation. I use data from the different Canadian censuses as follows: 2006 indicators for those individuals aged 20-24 in 2006, 2001 indicators for those aged 25-29, 1996 for those aged 30-34, and 1991 indicators for those aged 35-39. I standardize these two continous variables by sex, such that they have mean equal to zero, and variance equal to one, to ensure the comparability of estimates for men and women.

Socialization

Age at arrival is used as a proxy of knowledge of parental homeland and degree of socialization in Canada. I distinguish between those who arrived as children, aged 12 and younger[45] (reference category), from those who arrived as adolescents, aged 13 to 18.

Modes of incorporation

I use cohort of arrival as a proxy for modes of incorporation. Three periods characterize cohorts of arrival that relate to the different waves of Latin American immigration and contexts of reception discussed earlier: 1986 and earlier (reference group), 1987 to 1993, and 1994 to 2005. Note that year of arrival refers to the date when the immigrants landed in Canada as permanent residents. It is different from the year of emigration from home country if they spent time in another country before immigrating to Canada. In the cases

[43] The definition of these indicators also excludes the Mexican Mennonite population born in Mexico. For the years 1991 and 2001, I exclude those who were born in Mexico and declared their religion as Mennonite. For the years 1996 and 2006, I exclude those who were born in Mexico, declared their ethnic origin as German or Russian, and lived in census subdivisions with high Mennonite concentration in 1991 and 2001, respectively.
[44] These definitions assume no internal migration after age 20.
[45] Preliminary analyses also distinguished between those who arrived aged 6 and younger, but results showed no statistically significant difference from those arriving between ages 7 to 12.

where immigrants transitioned from a temporary to a permanent status, year of arrival differs from year of first entry to Canada.

Methods

I use multinomial logit models to estimate risk ratios of exogamy with a non-conational foreign-born and a non-conational Canadian-born, relative to endogamous unions with conationals. That is, I focus on two contrasts: a) endogamy *vs.* exogamy with foreign-born non-conationals, and b) endogamy *vs.* exogamy with Canadian-born non-conationals. In other words, if *s* refers to being in an endogamous union, the multinomial logit model is specified as:

$$\log \frac{P(Y_i = j)}{P(Y_i = s)} = \alpha + X\beta$$

where $P(Y_i = j)$ denotes the probability that the i^{th} observation is in the j^{th} type of exogamous union, and the logarithm of the quotient of probabilities is a linear combination of the covariates. This model specification assumes that the risk of having a non-conational foreign-born partner relative to someone who is a conational is independent when the alternative of having a Canadian non-conational partner is considered.[46] This individual approach has the advantage over aggregate studies as it allows the inclusion of a broader range of covariates at the same time as it allows studying two different types of exogamy.

Given that the mechanisms for intermarriage vary by sex (Jacobs & Labov, 2002; Sassler, 2005), models are estimated for men and women separately.[47] To study how the explanatory variables help explain these differences, each set of independent variables is introduced sequentially as follows: country of birth (Model 0), marital status (Model 1),

[46] This assumption of independence of irrelevant alternatives (IIA) was tested applying Hausman tests using the seemingly unrelated estimator (*suest* command in Stata). The IIA assumption holds for both types of exogamy for Models 1-5.
[47] Sample size does not allow separate models by country and sex.

indicators of socio-economic status and social exchange (Model 2), structural factors (Model 3), socialization (Model 4), and modes of incorporation (Model 5)[48]. Chow tests – estimated using *suest* and *test* commands– are used for intra-model and cross-model comparisons in order to compare estimations that were calculated separately for men and women. Average predicted probabilities were calculated using *margins* command in Stata.

RESULTS

Descriptive analysis

Before presenting results from multivariate analysis, I present descriptive weighted statistics. Table 4.1 includes selected characteristics by country of birth and sex. Overall, I find differences in the composition of each immigrant population. The distribution by age and educational attainment differs by country of birth. The sample of Chileans, Salvadorans and Guatemalans includes a larger share of immigrants aged 30 and older while the age distribution of Mexicans is more uniform, both for men and women. Males born in Chile, El Salvador, and Guatemala are on average, statistically significantly older than their female counterparts (results of t tests not presented here). Prevalence of cohabitation by sex varies by country. Guatemalan men stand out with the highest prevalence of cohabitation, with four out of ten, while the highest among women is observed among Chileans. The lowest prevalence of cohabitation is observed among Mexicans, both men (27%) and women (22%).

Differences in educational attainment by country are also significant. There is a higher percentage of Chileans with university or graduate degrees than immigrants from other

[48] To test if the mechanisms differed by country, preliminary analyses included two-way interaction effects of country of birth and each of the independent variables. Results showed significant interaction effects between country of birth and educational attainment among females having a non-conational partner (regardless of nativity). For men this interaction was only significant for interpartnering with non-conational Canadian-born. Results also showed a significant interaction effect between age gap and country of birth for interpartnering with foreign-born among men. Overall, these results provided partial evidence for variations of socio-economic status and social exchange according to country. However, the estimations with interactions did not provide a considerable improvement in goodness-of-fit and were discarded for concerns in their stability due to country sample size.

countries. Salvadorans count as the smallest share holding university or graduate degrees, with around one in every ten among both men and women. The most common level of education for men and women from Chile, El Salvador, and Guatemala, and for Mexican males is College, CEGEP, or equivalent degrees. However, among Mexican females, the most common level of education is less than high school. Mexicans are the group with a larger share of immigrants without high school diplomas: one in every four Mexican men and one in every three Mexican women has not completed high school.

In terms of educational homogamy, Mexicans have the largest share of immigrants, both men and women, with a partner with equal educational attainment. Salvadoran men have the highest percentage of partners with a higher level of education, and Chilean women are the ones with the largest share of partners with a lower level of education. However, results from Pearson chi-squared tests show that differences in educational homogamy by country are not statistically significant among females; this is similar for differences in age homogamy among males ($p=0.09$) and females ($p=0.3$).

Montreal is the main gateway city for Chileans and Guatemalans, but Toronto is the main gateway city for Salvadorans and Mexicans. Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver concentrate more than half of the immigrants from Chile, El Salvador, and Guatemala. A large share of Mexican males and females in the sample have also settled away from the three main Canadian cities with almost one in every three men and women not living in Census Metropolitan Areas, but in Census Agglomerations. Of the three largest cities, Vancouver is the one with the lowest presence of Latin American immigrants of the sample. In terms of group size at the provincial level, the Salvadoran group is the largest, followed by Mexicans [49], Chileans, and Guatemalans. In terms of immigrant replenishment, when Mexicans were aged 20-24, they had the highest average share of immigrants who arrived in the last five years (41% for men and 43% for women), compared to Chileans with the smallest (24% for men and 23% for women).

[49] Without considering the Mexican-born Mennonite population, as discussed previously.

Table 4.1. Selected characteristics by country of birth and sex (%)

	Males				Females			
	Chile	El Salvador	Guatemala	Mexico	Chile	El Salvador	Guatemala	Mexico
Age*								
20-24	5	7	10	24	6	16	18	25
25-29	14	33	33	25	20	34	35	26
30-34	42	40	32	27	39	33	29	29
35-39	40	20	25	23	35	17	17	21
Median age (years)	33	30	30	29	33	30	29	29
Educational attainment								
Less than High School	11	20	21	26	10	16	21	32
High School	20	30	28	22	23	27	25	22
College/CEGEP/Equiv.	40	39	39	31	34	45	38	20
University and more	29	10	13	22	33	12	16	26
Marital status*								
Legally married	64	68	60	73	68	72	70	78
Cohabiting union	36	32	40	27	32	28	30	22
Education gap**								
Man = Woman	53	44	56	63	48	48	51	61
Man > Women	21	23	21	19	20	23	26	21
Man < Woman	26	33	23	19	32	29	23	18
Age gap***								
Man = Woman	51	42	53	47	42	39	42	46
Man > Women	37	43	31	33	50	53	54	50
Man < Woman	11	15	16	19	8	8	4	4
Place of residence*								
Toronto	26	24	21	21	29	22	23	13
Montreal	31	19	34	6	29	23	29	19
Vancouver	8	9	11	14	6	11	13	4
Other CMAs	32	43	29	30	32	40	29	37
CAs	3	5	5	30	4	4	6	27
Group size								
at age 20, provincial (thousands), mean (s.d.)	7.2 (2.6)	12.3 (5.7)	3.3 (2.0)	8.1 (4.9)	7.4 (2.5)	12.2 (5.8)	3.2 (2.1)	7.9 (4.5)
Immigrant replenishment								
provincial proportion of recent arrivals at age 20 (0/100), mean (s.d.)	24.3 (13.2)	30.8 (21.9)	41.3 (24.3)	40.9 (5.4)	23.0 (12.3)	28.0 (22.6)	36.0 (23.8)	43.1 (6.2)
Age at arrival*								
0-12	75	44	60	66	81	52	47	58
13-18	25	56	40	34	19	48	53	42
Cohort of arrival*								
Before 1986	79	40	54	49	76	40	33	45
1987-1993	18	55	35	36	20	52	51	35
After 1994	2	5	11	15	4	7	16	20
n	230	465	135	130	260	450	140	160
% sample by sex	23	49	14	14	26	46	13	15
% sample by country	45	50	49	45	55	50	51	55

Source: 20% sample of 2006 Canadian Census.

Note: Sample consists of immigrants aged 20-39 in 2006 who arrived to Canada as permanent residents aged 18 or younger, currently in a union with a partner present in the household. For categorical variables, values presented refer to percentages. For continuous variables at the group-level statistics presented are means and standard deviations. See text for complete definition of variables.

* $p < 0.05$ in chi-squared test comparing population by country on that characteristic for men and women separately.

** $p > 0.05$ in chi-squared test comparing female population by country on education gap; $p < 0.05$ for male population.

*** $p > 0.05$ in chi-squared test comparing male and female populations by country of birth on age gap.

Chile has the largest share of male and female immigrants arriving during childhood: more than three out of four were aged 12 or younger when they arrived to Canada, whereas slightly more than half of men and slightly less than half of the women from El Salvador arrived as adolescents. Contrary to the pattern observed for Salvadorans, the sample includes more Guatemalan men arriving before age 13, and more Guatemalan women arriving as adolescents. Chileans in my sample correspond to the earlier wave of immigrants: more than three out of every four Chilean men and women arrived before 1986. More than half of Salvadoran men and women arrived in the period between 1987 and 1993. The Mexican sample has the largest relative share immigrating in the most recent period: 15% of Mexican men and 20% of Mexican women arrived after 1994.

Table 4.2 shows the distribution of type of union by country of birth for men and women. Overall, I confirm significant differences in interpartnering by country. Chileans and Guatemalans have shares of endogamous unions that are not significantly different (less than 15% among men and around 25% among women), but which are significantly smaller than shares of endogamous unions among the other groups. With about four out of every ten men and women respectively, Mexican males and Salvadoran females are those with the largest shares of endogamous unions. However, the extent to which exogamous unions are with non-conational immigrants or Canadians differs between Chileans and Guatemalans. Guatemalans have the highest share of non-conational foreign-born partners (around 44% for men and women), contrasting Mexicans who have the lowest prevalence of this type of exogamous union. Chileans have the highest share of non-conational Canadian-born partners (two thirds of the male and half of the female populations) compared to the other three countries, although the differences are larger among men than women. In all countries, except Mexico, endogamous unions are more common among women, and exogamous unions with a Canadian-born partner are more common among men.

Table 4.2 Distribution of type of union by country of birth for male and female immigrants (%)

Type of union	Country of birth				Total
	Chile	El Salvador	Guatemala	Mexico	
Males*					
Endogamous: conational partner	15.4	31.2	13.1	39.0	26.1
Exogamous: Foreign-born partner	20.3	27.9	44.0	13.7	26.4
Exogamous: Canadian partner	64.2	41.0	42.9	47.3	47.5
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Females*					
Endogamous: conational partner	23.7	44.2	25.9	36.1	35.3
Exogamous: Foreign-born partner	26.3	26.7	43.1	21.6	28.0
Exogamous: Canadian partner	50.1	29.1	31.0	42.3	36.8
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Source: 20% sample of 2006 Canadian Census. Note: Sample consists of immigrants aged 20-39 in 2006 who arrived to Canada as permanent residents aged 18 or younger, currently in a union with a partner present in the household. A conational is defined as someone in the same country, or born in Canada from at least one parent born in same country as immigrant. Exogamous unions exclude conationals.

* $p < 0.05$ in chi-square test comparing country of birth on type of union

Multivariate analysis

To what extent are country differences in type of union accounted for by differences in individual, couple, and group characteristics as suggested by social exchange theory, structural factors of local marriage markets, socialization, and immigrant assimilation theory? In this section I present multivariate results to test whether the country differences described previously remain once I account for differences in the composition of the immigrant groups. Results from a series of nested multinomial logistic regression analyses are presented by sex, for exogamous unions with a non-conational foreign-born (Table 4.3) and non-conational Canadian-born (Table 4.4), relative to endogamous unions. Exponentiated logistic regression coefficients are expressed in terms of estimated risk-ratios of a) being in a union with a non-conational foreign-born, relative to being in a union with a conational, and b) being in a union with a non-conational Canadian-born relative to being in a union with a conational. A relative risk-ratio (RR) greater than one indicates an increased likelihood of being in that specific exogamous union while a risk-ratio below one reveals a lower likelihood of the exogamous union occurring, when compared to having a conational partner. In the case of continuous variables, relative

risk-ratios show one unit change in the independent variable on the relative risk, and in the case of categorical variables, they show whether the relative risk of individuals with a given characteristic is higher or lower than that of individuals included in the reference group, given that the other variables are held constant.

Exogamous union with a non-conational foreign-born

Table 4.3 shows the estimated relative risk-ratios of having an immigrant partner from a different country of birth, relative to having a conational partner. The baseline model confirms differences discussed in the descriptive analysis (Model 0). First, it shows no statistical difference between Chileans and Guatemalans. Second, the likelihood of Salvadorans and Mexicans having a non-conational foreign-born partner is lower than for Chileans, for both men and women (about 48% less for Salvadorans and Mexican women, 48% for Salvadoran men, and 80% less for Mexican men). Estimated risk-ratios of country of birth for men and women vary only slightly when marital status is accounted for (Model 1), although cohabitation has a significant association with being in this type of exogamous union among females, but not for males. In the female sample, those who are cohabiting are 80% more likely to have as a partner a non-conational foreign born than a conational, compared to those legally married.

Model 2 controls for explanatory variables suggested by social exchange theory – educational attainment, and educational and age gaps. The addition of these variables significantly changes the influence of country of birth among males and females: it reduces the significance and difference between Salvadorans and Mexicans with Chileans while increasing that separating Guatemalans and Chileans. In other words, differences in the socio-economic statuses of these populations and mechanisms of social-exchange partially account for country differences in interpartnering. Incomplete high school reduces the likelihood of exogamy by about 80% for men, whereas having a more educated and older female partner increases the relative-risk of exogamy by about 80%. Among women, once I account for indicators of social-exchange, the difference for Mexicans compared to Chileans stops being significant while it becomes significant for

Guatemalans. Among women, having a more educated partner increases the likelihood by 60% of being in this type of exogamous union while women having younger male partners are about 2.4 times as likely to have a foreign-born partner.

The addition of structural factors measured by place of residence, group size, and immigrant replenishment improves the fit of the model and exerts a similar influence on country differences (Model 3) as social exchange indicators (Model 2): it increases the difference between Guatemalans and Chileans and reduces differences between Salvadorans and Mexicans with Chileans. Men living in Toronto and Vancouver are more than three times as likely of having a non-conational foreign-born partner as those living in census agglomerations. In addition to these two cities, Montreal and other CMAs provide favorable contexts for women to be in this type of exogamous union. The inclusion of age at arrival (Model 4) accounts for the significant difference between Salvadoran and Chilean men from the previous estimate, and reduces the difference between Guatemalan and Chilean women. However, those arriving as adolescents do not have statistically significant differences in the risk of exogamy compared to those arriving as children. When I account for cohort of arrival (Model 5), the difference between Salvadoran and Chilean females ceases to be significant, and the differences among men are reduced. Overall, none of the indicators of socialization or modes of incorporation – measured with age and cohort of arrival – is statistically significantly associated with being in this type of exogamous union.

When all the independent variables are accounted for and held constant, compared to Chilean men, Mexican and Salvadoran men are about 78% ($p<0.001$) and 47% ($p<0.05$), respectively, less likely to have a non-conational foreign-born partner. This contrasts with Guatemalan men who are about 2.5 times as likely to be in an exogamous union ($p<0.05$) than Chileans. So far, I have discussed country differences with Chile as the reference group (Table 4.3). In addition, Table 4.5 presents risk-ratios for all pair wise comparisons of country of birth estimated from Model 5. Guatemalans are almost 5 times as likely to be in this type of exogamous union than Salvadorans ($p<0.001$), and Mexicans are 58% less likely as Salvadorans ($p<005$), but 90% less likely than Guatemalans ($p<0.001$).

However, among women I observe no statistical country differences, compared to Chileans, on being in an exogamous union with a foreign-born, relative to being in a union with a conational. Guatemalan women are significantly 2.6 times ($p<0.01$) as likely to have a foreign-born non-conational partner as Salvadoran women.

In summary, differences in educational attainment, social-exchange, and structural factors linked to local labor markets mediate differences between Chileans and immigrants from other countries. However, I observe a contrasting pattern for men and women. While accounting for compositional differences accentuates nativity differences in the likelihood of having a non-conational foreign-born partner among men, it accentuates differences between Salvadorans and Chileans regardless of sex, and accounts for differences between Chilean women and the rest.

Exogamous union with a non-conational Canadian-born

Table 4.4 presents estimated risk-ratios of being in an exogamous union with a non-conational Canadian-born, relative to an endogamous union with a conational, from nested multinomial logistic regressions by sex. The baseline model shows that Salvadorans and Mexicans are less likely than their male and female Chilean counterparts to be in this type of exogamous relationship. As discussed for exogamous unions with foreign-born non-conationals, the inclusion of marital status does not have a large effect on the estimated differences by country. In this case, being in cohabiting unions increases the risk of being exogamous with a Canadian partner compared to legally married unions (3.5 times for males and 2.5 times for females). That is, marital status is significantly associated with this type of exogamous relationship for all, whereas in the case of unions with non-conational foreign-born this association was only significant for women. Once I control for social exchange indicators (Model 2), the difference between Mexican and Chilean women is no longer significant, and among men, the difference with Chileans is reduced for Mexicans and Salvadorans. Both Mexican and Salvadoran men are about 67% less likely than Chileans to be in this type of exogamous union. Men are twice as likely to have non-conational Canadian-born partner when the latter are higher educated

than them, compared to those having the same educational level, but having completed or uncompleted high school reduces the likelihood of being in this exogamous union compared to those having university degrees. On the other hand, women are more than two times as likely to have a Canadian partner when he is higher educated than they are, and there is a significant gradient with lower educational attainment reducing the likelihood of exogamy. In addition, for women, I observe that couples in which the women are younger than the male partner are less likely to be exogamous than endogamous, compared to age-homogamous couples.

Contrary to what was observed for exogamous unions with non-conational foreign-born (Table 4.3), none of the structural factors considered (place of residence, group size and immigrant replenishment) are statistically significantly associated with having a Canadian partner among men (Model M3, Table 4.4). For women, the difference between Chileans and Salvadorans is reduced (Model F3). Women living in Montreal are about 50% less likely to have a Canadian partner compared to those in census agglomerations, and a larger immigrant group at the provincial level and the continuous arrival of new immigrants reduces the likelihood of exogamy with a Canadian partner by more than 20% respectively. Immigrants arriving as adolescents are less likely than those arriving as children to have a Canadian partner (55 and 62% for men and women, respectively; Model 4). This contrasts what was found previously, namely that having a non-conational foreign-born partner was not associated with the socialization process (Table 4.3). Accounting for age at arrival, the difference between Salvadoran and Chilean men and women is reduced, whereas the difference between Mexican and Chilean men is increased. In other words, the Salvadoran population had an age structure at arrival that was less favorable to being exogamous, as it included a large proportion immigrating to Canada as adolescents. Finally, when cohort of arrival, the proxy for context of reception and modes of entry is accounted for (Model 5), the difference between Salvadoran and Mexican men with Chileans is further reduced. Immigrant men arriving between the years 1987 and 1993, the period characterized by an increase of restrictions and negative attitudes towards immigrants, are 37% less likely to have a non-conational Canadian partner than those arriving before 1986. For women, the difference between Salvadorans

and Chileans is reduced, but there is no significant association between this type of exogamy and different cohorts of arrival.

Finally, among men, when all other independent variables are held constant, Salvadorans and Mexicans are 52% and 61% less likely than Chileans to have a non-conational Canadian-born partner respectively (although Mexicans and Salvadorans are not statistically significantly different from each other). Guatemalans are more than twice as likely as Salvadorans ($p<0.05$) to do so, but Mexicans are 63% ($p<0.01$) less likely than Guatemalans (see Table 4.5). Among women, Salvadorans are 40% less likely to interpartner than Chileans, but Mexicans are almost twice as likely to interpartner as Salvadorans, although these differences are barely significant ($p=0.046$ and $p=0.036$ respectively). To sum up, indicators of social exchange, socialization and modes of incorporation account for country of birth differences in the likelihood of being in an exogamous union with a non-conational Canadian-born, although I find different effects for men and women of group size and cohort of arrival.

To summarize and illustrate these results, Figure 4.1 shows average predicted probabilities by country of birth and sex for both types of exogamous unions, along with 95% confidence intervals. These probabilities are the mean of predicted individual probabilities, and were calculated from the fully adjusted multinomial logit estimates (Model 5). Note that results in Tables 4.3 and 4.4 presented risk-ratios of interpartnering relative to being in an endogamous union. However, Salvadoran and Mexican men differ from their Chilean and Guatemalan counterparts in the average predicted probability of having a conational partner. Among women, I note higher levels of endogamy than among men, with only Salvadorans having higher probabilities of endogamy than Guatemalan women.

Table 4.3. Estimated relative risk ratios of being in an exogamous union with a non-conational foreign-born, relative to having a conational partner by sex, 2006

Variable	MALES						FEMALES					
	M0	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	F0	F1	F2	F3	F4	F5
Country of birth												
(Chile)												
El Salvador	0.56*	0.56*	0.63	0.53*	0.55	0.53*	0.54**	0.54**	0.60*	0.71	0.71	0.7
Guatemala	1.83	1.78	2.37*	2.87**	2.94**	2.55*	1.43	1.42	1.87*	1.97*	1.94*	1.85
Mexico	0.19***	0.20***	0.24***	0.28**	0.27**	0.22***	0.52*	0.53*	0.8	1.08	1.07	1.03
Marital status												
(Legally married)												
Cohabitation		1.51	1.58*	1.58	1.57	1.54		1.76**	1.92**	1.88**	1.89**	1.87**
Social exchange												
Level of education												
Less than High school			0.19***	0.22***	0.22***	0.21***			0.13***	0.14***	0.14***	0.13***
High school			0.51*	0.55	0.55	0.53			0.39**	0.38***	0.37***	0.37***
College/equivalent			0.74	0.77	0.77	0.77			0.64	0.62	0.62	0.61
(University/above)												
Educational gap												
(Homogamy)												
Man > Women			0.78	0.82	0.84	0.84			1.60*	1.62*	1.61*	1.62*
Man < Woman			1.83*	1.76*	1.79*	1.80*			1.08	1.10	1.10	1.10
Age gap												
(Homogamy)												
Man > Women			1.00	1.04	1.03	1.04			0.8	0.78	0.78	0.78
Man < Woman			1.90*	1.90*	1.89*	1.91*			2.39*	2.31*	2.32*	2.33*
Structural factors												
Place of residence												
Toronto				3.98**	4.24**	4.30**				4.46**	4.36**	4.38**
Montreal				2.02	2.12	2.04				3.84**	3.73**	3.73**
Vancouver				3.24*	3.39*	3.32*				3.00*	2.90*	2.83
Other CMAs				1.55	1.58	1.6				2.79*	2.71*	2.73*
(Census Agglom.)												
Group size				1.23	1.21	1.17				0.92	0.91	0.9
Immigrant replenishment				1.01	1.06	1.15				0.96	0.96	0.99
Socialization												
Age at immigration												
(0-12)												
13-18					0.79	0.67					1.03	0.97
Context of reception												
Cohort of arrival												
(1986 and before)												
1987-93						1.21						1.14
1994 and later						1.81						1.12
Intercept	1.61*	1.48	2.01*	0.85	0.91	0.93	1.11	0.97	1.78	0.49	0.5	0.49
n	960	960	960	960	960	960	1010	1010	1010	1010	1010	1010
aic	1954.99	1903.69	1852.13	1825.7	1799.85	1797.23	2171.76	1903.69	1852.13	1825.7	1799.85	1797.23
bic	1993.9	1952.32	1968.86	2000.8	1984.68	2001.51	2211.13	1952.32	1968.86	2000.8	1984.68	2001.51
df	8	10	24	36	38	42	8	10	24	36	38	42
Pseudo R2	0.04	0.07	0.11	0.13	0.15	0.15	0.03	0.07	0.11	0.13	0.15	0.15

Source: 20% sample of 2006 Canadian Census. Notes: Sample consists of immigrants born in Chile, El Salvador, Guatemala and Mexico aged 20-39 in 2006 who arrived to Canada as permanent residents aged 18 or younger, currently in a union with a partner present in the household. Reference categories are shown in parentheses. Continuous variables for group size and immigrant replenishment have been standardized by sex. See text for full description of variables.
* for p< .05, ** for p<.01, and *** for p<0.001

Table 4.4. Estimated relative risk ratios of being in an exogamous union with a non-conational Canadian-born, relative to having a conational partner by sex, 2006

Variable	MALES						FEMALES					
	M0	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	F0	F1	F2	F3	F4	F5
Country of birth												
(Chile)												
El Salvador	0.29***	0.28***	0.33***	0.34***	0.43**	0.48**	0.32***	0.31***	0.38***	0.50**	0.58*	0.60*
Guatemala	0.68	0.62	0.88	0.84	0.85	1.04	0.6	0.6	0.81	0.72	0.81	0.87
Mexico	0.23***	0.25***	0.34***	0.34**	0.33***	0.39**	0.58*	0.60*	0.9	1.07	1.08	1.14
Marital status												
(Legally married)												
Cohabitation		3.53***	3.91***	4.13***	4.00***	4.04***		2.54***	2.92***	3.19***	3.13***	3.14***
Social exchange												
Level of education												
Less than High school			0.12***	0.13***	0.14***	0.14***			0.06***	0.06***	0.06***	0.06***
High school			0.47*	0.45*	0.48*	0.48*			0.18***	0.16***	0.18***	0.18***
College/equivalent			0.63	0.64	0.67	0.66			0.37***	0.36***	0.37***	0.38***
(University/above)												
Educational gap												
(Homogamy)												
Man > Women			0.72	0.7	0.77	0.75			2.58***	2.61***	2.64***	2.63***
Man < Woman			2.22***	2.18***	2.35***	2.33***			0.63*	0.61*	0.59*	0.60*
Age gap												
(Homogamy)												
Man > Women			0.92	0.88	0.88	0.88			0.48***	0.49***	0.52***	0.52***
Man < Woman			0.7	0.69	0.67	0.69			1.5	1.73	1.75	1.74
Structural factors												
Place of residence												
Toronto				1.4	1.62	1.48				0.7	0.73	0.72
Montreal				0.77	0.87	0.83				0.46*	0.47*	0.47*
Vancouver				0.93	1.05	1.01				0.53	0.51	0.52
Other CMAs				1.46	1.62	1.48				0.8	0.76	0.75
(Census Agglom.)												
Group size				0.91	0.87	0.93				0.75*	0.74**	0.75*
Immigrant replenishment				1.02	1.21	1.09				0.80*	0.89	0.86
Socialization												
Age at immigration												
(0-12)												
13-18					0.38***	0.48**					0.46***	0.50**
Context of reception												
Cohort of arrival												
(1986 and before)												
1987-93						0.63*						0.85
1994 and later						0.67						0.89
Intercept	4.68***	3.27***	5.65***	4.84***	5.55***	6.09***	2.02***	1.56**	6.03***	7.80***	8.93***	9.10***
n	960	960	960	960	960	960	1010	1010	1010	1010	1010	1010
aic	1954.99	1903.69	1852.13	1825.7	1799.85	1797.23	2171.76	1903.69	1852.13	1825.7	1799.85	1797.23
bic	1993.9	1952.32	1968.86	2000.8	1984.68	2001.51	2211.13	1952.32	1968.86	2000.8	1984.68	2001.51
df	8	10	24	36	38	42	8	10	24	36	38	42
Pseudo R2	0.04	0.07	0.11	0.13	0.15	0.15	0.03	0.07	0.11	0.13	0.15	0.15

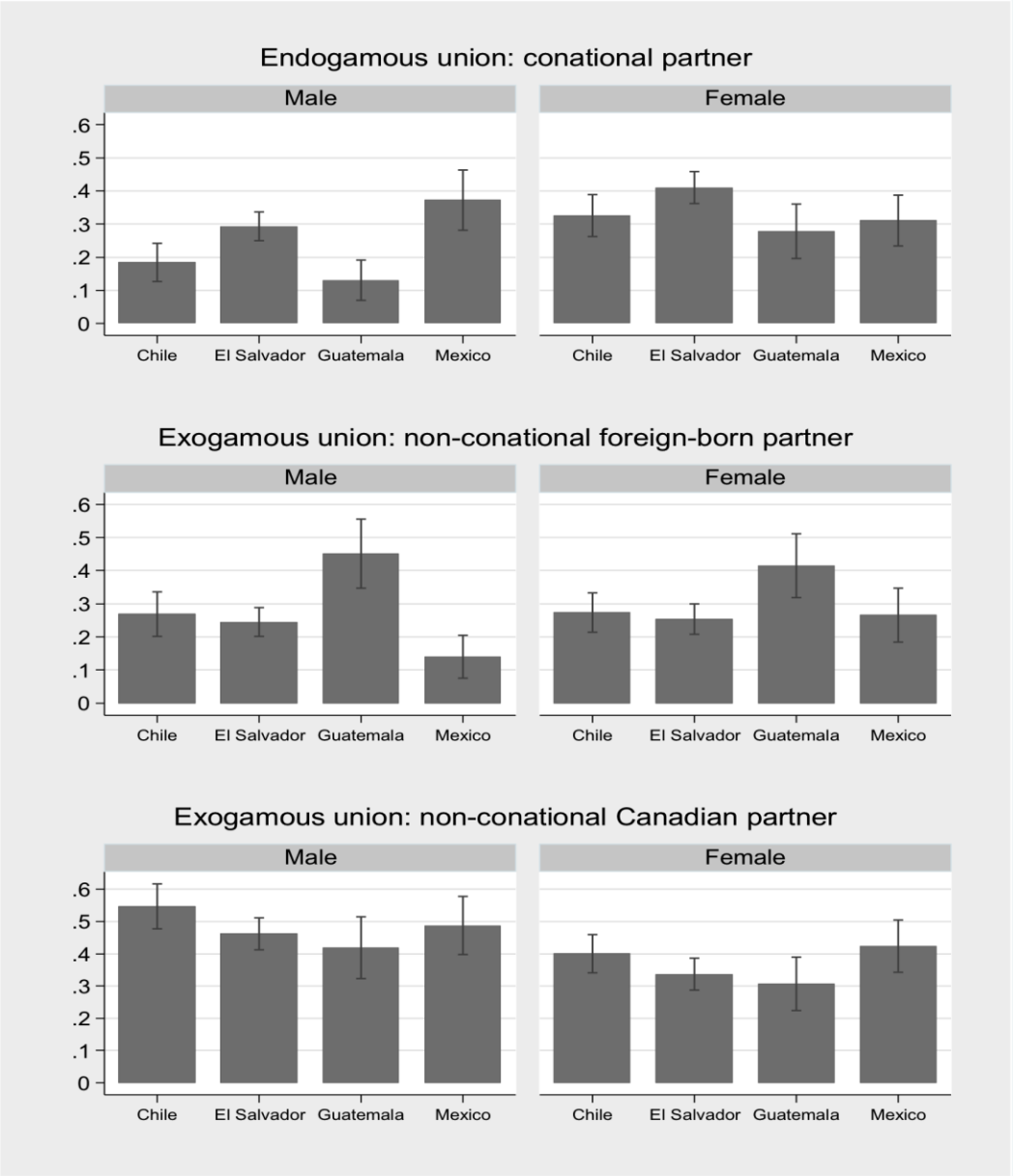
Source: 20% sample of 2006 Canadian Census. Notes: Sample consists of immigrants born in Chile, El Salvador, Guatemala and Mexico aged 20-39 in 2006 who arrived to Canada as permanent residents aged 18 or younger, currently in a union with a partner present in the household. Reference categories are shown in parentheses. Continuous variables for group size and immigrant replenishment have been standardized by sex. See text for full description of variables.
* for p< .05, ** for p<.01, and *** for p<0.001

Table 4.5. Estimated risk-ratios by type of exogamous unions relative to endogamous union, by country of birth and sex, (Model 5)

	Risk-ratio	Standard error	z statistic	p-value (p>|z|)
Males				
Union with a non-conational foreign born				
El Salvador vs Chile	**0.53**	0.17	-1.97	0.049
Guatemala vs Chile	**2.55**	1.06	2.26	0.024
Mexico vs Chile	**0.22**	0.10	-3.41	0.001
Guatemala vs El Salvador	**4.77**	1.97	3.79	0.000
Mexico vs El Salvador	**0.42**	0.16	-2.28	0.023
Mexico vs Guatemala	**0.09**	0.04	-5.34	0.000
Union with a non-conational Canadian				
El Salvador vs Chile	**0.48**	0.13	-2.67	0.008
Guatemala vs Chile	1.04	0.41	0.09	0.929
Mexico vs Chile	**0.39**	0.14	-2.66	0.008
Guatemala vs El Salvador	**2.18**	0.83	2.05	0.040
Mexico vs El Salvador	0.81	0.25	-0.68	0.496
Mexico vs Guatemala	**0.37**	0.15	-2.51	0.012
Females				
Union with a non-conational foreign born				
El Salvador vs Chile	0.70	0.18	-1.37	0.171
Guatemala vs Chile	1.85	0.606	1.87	0.061
Mexico vs Chile	1.03	0.36	0.08	0.934
Guatemala vs El Salvador	**2.65**	0.91	2.86	0.004
Mexico vs El Salvador	1.48	0.48	1.20	0.23
Mexico vs Guatemala	0.56	0.20	-1.66	0.097
Union with a non-conational Canadian				
El Salvador vs Chile	**0.60**	0.15	-2.00	0.046
Guatemala vs Chile	0.87	0.29	-0.42	0.674
Mexico vs Chile	1.14	0.37	0.40	0.689
Guatemala vs El Salvador	1.44	0.50	1.04	0.3
Mexico vs El Salvador	**1.88**	0.57	2.10	0.036
Mexico vs Guatemala	1.31	0.46	0.77	0.439

Source: 20% sample of 2006 Canadian Census.
Note: See Tables 4.3 and 4.4 for other results from Model 5.

Graph 4.1. Estimated average predicted probabilities , with 95% confidence intervals, by country of birth for each type of union (Model 5 estimated for men and women separately)



Source: 20% sample of 2006 Canadian Census. Note: Average predicted probabilities are calculated as mean of individual predicted probabilities. Sample consists of immigrants born in Chile, El Salvador, Guatemala and Mexico aged 20-39 in 2006 who arrived to Canada as permanent residents aged 18 or younger, currently in a union with a partner present in the household. See Tables 4.3 and 4.4 for results from Model 5.

Differences by country, type of union, and gender

Overall, Chow tests to compare odds-ratios estimated for men and women separately, and for the two types of union, show few statistical differences by country of birth, type of union, and sex (Model 5), when indicators of marital status, social exchange, structural factors, socialization, and modes of incorporation are held constant (complete tests are available upon request). First, *are there differences by type of union and sex for each immigrant group?* For the Guatemalan population, the likelihood of being in exogamous unions with non-conational immigrants is different than being in exogamous unions with Canadians ($p<0.005$ for men and $p<0.05$ for women). That is, if Guatemalans are in a union with a non-conational, this is more likely to be with another immigrant, rather than with a Canadian-born, and there is no significant difference between males and females. However, within the Mexican population, I find significant gender differences for having non-conational foreign-born ($p<0.01$) and Canadian ($p<0.05$) partners. Otherwise, all the other estimates of a) differences in type of exogamous union by sex within each country; and b) differences in sex by type of union within each country are not statistically significant ($p>0.05$).

Second, *are there differences in the influence of each explanatory variable by type of exogamous union?* Results from Chow tests show that, for both immigrant males and females, the effects of being in a cohabitating couple, living in Toronto, Montreal, Vancouver, and other CMAs, as well as arriving as adolescents, has a significantly different influence in the likelihood of having a non-conational foreign-born partner compared to having a non-conational Canadian partner. In addition, for women only, the effects of having a high school degree or less, being with a partner with higher education or with a man who is the same age or younger, differ for both types of exogamous unions. For men only, the effects that are significantly different for unions with Canadian and other non-conational immigrants is having older and more educated spouses, and having arrived to Canada after 1986.

Third, *are there differences in the influence of each explanatory variable by gender?* The only significant gender difference concerns the likelihood of being with a Canadian partner, which varies among those having less than high school, and depending on age and educational gaps. In summary, socio economic status and social-exchange indicators have a different effect for women and men on each type of exogamous union. However, the effects of social-exchange variables are different for men and women in interpartnering with a non-conational Canadian. Socialization and structural factors affect local marriage markets, which have different effects on interpartnering with other immigrants and Canadians. My indicator of modes of incorporation characterized by cohort of arrival only affects men for interpartnering with a Canadian-born.

DISCUSSION

Given increased immigration and the diversification of origins of the foreign-born population in Canada, in this article I studied the degree of exogamy of four groups of Latin American immigrants, by looking at unions with immigrants from different countries, and unions with non-conational Canadians. Using 2006 Canadian census data, I estimated a set of multinomial logit models to estimate the effect of country of birth on the risk of being in these two types of exogamous unions after controlling for indicators of marital status, socio-economic status and social exchange, structural factors, socialization processes, and modes of incorporation. The main objective was to understand nativity differences in interpartnering in relation to intermarriage and immigrant assimilation theories, and to evaluate to what extent the determinants of the two types of exogamous unions differ.

Are there differences by country of birth in interpartnering? Overall, results show that country differences are more prominent among men than women, for both types of interpartnering, although differences are more noticeable in interpartnering with non-conational foreign-born than interpartnering with non-conational Canadians. Among men, nativity differences between all countries exist for interpartnering with an immigrant from another country (Guatemalan, Chilean, Salvadoran, and Mexican men in

descending order). On the other hand, only Guatemalan and Salvadoran women differ from each other. For interpartnering with a non-conational Canadian, Chilean and Guatemalan men are more likely than Mexicans and Salvadorans to do so, and for women, barely significant differences exist among Salvadorans and Chileans, and Mexicans and Salvadorans.

What explains those differences? Do the determinants explaining exogamous unions with non-conational Canadian-born and foreign-born differ? Results from multivariate models coincide with social exchange theory as proposed for the general population, with the influence of other factors depending on gender, and on whether the exogamous union is with a non-conational immigrant or Canadian-born. First, as expected, compositional differences by country partially account for baseline differences in interpartnering. Second, differences in the effects of level of education coincide with the argument that educational attainment has become more important for explaining interpartnering among women than men. This is the result of structural opportunities for meeting potential spousal partners, which are strongly related to educational attainment in a context of changing gender equality and increased female labor force participation (Blossfeld, 2009). Third, findings here show a differential role of cohabitation by gender and type of exogamous union, with cohabitation not significantly associated with interpartnering between Latin American men and non-conational immigrant women. These findings therefore add a nuance to understandings on how cohabiting unions facilitate interethnic unions (Qian & Lichter, 2007). Because of the complex nature of cohabitation in Latin America (Quilodrán & Cortina Trilla, 2012), it is possible that these results illustrate Latin American immigrants' assimilation into Canadian norms by considering cohabitation as a trial for marriage at the same time as cultural values from origin countries persist. Additionally, this highlights the importance of attending to nativity in studies of cohabitation (Brown et al., 2008).

Fourth, structural factors related to local marriage markets – captured by place of residence – influence interpartnering with other foreign-born. This contrasts sharply with what I found for exogamous unions with natives: only living in Montreal influenced

interpartnering with non-conational Canadians among women. One possible explanation for this may be that place of residence is related to other socialization processes and modes of incorporation where immigrants interact and meet potential immigrant partners that are not directly captured by age or cohort of arrival; for example, workplaces, neighborhoods, or social or religious organizations.

Fifth, the socialization process is associated with interpartnering with non-conational Canadians only: arriving to Canada as an adolescent significantly reduces the likelihood of exogamy. However, age at arrival does not matter for interpartnering with immigrants who are not conationals. Finally, it seems that the group that transmits norms and values about interpartnering may vary by gender. The significant negative effect of immigrant group size for women, and not for men, in having Canadian partners may indicate the differential influences of gender roles and norms associated with endogamy. Specifically, the negative effect could be associated with greater group pressure for women to have a conational partner in order to maintain cultural values. Modes of incorporation, measured by cohort of arrival, are only significant for males interpartnering with Canadians. Men arriving to Canada during the period of increasing restrictions and anti-immigrant sentiment (1987-1993) had lower likelihood of having a Canadian partner. Therefore, it is possible that attitudes and values from Canadians are more influential for men and cultural group pressures more influential for women.

These results point out two unexpected findings. First, the fact that immigrants from Chile and Guatemala are not different in their risk of interpartnering, when controlling for differences in immigrant composition, is surprising given that both countries differ in terms of development, poverty, and ethnic composition. One possibility is that scars from armed conflicts, civil war, dictatorships, and political differences, may produce strong sentiments against co-nationals, influencing immigrants to actively seek to engage in relationships outside their group. Second, the significant differences between Guatemalans and Salvadorans are unexpected given the similarities in their contexts of emigration. Although the two nations are often categorized together as "Central Americans", there are important cultural and demographic differences between them,

especially in their ethnic composition (Menjívar, 2006). Unfortunately, the data available do not allow us to distinguish indigenous origin among these immigrant groups. To my knowledge, the only study comparing patterns of interpartnering for the selected countries finds large differences between Chilean and Guatemalan endogamy in the U.S., although these results may be influenced by the inclusion of the second generation (Kalmijn & Tubergen, 2010).

The dominant role of the U.S. as the main immigrant destination for the four countries studied is likely to affect self-selection processes. Migrating to Canada could be the second best choice when migration to the U.S. is perceived as difficult or insecure due to immigration law enforcement (Simmons, 1993). Latin Americans may have decided to move to Canada in order to maintain a distance from relatives, friends or other co-nationals, or to avoid discrimination due to prejudice against Hispanics – a process observed for Algerians settling in the United Kingdom instead of the traditional destination of France (Collyer, 2005). These processes of self-selection are likely to affect marital choices and integration patterns if immigrants consciously avoid relating to co-nationals or others speaking the same language, and may be more influential for those arriving as economic migrants, especially from Mexico.

My findings have two main implications for studying immigrant interpartnering. First, findings suggest that insights from assimilation theories are only accurate for explaining classic assimilation views pertaining to interpartnering with natives, but not interpartnering with immigrants from different countries. Overall, I find support for classic assimilation theory due to the significant association between interpartnering with a native-born person, and age at arrival and educational attainment. Although I did not distinguish the Canadian population in terms of race and ethnicity, data show that around 90% of the Canadian partners of the immigrants in my sample self-report as White. Therefore, interpartnering with non-conational Canadian-born can be equated to interpartnering into the mainstream White native population.

Results here show different patterns of interpartnering by country, but findings do not provide support for segmented assimilation theory. Cohort of arrival, used as a proxy for mode of incorporation – related to motivations and expectations for migration, as well as values and attitudes toward immigrants in the context of reception – was found to be significant for men, but not for women. I discarded the possibility of variations by country that cancel out in preliminary analyses given that the interaction effect of age and cohort of arrival with country of origin was not statistically significant, suggesting that the influences of socialization processes and mode of incorporation on interpartnering did not vary by country of birth. This limited support for segmented assimilation is consistent with what Feliciano and colleagues (2011) show for dating patterns among Latinos in the United States. The extent to which different pathways of intermarriage by sending country for men are consistent with claims of segmented assimilation theory is unclear because of the complexity of being in a union with a non-conational immigrant. Whether this is a case of selective acculturation or assimilation to the under-class remains an open question for future research. A better understanding of the determinants of immigrants' 'mixing', by entering into unions with immigrants from different countries, is of particular importance.

The second implication for studying immigrant interpartnering is the need to better understand the role of gender. I estimated models separately for men and women because mechanisms for intermarriage are known to differ by gender (Sassler, 2005), irrespective of nativity. Little is known and discussed on gender in applications of assimilation theory. I found stronger nativity differences in interpartnering for Latin American males than females, as well as non-significant effects of my proxy of modes of incorporation for women. Although this provides partial evidence that the mechanisms of the context of reception vary by gender, it is unclear how this relates to differences in ideas and norms about gender roles. For example, the fact that age gap was not significantly associated with being in a union with a Canadian, can be explained by the idea that those who interpartner with non-conational natives have more egalitarian views of marriage and relationships. Explaining segmented assimilation theory in relation to theories of gender

and culture will open venues for future research and help answer the question asked recently by Nawyn and Park (2013): *is segmented assimilation only relevant for men?*

A possible explanation relating assimilation theories and gender differences may be provided by a theoretical approach that was not explicitly addressed in my analytical strategy: transnationalism. Although immigrant replenishment is associated with increasing ties to the home country via the continuous arrival of recent immigrants, the ways in which individuals engage in transnational activities has not been accounted for in the models. Thus, these results may be influenced by unobserved heterogeneity. Women participate more often than men in organizations and activities that bring them and their children close to the home country as they maintain contact with relatives and transfer cultural norms (Goldring, 2006; Hagan, 1998; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994). Thus, one plausible explanation is that gender differences in exogamy patterns by country may be related to differences in transnational activity by gender.

Immigrants from Latin America in the United States have tended to adopt a pan-ethnic identity as they embrace a common cultural and national heritage, create new alliances (Paerregaard, 2005), or adopt ideas of pan-ethnicity available from the country of origin (Roth, 2009). However, the adoption of a pan-ethnic Latin American identity in Canada may differ from that in the U.S. In the United States, research has shown that when Hispanics are exogamous, they often marry with other Hispanic subgroups, keeping distance from the non-Hispanic white majority (Gurak & Fitzpatrick, 1982). I found country differences in establishing unions with other foreign-born. Preliminary descriptive analysis showed that only Guatemalans were more likely to have foreign-born partners born in other Latin American Spanish-speaking countries. Studying the determinants of union formation within the pan-ethnic group was beyond the scope of this paper and will be the focus of a separate article. Future research on exogamy among Latin Americans will benefit from better understanding to what extent pan-ethnic unions constitute an alternative to endogamous or exogamous unions and will inform our knowledge on the nature of immigrant and pan-ethnic boundaries, especially in terms of language. Language is generally seen as an indicator of cultural difference and ethnic

boundary marker. However, "it remains unclear whether the fragmented individual streams from different Hispanic countries in the region share enough in common beyond use of the same language to provide social and institutional links to generate a coherent transnational community and to draw ongoing streams of immigrants" (Simmons, 2010, p. 134).

This study was restricted to the cross-sectional data currently available in the Census and sample sizes prevented potential subgroup analyses. Future research would benefit from the inclusion of class of entry, date of marriage, and date of first arrival in order to better understand the relationship between union formation and migration processes. This study has focused on the immigration process in relation to national-origin mechanisms and processes without explicitly accounting for religion, data that is not available from the 2006 Census. This may bias results for Salvadorans given the strong influence of Evangelicals in maintaining transnational ties (Menjívar, 1999). Immigrant groups are not homogenous in terms of skin color, ethnic ancestry, or other phonotypical characteristics that may influence intermarriage. This study is not free of the problems associated with assuming similarities within a same country of origin (Goldring & Landolt, 2009). Recent scholarship highlights the importance of considering heterogeneity within immigrant origin populations for understanding immigrant integration (Alba, Jiménez, & Marrow, 2013). This study may suffer due to the homogeneity of the sample of groups considered because it compares subgroups within a larger Latin American ethnic group, and so contextual explanations of group differences may be missing as noted by Kalmijn and Tubergen (2010).

The construction of immigrant boundaries is "a path-dependent process that hinges on the materials available […] as well as on the characteristics and histories that the immigrants themselves present. Hence, boundaries do not have the same character everywhere" (Zolberg & Long, 1999, p. 41). This paper sheds light on the nature of boundaries for Latin American immigrant groups in Canada. Results here contribute to the growing literature on the heterogeneity of Latin American communities in different contexts of reception due to different emigration, selectivity, and integration patterns (for example

(Cortina Trilla et al., 2008; Rodríguez, Massey, Rodriguez, Saenz, & Menjivar, 2007; Takenaka & Paerregaard, 2012; Takenaka & Pren, 2010). Hopefully, future cross-national and within-Canada comparative research can further shed light on the boundaries described here, to help explain why, if ideologies and practices of race differ in Canada and the United States (Telles & Sue, 2009), rates of interpartnering are similar between the two countries (Yodanis, Lauer, & Ota, 2012).

CHAPTER 5. CONCLUSIONS

This dissertation studied the complex relationship between family and migration processes. The overarching question that drove this research project was: *How do family dynamics, migration adaptation processes, and policy mediate the immigrant integration process?* In this concluding section I present a summary of the findings of the papers that formed the core of this project, and discuss them in relation to the overarching question. I also highlight the major empirical, methodological, and theoretical contributions, discuss limitations of the study, as well as implications for future research. For a complete discussion of findings and implications for the specific research questions addressed, I refer readers to each paper.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Three papers form the core of this dissertation. The first one examines differences in living arrangements by entry status over the first four years of arrival, shedding light on the relationship between immigrant family dynamics, adaptation processes, and selection policy. The second paper studies the role of living arrangements on life satisfaction – an indicator of social integration – as recent immigrants go through processes of adaptation. Finally, the third paper explores ethnic differences in interpartnering – an indicator of and mechanism for integration – among Latin American immigrants, a population that has increased considerably in recent years.

Does the propensity to double-up vary by immigrant class of entry over the first four years after arrival?

Using data from the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada, results from cross-sectional and fixed-effects logistic regression models confirm differences by entry status in the propensity to double-up, both shortly after arrival and over the first four years, even when accounting for common explanatory factors for immigrant living arrangements. Specifically, results show different patterns for sponsored

parents/grandparents than the rest, shortly after arrival and over time; no differences between economic class principal applicants, sponsored spouses/fiancés/other relatives, and refugees in the odds of doubling-up shortly after arrival; and that the odds of being doubled-up for economic class principal applicants are significantly lower than for others, both two and four years after arrival, as their households have greater turnover than other immigrant households.

Socio-demographic factors, visible minority status, religion, social integration, and the availability of economic resources mediated the association of being doubled-up with immigrant class of entry shortly after arrival. Life course transitions, personal income and contribution to household income are associated with changes in being doubled-up and they mediate the differences in entry status over time.

Tying this back to the overarching research question, entry status influences family dynamics, at least early in the adaptation process, if not longer. Structural factors associated with immigrant entry status defined by selection policy influence the duration of coresidential ties. For some, the nature of being doubled-up is temporary, whereas for others –mainly sponsored parents/grandparents– living arrangements are likely to have a long-term nature.

Does family matter for recent immigrants' life satisfaction?

Using the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada, results from cross-sectional logistic regression models provide evidence that co-residents have a different influence on life satisfaction among immigrants depending on time since arrival. Shortly after arrival, living with children is negatively associated with life satisfaction, although this seems to be partially explained by the associated economic burden of arriving with dependents. Living with relatives other than spouse and children is positively associated with life satisfaction in the first months. Results from longitudinal analyses show that coresidents and changes in coresidents have a small effect on changes in life satisfaction. There is a non-significant association between living arrangements and changes in life satisfaction within individuals, once health, social and economic factors are taken into

account. In other words, characteristics of family living arrangements may be significant for *inter*personal comparisons of satisfaction, but not for *intra*personal comparisons. By contrast, results from fixed-effects logistic regression show large and significant influences of indicators of economic integration on satisfaction in the destination country. Overall, findings provide consistent evidence that social and economic integration make a significant contribution to immigrant life satisfaction, while co-residents and living arrangements have a small influence on satisfaction shortly after arrival, and over time.

These results have implications for the recurring sociological question of whether or not maintaining close family ties facilitates integration, slows the process, or has no effect. In this case, life satisfaction serves as an indicator for integration. While having dependents, both spouses and children, produces stress during immigrant adaptation, living with relatives is positively associated with life satisfaction up to six months after arrival. Some family ties provide a source of support for immigrants during the initial adaptation process, but as the adaptation process unfolds over time the protective role of relatives seems to decline. The extent to which immigrants are socially integrated in the host society is mainly influenced by structural conditions related to language proficiency, access to employment, absolute income, and the perception of having adequate income to satisfy household basic needs.

The fact that living arrangements have no influence on changes in life satisfaction once controlling for fixed characteristics points to potential interconnections between time-constant characteristics associated with family dynamics that affect both life satisfaction and living arrangements. Specifically, this may reflect selectivity into certain types of living arrangements as a result of individual factors – such as personality, gender, or ethnicity – or structural factors associated with entry status and differential motivations for migration.

Are there differences by country of birth in interpartnering? Do the determinants explaining exogamous unions with non-conational Canadian-born and foreign-born differ?

Overall, results show that differences by country of birth are more prominent among men than women, for both types of interpartnering. Differences are most pronounced in interpartnering with non-conational foreign-born. Results from multinomial logistic models support social exchange theory as well as demographic and structural factors. Compositional differences by country partially account for baseline differences in interpartnering. Differences in the effects of level of education are in line with the argument that educational attainment has become more important for explaining interpartnering among women than men. A differential role of cohabitation by gender and type of exogamous union exists, with cohabitation not significantly associated with interpartnering between Latin American men and non-conational immigrant women. Structural factors related to local marriage markets influence interpartnering with other foreign-born.

The socialization process is associated with interpartnering with non-conational Canadians only: arriving to Canada as an adolescent significantly reduces the likelihood of exogamy. However, age at arrival does not matter for interpartnering with immigrants who are not conationals. It seems that the group that transmits norms and values about interpartnering may vary by gender. The significant negative effect of immigrant group size for women, and not for men, in having Canadian partners may indicate the differential influences of gender roles and norms associated with endogamy. Results about these two last factors – socialization and modes of incorporation – provide insights for the overarching question. On the one hand, they show that family dynamics associated with the contexts in which immigrants who arrive as children socialize have no influence for being in a union with a non-conational immigrant, although they do influence integration in the classic conceptualization of interpartnering with a native-born. On the other hand, they provide some evidence that gender differences in family dynamics are critical to understanding immigrant integration.

MAIN CONTRIBUTIONS

This dissertation bridges the literatures of family, migration, and ethnic studies. To acknowledge the complex relationships under study, family was used as an outcome – shared households and married or cohabiting unions – and as an explanatory variable – living arrangements. The contributions of this dissertation are threefold: empirical, methodological, and theoretical.

At the empirical level, this dissertation offers the first evaluation using nationally representative Canadian data of the outcomes under study. Each of the papers is unique in its area of research. The first paper incorporates immigration policy to evaluate the role of entry status on living arrangements. The second one contributes to the literature on immigrant life satisfaction by considering the role of the family, mostly overlooked. Finally, the third paper contributes not only to the literature on immigrant intermarriage, but to the knowledge of integration patterns among a population in Canada who is increasing in size and relative importance, but whom our knowledge has been limited to date.

At the methodological level, the use of longitudinal data in the first two papers allows for a better understanding of the migrant adaptation process. The lack of longitudinal data has been considered one of the major challenges for understanding immigrant adaptation and integration, as well as family dynamics. The analytic strategy implemented in the two first papers allows for comparisons between individuals, as well as within individuals. I argue that the use of fixed-effects methods provides an important tool for understanding the processes that unfold over time. Not only do fixed-effects models provide a way of accounting for time-constant characteristics that are hard to measure in nationally representative studies, it also accounts for possible selectivity processes related to living arrangements. Finally, the analytic strategy of the third paper using multinomial logit models has advantages compared to log-linear models, the most common methods used for studying intermarriage. The individual approach allows the inclusion of a broader range of covariates while studying different types of interpartnering that are not always possible in aggregate studies.

Finally, this dissertation provides a number of theoretical contributions. The first paper shows that the migrant adaptation process is mediated by immigrant selection policy. Using a linear effect of time since arrival to measure the migration process without considering variations by entry status may be misleading. Although results here focus exclusively on being doubled-up over the first four years of arrival, I argue that the non-homogenous effect of time since arrival may extend after the first four years, given the path-dependency process of adaptation. Studies define recent immigrants using one, three, five, or ten years in the country as cut-off points. The relevance of these definitions is likely to depend on the family outcome under study, as well as on entry status.

The debate between the realist and nominalist perspectives of entry status centers on whether or not the legal class of entry maps motivations and pre-migration characteristics. However, I argue here that considering these categories defined by immigration policy provides a conceptual bridge between the disconnected literatures of the determinants of international migration and immigrant integration. Immigrant class of entry may be a social construct created by Canadian immigration policy, but it provides a way for immigrants to channel their motivations for moving to Canada, whatever they are.

I provide an empirical evaluation that explanations of shared living arrangements need to consider pre-migration characteristics and motivations, in addition to the classic accounts of culture and economic need. The migration process understood as mere time since arrival is not enough. The incorporation of explanations that take into account family dynamics in both origin and destination countries – who was left behind, the reasons for migration, existence of previous family members in the destination country, as well as intentions to settle permanently or return– should provide a better account of living arrangements than the current explanations. The consideration of entry status is a stepping-stone in the inclusion of these factors.

The second paper finds no significant effect of immigrants' coresidents in changes in life satisfaction. By no does means this finding mean that family and household dynamics are unimportant for the integration process. Instead, family dynamics and the adaptation process – especially changes in the availability of economic resources– explain variation between immigrants, but not variation within immigrants, partially as a result of selectivity processes. This nuance in the differences of life satisfaction over time provides a contribution to the understanding of migrant adaptation process and subjective well-being. To date, the influence of subjective well-being on immigrant integration has been neglected as a possible mechanism leading to different types of assimilation models. We may hypothesize that immigrants' life satisfaction in the destination country may be a mediating factor in the integration process, but further research is needed in this regard.

In the third paper, I compare immigrants from four Latin American countries in Canada. I explore differences by countries that are largely lumped together as a single group or visible minority category but that compose a complex pan-ethnic group. Such a comparison provides a better understanding of ethnic boundaries in Canada. Country of origin is a reflection of historical and political events related to the 'push' factors of migration, but also, at a given time, the different stages of settlement in the destination country 'pull' migrants differently. Latin American migration to Canada is a good case to study the effects of these layers of complexity for several reasons: the waves of migration are easily identified; these waves happen at different historical, social and political contexts of origin and at arrival; the four countries are from the same visible minority status but constitute a heterogeneous group in terms of education, ethnicity, socio-economic background and stages of the second demographic transition.

The main contribution of the paper in interpartnering is the study of 'mixing' or unions with non-conational foreign-born. Alba and Nee (1997) noted that one of the limitations of Milton Gordon's model was that his micro sociological view was not integrated into larger social processes, such as relationships between members of different ethnic groups. However, empirical research on this area has been limited to date even if many scholars have acknowledged the increasing diversity of multi-ethnic societies in North America.

LIMITATIONS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The lack of appropriate data containing the timing of demographic events and the migration history has traditionally complicated the analysis of family and migration processes. Scarce data exists that includes reasons for migration, characteristics at the time of entry, as well as immigrant trajectories once in the destination country. In this dissertation I offered three different snapshots of the foreign-born population in Canada by using two data sources to fit different pieces of the puzzle. The data used complement each other in significant ways. While the Canadian census corresponds to a cross-sectional nationally representative view of immigrant population groups, the LSIC provides a longitudinal perspective of the migrant adaptation process during the first four years of arrival, for a specific immigrant cohort. LSIC provides data on immigrants' entry status, one of the limitations of the census. However, this data comes with limitations that open possibilities for future research.

When defining living arrangements in LSIC, it is impossible to differentiate by type of kin – parents, siblings, or others – which would allow us to study horizontal and vertical households separately. The time-span is limited to four years after arrival as the survey was interrupted. Changes in the questionnaire do not allow using data from the second interview, and lack of data on the time when changes occurred does not allow studying the duration of living arrangements. LSIC does not provide full information on immigrants that arrive later to the household, on information of the sponsor, or the sponsoring behavior of the immigrants surveyed. Further examinations of sponsoring behavior should provide a way of delineating policy recommendations. As discussed in the first paper, it provides a baseline for future studies on the influences of entry status in relation to family dynamics pre-IRPA. In addition, future studies should aim to explain why sponsored relatives, especially parents/grandparents are not doubled-up and whether or not this depends on demographic characteristics or family dynamics, and to what extent sponsors provide the support they have committed to provide, regardless of coresidence.

This dissertation opens important venues for comparative quantitative and qualitative research. I argue that these comparisons would provide a better understanding of the concept of reception that would inform how family dynamics, the adaptation process, and policy not only mediate the immigrant integration process, but are dependent on broader local contexts. As discussed in the papers, cross-country and cross-city/province within Canada comparisons might provide important theoretical advances by account for different welfare system regimes, legal frameworks, and local demographic/structural characteristics.

US-Canada comparative research is necessary to evaluate the role of immigrant selection policy. The predominant focus on differences in selection policies contrasting the points system introduced in 1967 in Canada *versus* family reunification following the U.S. 1965 Immigration Act miss other important characteristics in migration flows. Both countries receive refugees, economic and familial migrants, as well as immigrants who transition from temporary to permanent statuses. Only the United States contains more than 10 million foreign-born without a regular status. The understanding on the extent to which patterns of immigrant integration in the U. S. are driven by a population living with a precarious status that affects their family dynamics and adaptation process would help unpack the complex relationship between family and migration.

Although Latin American migrants, especially Mexicans, have moved overwhelmingly to the United States, changes in the regional migration patterns suggest an interesting case for expanding the study of these populations in alternative destinations. The study of the Latin American immigrant population in Canada opens lines of research that are likely to provide a better understanding of the influence of contexts of reception, selectivity processes, and ethnic boundary dynamics.

As discussed in the third paper, future studies of pan-ethnic identity formation will benefit from a better understanding of interpartnering within the Latin American communities. However, more broadly, my results open theoretical questions for the evaluation of using a segmented assimilation framework to study patterns of union

formation in a context of increasing immigration and ethnic diversity. What are the long-term effects of interpartnering? Does it provide a mean for social mobility? Are children born from interpartnered parents 'better off' than children of conational immigrants?

Much of the critique of the term 'assimilation' was highlighted its ethnocentric nature. However, scholars who defend the revival of the concept have acknowledged assimilation into a dynamic mainstream. If immigrants are encouraged to maintain their ethnic identity, and population polls show that Canadians identify multiculturalism as *the* Canadian value –followed by hockey– to what should immigrants be assimilated? The traditional marker for ethnic boundaries in Canada has been language. Are English/French language courses the mechanism for reducing the social distance between foreign-born and natives?

In the Canadian case, questions remain open as to what is the mainstream; in other words, *assimilation to what?* What is *being Canadian*? Future evaluations from qualitative research, of the affiliative identity hypothesis are likely to provide answers to this question by examining partnering practices among immigrants. One of the limitations of this dissertation has been the ambiguity of the measurement of ethnic and cultural factors. I acknowledge that visible minority status or religion only capture part of ethnicity or culture, and that the use of fixed-effects models control for constant characteristics associated with these factors, as well as other factors like personality and gender. In this sense, results here provide a baseline for possible future studies that incorporate these factors into the analysis. Hopefully, this will inform what Mary Waters noted some years ago: "the $64,000 question from my perspective [is], what is in the 'black box' we call ethnicity that has an independent effect on family outcomes?" (Waters, 1997, p. 80). In other words, the influence of the dynamics of ethnic boundaries in the overarching research question *How do family dynamics, migration adaptation processes, and policy mediate the immigrant integration process?* is an open empirical question.

APPENDIX A

Table A1. Estimated odds-ratios for Logistic regression models of satisfaction with life in Canada by sex, six months and four years after arrival

Variable	Six months after arrival				Four years after arrival			
	Men		Women		Men		Women	
	Model 1A	Model 3A	Model 1A	Model 3A	Model 1B	Model 3B	Model 1B	Model 3B
Living with								
Spouse (ref: no spouse)	1.01	1.11	0.95	0.86	1.13	0.96	0.97	0.84
Own children (ref: no children)	0.95	0.99	0.64 ***	0.78	0.89	1.00	0.92	1.11
Relatives (ref: no other relatives)	1.40 *	1.32	1.31	1.24	1.31	1.30	1.25	1.22
Health								
Good self-rated health		1.62 ***		1.83 ***		1.73 ***		1.58 ***
Social integration								
Social and ethnic networks (Most new friends: same ethnic group)								
Has not made new friends		1.21		1.17		1.05		0.84
Most new friends: different ethnic group		1.52 ***		1.28 *		1.12		1.15
Feels close to ethnic group		1.09		1.10		1.10		1.02
Participates in group activities or organizations		1.49 *		1.33		1.12		0.89
Participates on church or other religious group		0.80		0.75		1.09		1.15
Official language proficiency (Mother tongue)								
Good or very good		1.08		0.74		0.99		0.80
Not good		0.96		0.78		0.66 *		0.69
Economic integration								
Subjective income to meet basic needs (Less than enough money)								
Just enough money		3.82 ***		2.67 ***		2.03 ***		2.30 ***
More than enough money		5.91 ***		11.74 ***		4.15 ***		4.86 ***
Absolute income								
Log of total household income		1.00		1.02		1.07		1.09 *
Employment status (Not working)								
Part-time employment		0.86		0.89		1.12		1.10
Full-time employment		1.12		1.04		1.50 **		1.14
Intercept	2.41 ***	1.95	10.95 ***	3.97 **	5.68 ***	0.67	7.68 ***	1.73
Sample size (n)	3,155	3,155	3,195	3,195	3,155	3,155	3,195	3,195

Source: Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada (Statistics Canada).
Notes: Sample includes only individuals aged 18-59 years old at arrival. Estimations use 1,000 bootstrap weight replications and survey weights provided. Dependent variable is satisfaction with life in Canada: 1 (very satisfied, satisfied) and 0 (very insatisfied, insatified, neither). Models include control variables for sociodemographic characteristics: sex, age, age squared, education at time of arrival, refugee and visible minority status, and province of residence. Reference groups for categorical variables are shown in parentheses.
* for p< .05, ** for p<.01, and *** for p<0.001 (two tailed tests)

Table A.2 Estimated odds-ratios for Logistic regression models of satisfaction with life in Canada by sex, six months and four years after arrival

Variable	Fixed Effects Models				Random Effects Models			
	Men		Women		Men		Women	
	Model 1F	Model 3F	Model 1F	Model 3F	Model 1R	Model 3R	Model 1R	Model 3R
Living with								
Spouse (ref: no spouse)	0.68	0.76	1.09	1.02	0.98	0.95	0.87	0.96
Children (ref: no children)	1.15	1.09	1.03	1.33	0.81	0.94	0.73 **	0.74 *
Relatives (ref: no relatives)	1.07	1.07	0.77	0.73	1.65 **	1.66 **	1.50 **	1.50 **
Time								
Four years after arrival	1.11	0.85	1.06	0.81	1.15 *	0.75 **	1.14	0.88
Health								
Good self-rated health		1.46 **		1.46 **		1.76 **		1.72 **
Social integration								
Social and ethnic networks								
(Most new friends: same ethnic group)								
Has not made new friends		0.85		0.81		1.20		1.13
Most new friends: different ethnic group		0.98		1.00		1.43 ** *		1.37 ** *
Feels close to ethnic group		1.13		1.03		1.08		1.07
Participates in group activities or organizations		0.91		1.16		1.24		1.02
Participates on church or other religious group		1.40		1.15		1.00		0.98
Official language proficiency								
(Mother tongue)		1.00						
Good or very good		1.98		0.35		0.79		0.61 **
Not good		1.78		0.34		0.73		0.69 *
Economic integration								
Subjective income to meet basic								
(Less than enough money)		1.00						
Just enough money		2.69 **		2.58 **		3.65 **		2.77 **
More than enough money		4.78 **		7.36 **		8.03 **		7.56 **
Absolute income								
Log of total household income		0.99		1.00		1.01		1.04 **
Employment status								
(Not working)								
Part-time employment		1.07		1.20		0.98		0.92
Full-time employment		1.33 *		1.41 *		1.29 *		1.00
Intercept					3.40 **	0.69		1.07
Log of the panel-level variance (lnsig2u), (*st. error*)					1.79 *	1.36		0.96
Standard error of random effect (sigma_u) (*st. error*)					3.81	3.21	2.94	2.66
Intra-class correlation (*st. error*)					0.35	0.29	0.26	0.23
Sample size (n)	950	950	1,031	1,031	3,190	3,190	3,160	3,160

Source: Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada (Statistics Canada).
Notes: Sample includes only individuals aged 18-59 years old at arrival. Estimations use 1,000 bootstrap weight replications and survey weights provided. Dependent variable is satisfaction with life in Canada: 1 (very satisfied, satisfied) and 0 (very insatisfied, insatified, neither). Reference groups for categorical variables are shown in parentheses.
* for p< .05, ** for p<.01, and *** for p<0.001 (two tailed tests)

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